Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences of the Autonomous Region Tibet

Rulers on the Celestial Plain

Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet
A Study of Tshal Gung-thang

Volume I



Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod
in Cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo

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PER K. SØRENSEN, GUNTRAM HAZOD

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Back cover: The protector god mGon-po Bya-rog gdong-can (see p. 312: Fig. 17)

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PART I

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The present book represents a study of a historical space in Tibet that from the outset of historical recording in the 7th century proved decisive for the fate of the Snowland: sKyid-shod – the core district of northern Central Tibet, in the heart of which Lhasa is situated, the cultural and political centre of Tibet. In this protracted valley through which its name-giver, the alluvial sKyid-chu river cuts its winding way, the monastic complex of Tshal Gung-thang (erected late 12th century) spreads out, located at the eastern edge of present-day Lhasa township, a temple today partly in ruins. Essentially, the book deals with the eventful history and vicissitude of this monastic centre, and with the political supremacy of its polity, the Tshal-pa in the 13th and 14th centuries. It pays due heed to the historical and hegemonic development both in the narrow and wider environs encompassing the Lhasa Valley and in particular the so-called epicentric Lhasa Maṇḍala Zone, both prior to the foundation of Tshal-pa as well as in the post-Tshal-pa epoch, where local polities and ruling houses competed for sovereignty over the valley until the 17th century. The sheer abundance of historical sources and reference materials consulted during this lengthy study bears witness to the existence of an hitherto unknown historical density in the area since early times, a melting pot and home of a complex network of clans, ancestral and religious lineages, eventually populated by local secular powers in steady interaction and communication with one another along much-trodden paths connecting the many religious institutions that gradually surfaced in the area from the onset of the Renaissance Period in the 11th century. A point of reference in this highly charged universe of intense and contentious relationships was the two famed temples of the "Lhasa Lords" (*lha sa jo bo gnyis*), precious sanctuaries that represent a pre-eminent heritage and constitutive legacy of the imperial epoch. From the late 12th century, they were under the special ritual protection and political management of the Tshal-pa. In the center of the Tshal-pa polity – as its compelling and towering figure – stood its redoubtable founder, the charismatic ascetic, yogi, uncompromising warlord and religious head Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang (1123–1193 A.D.). The present work in its complex totality teeming with (some might want to say burdened by) minute details then – it is hoped – shall allow the reader to immerse himself into a world born from this truly audacious Tibetan master.

The book may be regarded as an extensive contribution to the historical study of early and late medieval Tibet, and thematically constitutes a follow-up of two previous works published by the same authors in 2000 and 2005 (*Civilization at the Foot of Mount Sham-po* and *Thundering Falcon*, both ÖAW, Vienna). It is the continuation of a more than decade old, on-going fruitful cooperation between European and Tibetan researchers. The authors also here pursued a strict methodological approach that combines in-depth textual analyses, philology, anthropological inquiries with extensive *in situ* fieldwork, thereby creating a new approach within the field of Tibetan historical study. In addition and pursuant to the extensive textual elaborations offered, special priority was given to identify and localize all relevant toponyms. The many detailed cartographical works open up for a new dimension to historical studies or to what might be labelled informed historical geography, shedding light on the formative historical development and its repercussions and ramifications in the hinterlands of the political and religious centres. Starting from the history of the Tshal-pa – in the 13–14th centuries exerting religious and political hegemony over sKyid-shod

– the present study offers new insight into the relations and interactions between clans, territories, religious lineages and local ruling houses within this region around Lhasa in the period from the 11th to the 17th century.

Part 1 of the book (= volume 1 of the present edition) is a translation of a basic text concerning the history of Tshal Gung-thang. Interwowen is a detailed annotation of the text, drawing upon a host of (partly rare or hitherto unknown) comparative sources on the earlier history of this region. Part 2 comprises five appendices: four lengthy individual studies on various aspects of the history and cultic tradition of Tshal-pa and the Lhasa valley, as well as a compilation of several historical tables. This part includes numerous clan genealogies, lists of religious institutions, or of names, such as the numerous teachers and disciples of the Tshal-pa founder, abbatial lineages of neighbouring monastic powers and, not least, genealogical tables of the regional hegemonies of the post Tshal-pa era. An extensive cartographical and photographical documentation (including rare historical photos) as well as a facsimile of two Tshal-pa texts complete the present work, which *in toto* provides the reader with compelling insights and absorbing testimonies of the fragile interdependence of religion and politics. In particular the history of the Lhasa valley – a first systematic study of the site – is dealt with at some length, demonstrating for the first time how the climate of the valley (constituting a so-called forest climate) has suffered from human-induced environmental changes throughout the last 4000 years and that it was precisely this climate and its challenges that played a constitutive role in the formation of politics concerning Lhasa with its sacred environment.

The book attempts to explore new territories too, we hope, by paving the way for new promising perspectives in Tibetological research in the future. It addresses one of its most pressing desiderata, given the nature of the Tibetan medieval society: the documentation and identification of the numerous clans that populated its rugged territories, delineating their complex migratory and settlement history, a survey that shall allow us a far better appreciation of the historical and political development and eventually enable us to draw more reliable, periodic historical maps of Tibet, such as maps known from neighbouring disciplines. On account of its size, the study may also be regarded as a reference work on the history of sKyid-shod area and the Lhasa Valley. Easy access and reference are ensured through comprehensive indices that include all personal names and toponyms mentioned in the two volumes.

It is a great pleasure in the first place to extend our thanks to the institutions that enabled us to carry out the Gung-thang research project, either by providing the financial means or by enabling us to carry out the necessary fieldwork: The German Research Council (DFG) and the Austrian Funds for the Promotion of Scientific Research (FWF). An essential share behind the successful implementation of the project (not least what concerns the lengthy fieldwork expeditions) stems from the long-standing academic cooperation with the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences (TASS) in Lhasa, with which the authors are directly and actively involved for many years now, made possible within the framework of the academic agreement between TASS and the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW). The present study finally was carried out within the framework of a research project over many years attached to the Institute of Indology and Central Asian Studies of the University of Leipzig (Germany), in part also linked to a project originally attached to the Austrian Academy of Social Sciences, and we are thankful to the leading representatives in

Lhasa, Vienna and Leipzig for their patient support and for providing the necessary institutional accommodation. Especially Prof. Ernst Steinkellner, Prof. Andre Gingrich (both Vienna) and the then president of the TASS, Prof. Tsewang Gyurme should be mentioned in this connection.

Various colleagues and institutions have aided us on the long path to completion and we have been extremely fortunate during the book's gestation to receive all sorts of unstinted help from the individuals that are too many to be listed or mentioned here – to all we collectively express our sincere and heartfelt gratitude. Thanks to our Tibetological colleagues Franz-Karl Ehrhard (Munich, Kathmandu), Christoph Cüppers (Lumbini), L. van der Kuijp (Harvard), who among others generously supplied us with texts, references or with long-sought textual material, not least from Nepal and China. The same goes for our dear friends Roberto Vitali and Matthew Akester (Kathmandu). L. van der Kuijp also generously gave permission to publish the biography of sMon-lam rdo-rje. A number of institutions and museums around the world have been very collaborative and responsive. We are grateful to the British Museum for placing at our disposal a number of rare historical photos belonging to the Hugh Richardson Archive and for allowing us to reproduce these. To the Pitts River Museum in Oxford for permission to publish rare photos from the Charles Bell Collection. Our gratitude goes to Dr. Olaf Czaja (Leipzig) for precious help in indexing the book – a tedious and certainly herculean labour as well as to Mag. Ralf Kramer (formerly the Bodlean Library Oxford). Tsering Shakya (London) and Vladimir Uspensky (St. Petersburg) proved very helpful and generous. Thanks are also due to Anna Hazod (Vienna) and Jan Seifert (Leipzig) for their help in improving graphical documentation and the lay-out of the present book, and to David Westacott for his editing the English text of parts of the book. Ngodrop Tsering and Dungkar Pempa (both of TASS) functioned as co-researchers during several field-work trips and we would like to express our gratitude for their assistance and contribution. We have incurred a special note of gratitude to a number of helpful colleagues for their cordial cooperation. To Mag. David Holler (Berlin, Lhasa) for up-dating our library by occasionally purchasing for us the newest publications issued in Lhasa when it was needed the most. To Gene Smith of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center in New York, we are very grateful for his expert help in tracing numerous sources. To Christian Luczanits (Berlin) for establishing contacts to the art collector Ernst Jucker who promptly granted his permission to reproduce one of his fine *thangka*s. For permission to reproduce the pictures of statues and *thangka* of Bla-ma Zhang, we extend our gratitude to the RMA and Carlton Rochell of New York, and to Oliver Hoare of London and the Hahn Kwang-ho Collection in Seoul. Finally, we thank U. von Schroeder of Switzerland for allowing us to publish a few of his excellent photos kept in his extensive documentary archive. Our dear colleagues, Orna Almogi and Phuntshog Dorji (of Hamburg) provided us with a copy of the entire Samdo Gonpa Mss-Collection of Bla-ma Zhang's extensive writings – a tremendous donation. At a final stage of the work, particular mention must be recorded: Phillip Pierce and Matthew Akester (Kathmandu) for proof-reading sections of the work. We also gladly acknowledge our debt to Dr. Dan Martin (Jerusalem), who – always collaborative – at an early point saw the importance of the text and hence placed at our disposal his own preliminary transliteration of the *Gung thang dkar chag*. It probably was Dan's special and long-standing interest in the unusual and controversial character of Bla-ma Zhang that originally inspired us to dive into the fascinating world of this truly enigmatic medieval Tibetan master and his religious legacy.

Historical research and writing (based upon in-depth philological enquiries, and topographic and cartographic evaluations) often are solitary enterprises, conducted in strict self-absorbing solitude

over lengthy periods, a circumstance that goes a long way in explaining the long period the book was in its making. The book, like the earlier ones, could not have been made if the nature of the collaboration (of a truly complementary nature) and the chemistry between its authors were not so excellent: The present research team – over long period residing in Leipzig and Hummelberg (the research hermitage of Hazod) when they were not underway in Tibet – worked together in a fruitful way, a collaboration (one may also say intellectual cross-pollination) that allowed us to exchange stimulating views and insights or to test still inchoate hypotheses and unripe assumptions before they transmuted into workable theses and viable analyses. The working process throughout all phases was truly collaborative, where individual works have been written (so in the appendices) by any of its two main authors, these are indicated by name. By scrutinizing a large number of sources, written and physical ones, we have been able to gather a fairly rich harvest of information on Tshal Gung-thang and – albeit far from exhaustive – been able to sketch out the rough historical outline of this medieval polity and monastic establishment down through history. The working process chosen was time-consuming, and our time-table would have looked very different had electronic mail not been invented, which enabled us, unlike former times, to dispatch large amount of written material and documents between our separate research caves.

Careful readers will inevitably detect a number of typos. For remaining mistakes and blunders – and in order to anticipate any subsequent criticism for carelessness – without objection we readily hasten to acknowledge these and collectively express our *mea culpa* (*gyi na pa'i skyon*).

In the making of the book and in particular during fieldwork, we were again able to sap uncommonly significant information and received practical help and assistance from the locals. We feel immensely grateful to numerous nameless Tibetan informants for their prompt assistance, guidance and excellent contributions throughout the fieldwork. More often than not, the local informants were seemingly unaware of the truly precious information they handed over to us – their often fragmentary recollections that stemmed from oral tradition, their references to obsolete or now-lost toponyms, or to recondite historical persons, cults or remote events, the information gathered later proved significant, not seldom serving as a final (or missing) link in a long chain of evidence. It should never be overlooked by researchers that the local people, their places and native homes constitute both the starting point and the end point in any historical and socio-anthropological inquiry. The present study is not least dedicated to the people inhabiting those remote villages and valleys – with this book we hope a number of fragments and otherwise lost mosaics in the historical jigsaw puzzle now could be reassembled and reinstated in their proper context.

Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod
Leipzig – Hummelberg July 2007

INTRODUCTION



Il n'y a pas d'exercice du pouvoir sans une certaine économie des discours de vérité
Michel Foucault, *Collège de France* 14.01.1976

Now in the world, [except] me, there is no one; everything has become united into one: There is only me. People cannot comprehend my [sheer endless] qualities. Only I can properly comprehend the Dharma [Teaching]. The Buddha, Nāgārjuna and I, we three, have identical intent. [...] Only I can provide hope for those seeking the blessing from a Guru. [...] Only I can safeguard and uphold the Teaching of the Buddha (*buddhadeśanā*).

rNam thar phyi ma
[Writings of Bla-ma Zhang]

During the time [I] was engaged in warfare, I [solemnly] pledged that anyone killed would not be reborn in hell. [Even] if it involved the killing of one single monk, [his death and his remains] would produce rainbows and [other miraculous signs, such as] relics.

Even when I waged war, I never entertained any scruples about making a distinction between friend and foe. [On the contrary], except for the circumstance [that my warfare] was for the service of the [Buddhist] Teaching, not for a single moment did I do it for my own personal interest.

rNam thar mdor bsdus
[Writings of Bla-ma Zhang]

The gTsang-chab *klu mo* at that point offered me the entire Tibetan realm, having filled it with many costly items, such as the seven Precious Emblems of Kingship [i.e. those of a Cakravartin].

Ngar phug ma
[Writings of Bla-ma Zhang]

1. PROLOGUE

1.1 The Present Study and its Historical Context

This is the compelling story of Zhang sNa-nam brTson-'grus grags-pa (1123–1193), yogi, esoteric teacher of the Dharma, warlord and ruler in one person – a variety of identities that corresponds to his own extroverted, religio-political self-image. He is better known as Zhang g.Yu-brag-pa, Zhang Tshal-pa or Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang, named after his numerous hermitages and foundations, the most famous being his main seat: the monastic centre of Tshal Gung-thang close to lHa-sa in the heartland of upper Central Tibet.

In particular, it is the history of his extensive heritage, embodied in two main lines radiating out from his influential seat – namely, the religious and the secular thrones. The latter controlled in the 13th and 14th centuries sKyid-shod, the broad area around lHa-sa, in a hegemonic rule that from the second half of the 13th century was sanctioned by the court of the Yüan emperors. These "lords of sKyid-shod," as one source calls them, were the Tshal-pa, "those from Tshal," or more precisely: from Tshal and Gung-thang, two neighbouring districts which divided the institutions of the monastic and ruling centre between them. Gung-thang (or Celestial Plain) contains the main shrine, the Gung-thang *vihāra*, also known as *zhang gi gnas chen* or the Grand Pilgrimage Site of [Bla-ma] Zhang (today only partly preserved), an edifice which in its symbolic design – prescribed by Bla-ma Zhang himself – was intended to guarantee the spiritual unity of the Tshal-pa in time and place. In contrast to most of the numerous branch foundations, the religious institutions in these two places would survive the political downfall of the Tshal-pa in the 15th century and be taken over by the dGa'-ldan-pa, and later by the central government in the Dalai Lama period. Thus Tshal-pa history, which is presented here on the basis of the informative *Gung thang dkar chag* (see below), covers a period that reaches into the most recent past.

The quotations preceding this prologue suggest that the founding figure was an unusual character. He was indeed eccentric and at the same time seemingly complacent and self-confident in his behaviour – and hence invariably controversial; a charismatic personality who at all times proved capable of achieving his religio-political quests with all necessary authority. The underlying legitimacy was premised on a form of "charismatic leadership" that essentially combined a unique transmission of spiritual authority parred with a staunchly anti-intellectual stance. This legitimacy represented a significant historical bridge that sought a link, through the much-cherished reincarnation, to towering religious figures or to the *dharmarāja* of the glorious imperial epoch of Tibet. The emergence of Bla-ma Zhang and his religious polity was not a unique phenomenon. The second half of the 12th century was an epoch that witnessed waves of inexorable monastic expansionism: phases of consolidation of distinct orders, followed by the gradual rise of monastic rulers – often, as in the case of the Tshal-pa, with their main seat in the homeland of the founder. They displayed a similar pattern, consisting in an intimate symbiosis of religious authority invested in spiritual lines but often upheld by old aristocratic clans and the ruling gentry, who continued to draw their needed prestige and legitimacy from the same spiritual models.

From the 13th century on the political landscape of Central Tibet was largely characterized by a delicate coexistence or fragile equilibrium between regional hegemonies, local powers that occasio-

nally competed with one another for political power and influence or were locked in disputes over territorial expansion, but also competed for religious influence too. They viewed themselves as equal and largely autonomous regional polities – in an epoch bereft of a stable or durable centralized (state-based) authority. The political orientation, therefore, was quintessentially decentralistic. The supra-regional position of the Sa-skya from the mid-13th century was based on a temporary consensus premised on *Realpolitik*, in which they reigned under the auspices and good-will of the powerful Mongols, who largely followed a divide-and-rule strategy, prefering to govern from afar. The power of the Sa-skya-pa as temporary or local representative was outward, related to administrative affairs and organizational matters, and essentially had no lasting basis. We also find the "principle of regionalism" in force in the ensuing period of supra-regional power in Tibet, namely the Phag-mo gru-pa. The imperial claim of the sovereign (*gong ma*) from Yar-lung sNe'u-gdong was soon undermined by the falling away of allies, who tended regional interests and ignored central state authority. Looking back in time, the history of early and medieval Tibet underwent at one crucial point a phase that the chroniclers commonly call the "fragmentation of Tibet" (*bod sil bu*), a historical epoch to which the images of chaos and anarchy stick. The ensuing regional fragmentation of Tibet gave birth to a trait which would become emblematic of early Tibetan polity, in which an oscillation can be observed between two poles, namely decentralism vs. centralism. The "force of regionality" formed one stable factor and the actual regulatory mechanism in this pendulum of political orientations. It was represented in Tibet throughout lengthy periods by great lineages and aristocratic clans, who in the dynastic period had both sanctioned and underpinned the very institution of kingship, in a way that went far beyond just supporting a *primus inter pares* as the towering ruling centre. In the post-imperial period the selfsame lineages, ruling houses and clans re-emerged, now to function as local or regional rulers and as patrons (*sbyin bdag*), both creating and filling out the political space within which the new religious thrones were to establish themselves.

An imbalance in this spatial and political order of the post-dynastic period, however, soon made itself evident, in the form of a special legacy of the imperial period, and what would eventually become a prestigious, national commitment, associated from the very start with one key site: lHa-sa, the home of the lHa-ldan Jo-bo *gnyis*, whose temples (and above all the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang *vihāra alias* Jo-khang) gradually – in the wake of the Avalokiteśvara-*cum*-Srong-btsan sgam-po cult (from 11th cent.) – acquired the towering status of a national shrine (see App. II). It set the stage for and actually brought about a new geo-political constellation, which in turn led to what we tentatively shall describe as a "move or orientation towards lHa-sa." At first, a steady army of ritualists entered the epicentric lHa-sa valley from the late 12th century on, in order to offer their services for the protection of the temple; later this movement, whose elaborate ritual preoccupations embodied only limited political ambitions, developed a heightened political and even hegemonic interest in representing and controlling the lHa-sa valley: It was the lHa-sa *sa dpyad* zone – the area that in the early post-dynastic analyses is described as a sacred, or pacified, maṇḍala-shaped protective zone circumscribing the Jo-khang *sanctum* – that early on was proclaimed and would indeed become regarded as the centre of the Tibetan realm. One striking example of the fixation upon lHa-sa as the national centre of the Tibetan religious and historical universe in the later period was the institution of the grandiose lHa-sa *sMon lam chen mo* Festival, conceived and ceremoniously staged by bTsong-kha-pa (beginning of 15th century). This was immediately followed by the strategic erection of the great dGe-lugs-pa seats of dGa'-ldan, 'Bras-spungs and Se-ra in the core area of the

lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone. The civil wars in the late Phag-mo gru-pa period ultimately were wars over the supremacy in lHa-sa, at the end of which, as we know, stood the birth of the Dalai Lama, and the lasting presence of him, his institution and his government in the Holy City. Among the pre-existences of the Great Fifth, and forming an essential element of his legitimacy, was Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang. With good reason, for it was not least the visionary quest and deeds of this "little great man" – who simultaneously saw himself, among other things, as a "beggar," "worm" and "Buddha" – that marked a decisive turning point in the later political history of lHa-sa, sKyid-shod and beyond.

1.2 Previous Studies and a Note on the Methodological Approach

This is the historic context in which we meet Bla-ma Zhang and the Tshal-pa. A detailed history of Tshal Gung-thng is set forth in the basic text, the *Gung thang dkar chag*, an annotated translation of which forms the core of **Part I**. The translation is followed by a section with numerous cartographic and photographic illustrations (including older documentation on Tshal Gung-thang). The (mainly satellite-based) maps in this section and scattered throughout the adjoining studies of Part II are the result of an intensive effort to identify and locate historical toponyms, and so enrich the detailed study of the sources, with *in situ* surveys also representing an essential component. The "search for the place" is part of a method that seeks to combine texts and ethnography, in an attempt to establish what we may term historical geography – still far too rarely engaged in a Tibetological context – which here means: documenting political developments in place and time and making these historical developments visible in the landscape and topography.

Part II is a collection of essays, introduced individually below (see Chap. 3), while also offering a number of genealogical and abbatial tables. Some of the latter reach beyond Tshal-pa into the neighbouring districts of northern Central Tibet. The present study may be regarded as a politico-historical work: a study of regional hegemony, its political presuppositions and its underlying causal or reflexive links to cult and ritual. The history of the Tshal-pa in no way is exhausted by this approach, however. There is, for example, no systematic presentation of the teachings of Bla-ma Zhang and of the Tshal-pa doctrine (i.e. of the Oral Instruction Lineage of Tshal-pa; Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa, also called Zhang-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa). Core elements of the Bla-ma Zhang's teachings, in particular his unusual Mahāmudrā methods, and the complex individuality of this master have already been discussed in some detail in recent works (see especially Jackson 1994; and Martin 1992, 1996a, 2001a, b). A systematic treatment of the idiosyncratic Zhang teachings on the basis of his now available writings (below Chap. 3, and fn. 2) will be analyzed in a forthcoming study by C. Yamamoto (*Lama Zhang: Vision and Violence in 12th Century Tibet*).

The Tshal-pa have long been known to Tibetan historical research, particularly through the description in Kun-dga' rdo-rje's *Deb ther dmar po*, one of the main sources tapped by the *Gung thang dkar chag* (written 1782 A.D.) for the period up to the mid-15th century. This, the "[Tshal] Gung-thang Inventory" comprises 76 *folia*, and was recently presented in a German edition (translation and transliteration) by Karl-Heinz Everding (2000), – a contribution to Tibetan research which is acknowledged here, even if it has had no further influence on the present work. This is because the present translation was already available at the time of its publication, but more importantly the author, apparently intentionally, did not include any in-depth study in his publica-

tion. Hence the present work forms the first major Tshal-pa study in which all the relevant sources available today on Tshal and sKyid-shod have been taken into account.

In this in-depth study of the engrossing – and illuminating – history of Tshal Gung-thang, an attempt has been made to trace the roots, formation and shifting fortunes of this religio-political hegemony down through history and thus in a modest way contribute – much along the same lines as an earlier study of g.Ya'-bzang – to filling in another gap in our knowledge of a congeries of hegemonies (including their underlying clan network) that both shaped and determined the regional and eventually supraregional history in Tibet in medieval times. The methodological approach combines texts with social-anthropological and geographical analyses based on a variety of ethnographic data. The documentation includes adequate illustrative photographs along with data from interviews conducted on location in order to ensure that supplementary information from otherwise lost oral sources can enrich and widen our depiction of the institution. It is particularly hoped that the enquiry – and not least the large number of toponymical investigations to determine the territorial boundaries – may pave the way for future research and one day allow us to draw more reliable periodic historical maps of Tibet. Our study may in fact now serve as a sort of gazetteer. It may be seen as a contribution to historical toponymy and to the settlement history of these areas, and in particular to our ongoing unravelling of the innumerable cultic, religious and political bonds that linked people, institutions, sanctuaries and territories throughout the central sKyid-shod district of Tibet. In fact, a perusal of countless sources allows us more adequately to appreciate the key role played by the major clans in the formation and shaping of the history of Tibet. A minute documentation of the numerous great clans of Tibet proper is now targeted for futures studies.

The thematic diversity and the often lengthy annotations in the book may overstretch the indulgence of some readers. Yet it is precisely this extensive and "holistic" approach and the minute references that make the book useful as a "source reference book," and it is hoped that its use has only been enhanced by its comprehensive indices.

2. HEGEMONY AND PATRONAGE
Strategies of Survival and Expansion

The war-torn society that had grown out of the collaps of the Tibetan dynasty in the 9th century would facilitate the emergence of a large number of local feudal overlordships, noble houses or even, in rarer cases, regional kingships, all of which sprang (or claimed to spring) from the erstwhile dynasty. In their close vicinity were additional clan-based communities that often claimed territorial supremacy to land and other property based upon once-held dynastic appanages or royal grants of land received in return for allegiances. As in most medieval cultures, land rights and other forms of appanage (*dbang ris*, *sa ris*) offered to noble houses and clans were in dynastic times the very source of cohesion that ensured the royal house the loyalty vital for their survival as a confederation. Such power-sharing arrangements were the hallmark of Tibet in the ensuing centuries up at least to the 17th century, and in some cases even up until the 20th century.

With the gradual resurrection of ordered hegemonic structures, the newly formed and organized Buddhist clerical orders increasingly gained importance. Their establishment in Tibet was both

long and eventful, and paved the way for fundamental changes in the political and social texture of society. The absence of such organization had been a contributing reason for the collapse of the former dynasty. The gradual, eventually rigorous Buddhist orientation of society in the early renaissance period nurtured the rise of such clerical or spiritual authorities, yet those early centuries, an era shorn of a unified and state-based structure, only slowly witnessed a revival of monasticism, the success of which too often rested not only upon a strong charismatic figure or on an authoritative lineage of dignitaries, but also upon the ability to forge viable bonds with the ruling clans and patronizing communities that were willing to prop up and share power with the newly emerging force, most often by entering into patron-priest relationships of varying sorts. Once monastic institutions finally took shape in the initial period, their growth was seemingly rampant. Individual attempts were made to shape new religious institutions, or else resurgent attempts to strengthen monasticism saw the light of day. Most spectacular and decisive was the concerted return of the ten spiritual and ordained men to Central Tibet from their eastern exile in the 10–11th century. They later regrouped themselves into four factions (Klu-mes, rBa, 'Bring and Rag-shi). With their religious authority they vied for and finally won ample enduring support from their fellow kinsmen (their original clans) or from their most devoted adherents, who for their part provided territory and patronage for an increasing number of settlements. Without this initial clan support, the establishment would have met with a hapless fate. Once they gained a foot-hold, these initial establishments contributed to restructuring the political landscape for centuries to come.

The picture of this gradually evolving, largely clan-supported monasticism along with a concomitant flurry of individual ascetic movements was not unlike the situation in the Europe of the Middle Ages, where patrimonial societies were similarly dominated by a patchwork of aristocratic families, whose power remained unchallenged locally and who actively furthered the establishment and maintenance of ecclesiastical cloisters and clerical orders. It cannot be doubted that by the turn of the 11th century there were quite a number of local overlordships and minor feudal kingships and dynasties (*brtsad po*, *jo bo*, *bdag po*) in major districts that chequered the central, southern and western territories and tracts of Tibet. Their rule was usually characterized by archaic or classical patrimonialism in the Weberian sense. The more successful ones, such as West-Tibetan dynasties of Gu-ge or later Mang-yul Gung-thang, would prove more than ephemeral.

Up to the 12th century, with a burgeoning proliferation of religious institutions headed by figures like Bla-ma Zhang Rin-po-che, these regional powers remained remarkably disparate and mainly of limited influence, not venturing much beyond the borders they controlled. Naturally, the emergence and rise of a sectarian hegemony like his must in the first place be seen in the context of the establishment of the numerous bKa'-gdams-pa and bKa'-brgyud branch schools that mushroomed in a period fraught with abundant religious activity. Most of these movements and petty orders – interlocked in patron-protégé relationships – would, as said, prove relatively short-lived, and only in the case of strong and entrenched clan-based structures – for example, in case of the enduring Ga-zi house behind the sTag-lung-pa, the 'Khon house and clan behind the Sa-skya-pa or the sKyu-ra behind the decidedly more autarchic 'Bri-gung-pa – we do see entities that would stand the test of time, that is, proved coherent enough to survive up until recent times. Two basic factors proved indispensable for their proliferation: the rigorous assertion of authority, divine or worldly, and the ability to attract a steadily growing circle of followers (along with ample patronage).

It appears that nowhere were the dynamics which prevailed among those who bridged the divide between secularity and sanctity more strongly at work than in the story of the religious figure of Bla-ma Zhang, who was spurred by similar hegemonic aspiration. His is one of the most remarkable biographies in Tibet's history. Many features of his life are out of the ordinary. On more than one score, Bla-ma Zhang embodies what Weber had in mind with his concept of a charismatic authority. His religious vita and spiritual pursuits are astounding, manifesting quite personal, and even idiosyncratic traits. His truly intractable personality, his rare gift to win over large numbers of supporters, his vagaries and eccentricity, and not least his ruthless recourse to martial means to fulfill his objectives were all covered by the cloak of active compassion – the whole, it seems, a form of mystic *mahāmudrā*-style battlefield philosophy and activism (see also below Chap. 6.2). This was combined with a unique visionary terrestrial quest with which he pursued his hegemonic objectives and won over his many supporters to a sectarian polity that comprised both temporal and monastic institutions centered on his main seat in Tshal and on neighbouring Gung-thang. These complementary foundations of his sectarian polity occured successively in 1175 and 1187 A.D., and may in fact be considered the first of their kind in Tibet. His hegemony concomitantly paved the way for the rise of the order known as the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa, a branch which for some centuries would assert itself quite vigorously within the rich bKa'-brgyud traditions. At the close of his eventful life in 1193 A.D., Bla-ma Zhang, actively supported by a dedicated group of close associates headed by his loyal intendant, lieutenant and successor Dar-ma gzhon-nu, emerged as the unrivalled master of most of the sKyid-shod territory in the heartland of dBus, and as the first sovereign post-imperial ruler of large tracts of northern Central Tibet, which since late dynastic times was emerging as the centre of Tibetan political and cultural life.

Like almost any institution and hegemony in Tibetan history planned so as to survive almost *in perpetuum*, but too often proving fragile and ephemeral, Zhang Rin-po-che's hegemony in Tshal across the sKyid-chu River from lHa-sa would itself soon be drawn into the whirlpool of local conflicts, and within less than a century be challenged and eventually eclipsed by stronger forces that, attuned to the course of history, had allied themselves with strong foreign powers. It was as if his small empire, like so many other petty hegemonies, was from the outset destined to become exhausted, vulnerable, and incapable of developing strategies for either sustaining, upholding or even sharing power to ensure its long-term survival. It appears that fragile polities in medieval Tibet never fully execised any absolute suzerainty over their territories. Soon after its establishment, the Tshal-pa, like so many other such religious polities in Central Tibet, succeeded in forging bonds with the moribund Xia (Mi-nyag) empire, not least through the active proselytic work of a few religious figures, and like other sects, they were quick to realize the benefit from being on good terms with the rising Mongol empire and their pious rulers, once the latter had emerged on the scene in Tibet. All along it exercised relative autonomy, first as a myriarchy, and later as a local dependency at the mercy of larger regional powers: initially the Sa-skya regional supremacy, then the Phag-mo-gru-pa, followed gradually by yet another dependency of the latter, the sNe'u-pa, and then – after a short period under the Karma-pa – the sKyid-shod-pa, which finally came under the dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung*. Sharing thus the fate of most contemporary entities, the Tshal-pa were never to regain their past glory, and their institutions and territories finally became absorbed into other hegemonic powers. Their integration into the mainstream of contemporary history, their shifting subordination to the rule of others and their final absorption into the dGa'-ldan theocratic regime mark the stages in the history of Tshal Gung-thang.

3. THE *GUNG THANG DKAR CHAG*
Its Sources and the Structure of the Present Book

Grammata sola carent fato, mortemque repellunt
Hrabanus Maurus (776–865)

The present study is largely based upon a text already briefly mentioned above (Chap. 1.2), the *Gung thang dkar chag* (abbr. *GT*), a work, long overlooked and until recently seldom quoted, which delineates the secular and ecclesiastic history of Tshal Gung-thang. It was written, or rather compiled, by 'Jog-ri-pa Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin 'phrin-las rnam-rgyal at the end of 1782 A.D.[1] As a text, it resembles the sort of pilgrim's guidebook so popular as a genre in Tibet, but in this case fortunately a detailed one that includes a minute inventory and history of the different parts of the temple complex as seen from a late 18th-century perspective. The author expressly records the *causa scribendi* (along the lines of the obligatory *prajoyana* in traditional Buddhist scholastic writings): to provide documentation of the legitimacy – and an endorsement of the new identity and function – of the Gung-thang *vihāra*. True to the nature of a *dkar chag*, *GT* thus basically contains a description of the origin and erection of the religious site in question and an inventory of the religious items kept there. 'Jog-ri-pa proves to be a very traditional, loyal dGe-lugs-pa author, for his entire depiction of Tshal Gung-thang monastery is treated from the perspective resulting from the appropriation of the site by the dGe-ldan-pa in the 17th century. The author's orthodox presentation is suffused with dGe-lugs ideology and the overly historical proclivities characteristic of the latter. In a wider sense, *GT* is nothing but a minute reappraisal, – an apology so to speak – of the history, the modalities of as well as the ideological and spiritual rationale behind the annexation or absorption of Tshal and its institutions into the wider dGe-lugs monastic network and overarching hegemony. This approach, along with the well-known selectivity and partisan mode characterizing almost all Tibetan historiographical writing, necessarily imposed strict limits on the objectivity of its compiler, who never fails to display generous praise of his own creed.

Given *GT*'s informative content, a virtually complete translation of it will constitute the core part of the present book (= **Part I**). Our general depiction of the life of Bla-ma Zhang and his institution has been rewardingly enriched by the fact that his writings are largely extant, not least his mystic-esoteric and auto-biographical *bKa' rgya ma* and *bKa' 'bum* collections,[2] which now are

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[1] His autobiography is titled *Dvags shel Nor bu'i phreng ba*.

[2] A large number of his writings were indited or compiled by Bla-ma Zhang himself during his lifetime, and a still larger part by a number of his most prominent disciples immediately following his passing. The compilation of the two main collections that contain his collected writings underwent some redaction. The first such recorded attempt appears to have taken place in the early 13th century under the supervision of the 11th Yang-dgon throne-holder Byang-chub bzang-po. This was followed by a more systematical approach by *drung chen* Kun-dga' rdo-rje who had a proper compilation of manuscripts made. For its contents and further transmissional history, see *DL5 gSan yig II* 88b6–99b2. The most complete edition so far of Zhang's writings was published in 2004 in Kathmandu. A minute study of the contents of his complete works deserves a separate analysis.

By the fall of the main seat itself, at the close of the 15th century, the so-called *Zhang Tshal pa'i bka' brgyud gser phreng* ("Golden Rosary of Tshal-pa Teachings") – which, as common in bKa'-brgyud lineages, the lives of the head figures of the Tshal-pa tradition and their teachings were delineated – had almost disappeared, especially at Tshal Gung-thang. Aside from Central Tibet proper (dBus), it is reported that texts and biographical material relating to the

accessible to us in different editions. Fortunately too for our present purposes, the autobiographical material left by Bla-ma Zhang is extant and quite voluminous, bearing witness to the enduring spiritual significance of this excentric 12th-century master. It may in fact be argued that for no other early medieval master do we possess such diverse autobiographical writings. Of signal importance, too, were the writings of the learned Tshal-dpon Kun-dga' rdo-rje (i.e. dGe-ba'i blo-gros). Deplorably, most of his otherwise important texts have not survived: aside from his basic *Deb dmar*, we have an abbreviated biographical (*rnam thar bsdus pa*) commentary dealing with Bla-ma Zhang, namely the *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* (written 1353 A.D.) and the *Zhang rin po che la gSol ba 'debs pa'i rab tu byed pa*. Still remaining to be discovered, and possibly totally unrelated to the latter work, is (an apparently extensive) Bla-ma Zhang biography written by him (see *dPe dkon* 25). By one stroke of luck, though, we came across a rare copy of the biography of Tshal-pa sMon-lam rdo-rje written by the same Kun-dga' rdo-rje – a text that was also consulted by 'Jog-ri-pa. It is reproduced in the present book (see below). In addition, we could avail ourselves of a rare biography of Bla-ma Zhang written by Sangs-rgyas ras-pa entitled *Bla ma Zhang gi rnam thar zin bris*,[3] a text evidently not consulted by our author. On the other hand, the latter made use of the very rare Supplement to the *Deb dmar*, commonly known as *mKhas pa'i yid 'phrog* (though it is currently unavailable, we are aware that at least one Ms copy has survived in Tibet which hopefully will one day be placed at the disposal of the scholarly community). 'Jog-ri-pa also used other rare Tshal material, such as a versified biography of Bla-ma Zhang entitled *Zhang rin po che gsol 'debs* written by the late-17th-century Blo-bzang lhun-grub. Further, he appears to have had access to later sources for the political history of Central Tibet, such as the still extant *sKyid shod dGa' ldan pa'i gdung rabs*. Another work consulted by 'Jog-ri-pa, but not extant today, was important writings of the aforementioned 9th Tshal-pa *khri dpon*, sMon-lam rdo-rje, including the *Zhang bka' brgyud rnams la gsol 'debs byin rlabs rgyun 'bebs*, the *Sems bskyed chen mo* according to the Tshal-pa tradition and, particularly important, the biography of mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes, the first throne-holder of Tshal Yang-dgon after the demise of its founder, Bla-ma Zhang, in 1193 A.D.

Vast in scope, but no less rewarding, were a large number of discrete sources, whether historiographical, biographical or esoteric, which allowed us to construe a fairly representative – though by no means exhaustive – picture of the Tshal institution, its numerous branches and, not least, many of their main personalities. Any future access to the huge and largely still unexplored 'Bras-spungs library and the *rarissima* holdings kept in the Potala Palace library will close a number of additional gaps in our present knowledge of persons, places and institutions pertinent not only to the history of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa, but also to other little-known or long-forgotten aspects of Tibet's rich sectarian and regional history. One of the major challenges of medieval historiography dealing with Tibetological materials has to do with the circumstance that our knowledge and understanding of the methods and techniques of argumentation and modes of

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Tshal-pa were also becoming rare in [eastern] gTsang district, at least by the same period – possibly with the exception of specifically Tshal-related works and popular Mahākāla teaching cycles. Cf. the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (435–37, 442) and *Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan mgur 'bum* 27a5–6 (and also the latter's biography 16b4–17a2; see also F.-K. Ehrhard 2000b: 53–54). It was in the 1490's that Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1475–1530) received, in the presence of *Rin po che* bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, the transmission of *Zhang gi rnam thar* and *Zhang gi lam mchog mthar thug*.

[3] See also *Drepung Catalogue* 016948.

perception conveyed in much written literature is, from the modern viewpoint, restricted. As with similar literature, the rites of power, whether classified as instrumental, authoritative or coercive – in short, what may be called the ritual execution of power – often remain undecipherable, no doubt because the motives underlying such behaviour only rarely were addressed and commented upon in the indigenous sources – contrary to medieval East Asian and European historiography (see e.g. Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale*). Moreover, questions relating to the system of social and ethic values, to ceremonial and hierarchial rank and to hegemonic pursuits are of signal importance, because social and cultural conventions defined the nature of the basic rights and obligations in society as much as they symbolized and instantiated the nature of such relations, – often more essentially than political acts of power themselves. The unravelling of rituals in a Tibetan context remains a true challenge for future research.

The *GT* print was the work of rJe-btsun Grags-pa mkhas-grub, who was also involved along with lHa-btsun mchog gi sprul-sku Blo-bzang 'Jam-dpal rab-rgyas, – probably around the same period as *GT* was written, – in a reissue of the five volume edition of Bla-ma Zhang's *bka' 'bum* (cf. the colophon *smon tshig* to *Zhang bka' 'bum II*, *passim*). *GT* itself bears all the marks (which here means limitations) of traditional historiographical and biographical writings in Tibet, garbed as this genre is in an ideological mode of writing: episodes and persons are often treated to pious interpretations and imaginative descriptions, penned in an attempt to do justice to their assumed religious role, real or otherwise. As with the prototypical Tibetan *chos 'byung* genre, then, the modes of profane and ecclesiastical historiography merge.

Part II of the study contains a number of appendices: four lengthy essays (App. I–IV), a compilation of tables (App. V. Table 1–13), and the photographical reproduction of two Tibetan manuscripts (App. VI).

Appendix I examines two important medieval *thangka* icons exuding profound political, religious and ancestral authority. They represent two influential masters and patriarchs of lHa-sa in the late 13th century, Bla-ma Zhang and his immediate predecessor, the gNyos ruler Grags-pa-dpal. Both inscriptional *thangka* allow us a rare glimpse into the *modus operandi* of political and ritual symbolism in Tibet. By unravelling the deeper background behind these art objects, this appendix should be of particular interest to art historians; it provides rich evidence of the historical information and other available data in indigenous Tibetan sources. Such data can shed light not only on the function and historical background of the objects but also to both date and contextualize such masterpieces with far greater precision.

The lengthy **Appendix II** is a preliminary attempt to explore the main patterns in the cultic, historical and political history of the lHa-sa area from the 12th to the 17th century at the latest. In many ways, the essay represents the first serious attempt to tell the eventful history of the lHa-sa valley. It traces the key actors involved in this grand narrative, along with the most prominent clans in the area, and discusses at some length the cultic activities, the basic purposes and the practical strategies behind the attempt to safeguard the central Jo-khang *sanctum* (an edifice that heralded the birth of lHa-sa as an urban enclave and community) and not least a number of crucial issues relating to how nature, with its unpredictable hydrological whims, remained a perpetual challenge to the valley and its changing rulers and population. Finally, it provides minute details on how the

overriding importance of introducing flood-control policies and other forms of natural disaster management both defined and shaped the prolonged struggle for local hegemony and rule. The floods in lHa-sa – *terra sacra* at stake – indeed made for a continuously unfolding story of epic dimensions. The long conflict over local supremacy was fueled by ideological motives, had ritual implications and required different means of asserting hegemonic claims. It was a struggle principally rooted in basic questions of symbols and the legitimacy of their representation rather than mere profane concerns and objectives.

Appendix III deals with the establishment and expansion of the Tshal-pa myriarchy (*khri skor*), which consisted of over forty Tshal-pa *mi sde* or tax-paying units. The incorporation of these *mi sde* areas into a "Tshal-pa territory" goes back to the inchoate phase of the political history of the Tshal-pa, the period of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang and his immediate disciples. The official establishment of the myriarchy in the 1260's followed a largely prescribed territorial structure. The appendix offers some new insights into this crucial period of Mongol Yüan dominance (*ca*. 1250–1368) in Tibet.

Appendix IV returns to a number of intriguing issues lurking behind the mythical beginnings of the Tshal-pa hegemony. It includes a lengthy discussion of the many historical toponyms relating to the districts east of lHa-sa, and the more restricted area of Tshal and Gung-thang in particular. This section is preceded by an analysis of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone and of specific events within the mythical history of the lHa-sa valley, and it in turn leads to a discussion of significant ritual institutions in Tshal, such as that of the protective deities Pehar and Gung-thang lha-mo, and also the important festival of Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa*.

Appendix V comprises 13 lengthy tables which delineate and document in a selective piecemeal form a number of central religious seats and institutions (Tables 1–3, Table 6; 8–12) and clan histories (Table 1.2; Table 7), including tables that enumerate the entire spectrum of teachers and disciples of the founder figure Bla-ma Zhang (Table 4–5). These tables in the first place are meant to serve as a convenient reference tool for researchers and the interested public alike. While Tables 1–3 more or less provide a summary of previously mentioned facts, the other tables often provide more extensive information. Thus Tables 10–12 include lists of the throne-holders of neighbouring religious institutions in and around sKyid-shod, such as those of 'Bri-gung, sTag-lung, rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang or of the so-called Six Seminars (*chos grva drug*) of sKyid-shod, in some cases drawing on little known sources. Here above all the *sKyor mo lung chos 'byung* should be mentioned, which, as well as the succession of abbots of the important monastery and college of sKyor-mo-lung (in lower sTod-lung), also includes important supplementary information on the Phag-mo-gru-pa polity in the lHa-sa valley of the 15th and 16th centuries. The governor lists of the most important seats (*rdzong*) in this area refer to the latter, the Phag-mo gru-pa presence in sKyid-shod (Table V.12.1–3).

Finally, **Appendix VI** is the facsimile edition of the *Gung thang dkar chag* (76 *folia*) and of the 69-folio biography of the 9th Tshal-pa ruler *drung chen* sMon-lam rdo-rje (1284–1346/7), the latter text written by sMon-lam rdo-rje's son and successor Kun-dga' rdo-rje. The *rnam thar* is among the most valuable specifically Tshal-pa sources that have come to light recently, and deserves to be made accessible to a broader audience in this form. The biography is a veritable gold mine of information on the 14th-century Tibeto-Mongol relationship, on a par with contemporary sources such as *Rlangs*. As the colophon of the only surviving manuscript explicates, the bio-

graphy existed in three versions. The appendix closes with a list of works by sMon-lam rdo-rje. These texts are largely inaccessible or lost and, together with other works that one day may come to light, would constitute the starting point for further studies of Tshal-pa history.

4. SKYID-SHOD – A KEY DISTRICT OF NORTHERN CENTRAL TIBET
A Brief Historico-Geographical Delimitation

The following chapter must be regarded as a necessary prolegomenon to a full-fledged study of the history of sKyid-shod and eventually of the entire lHa-sa area, the cultural meltingpot and historic heartland of Tibet. The sKyid-chu River (older forms or spellings, Kyi-cu or sKyi-chu, relate to the pre-imperial Kyi clan)[4], a life-giving artery affording watery supply, a transportation and communication that winds its way from north-east to south-west down through the district, together with its many tributaries both defines and holds sway over the area of northern Central Tibet. Today the larger sKyid-chu area includes lHa-sa (currently a large city district) and the surrounding counties of sTag-rtse, Mal-gro, lHun-grub, 'Dam-gzhung, sTod-lung bDe-chen and Chu-shur [~ -shul].[5]

sKyid-shod (i.e. "Low Tract of the sKyid[-chu] river [valley]"), as the main part of the sKyid-chu region usually is called in post-dynastic sources, is hardly easy to define in purely historico-geographical terms, because both the underlying geographical concepts and the actual demarcation of its loosely drawn borders shifted over time. The sKyi[d] River rises in the gNyan-chen Thang-lha mountains; the local tradition names sNying-ri, the "heart" of gNyan-chen Thang-lha (a hill near sNying-grong), as the (mythical) source of the river, which in its upper section is called lHa-chu ("River of the God," i.e. Thang-lha). This corresponds to the course from sNying-grong approximately as far as Pho-mdo, the area around the mouths of the two main tributaries, the Rva-sgreng gTsang-po coming from the north, and the Phag-chu from the south-west. Together with the lHa-chu section of dBu-ru-lung (Middle Horn valley), these two side valleys form the core area of the district known as Byang (north). From the confluence downwards into the area of Klung-shod, the river is also known as the Rong-chu (named after the area east of Pho-mdo). The name sKyid-chu is actually only current from northern Mal-gro, the area around the mouth of the 'Bri-gung gTsang-po (also known as gZho-rong-chu). In a great curve accross the central southern district of Mal-gro (where the main tributary of Mal-gro gTsang-po feeds into it), the river reaches the central sKyid-chu tract, historically the most significant section of sKyid-shod. The central tributary is here the 'Phan-po-chu, which flows from the similarly named 'Phan-po valley, which stretches from north-west to the east. This district once was the heartland of the mighty pre-imperial principality of Ngas-po, the submission and annexation of which at the close of the 6th and the beginning

[4] One origin myth of the Kyi clan (also sKyi, Khyi) and the Kyi people (Kyi-mi) is to be found in *Ka khol ma* 305–307. This story also contains an etymological explanation for the toponymical change from Kyi to sKyid. It says that the Kyi originally go back to an incestious group of four brothers and sisters from 'Phan-yul, and developed to become organized into the "seven villages of the the Kyi-people" (*kyi mi grong bdun*) of dBu-ru sKyid-shod, described as settlements of communes of craftsmen who were happy (*skyid*) to work for Srong-btsan sgam-po, i.e. to help to erect his temples (see also TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 53, *et passim*). One of the *grong bdun* may refer to the sKyid-grong of Zhogs, the latter a valley and dsitrict situated at the border between 'Phan-yul and sKyid-shod. For Kyi, see also fn. 10.

[5] A certain sKyi-shod is registered in possibly old Bon sources that reflect a traditional classificatory scheme where it is listed as one of their "eighteen great -shod" or districts. It remains wholly open, however, whether it refers to the huge sKyid-shod district of Central Tibet or not (cf. *Srid pa rgyud kha byang* 62; Dagkar 1997: 695).

of the 7th century by the Yar-lung confederation marks the genesis of the Tibetan Empire. The Yar-lung *rgyal po* gNam-ri srong-btsan, who had arrived from the south on his journey towards northern Central Tibet, founded a residence in rGya-ma (formerly sNon or Yar-snon), a side valley of the sKyid-chu which would be the birthplace of his heir and successor, Srong-btsan sgam-po. The latter is said to have erected his *sku mkhar* (or personal fortress) on the hilltop of dMar-po-ri situated in the narrow lHa-sa valley floor (in the imperial period usually known under the name of Ra-sa). lHa-sa (Ra-sa) was not a permanent seat of the founder king; on the contrary, similarly to

The sKyid-chu Area: Counties and District Centres*

LHA-SA (City Area District) [29°40'N 90°08'E] comprising: sNa-chen [29°39'N 91°11'E], Nyang-bran [29°42'N 91°06'E], Dog-sde [29°42'N 91°09'E], Tshal Gung-thang [29°37'N 91°13'E].

The capital administers six counties (*rdzong*), namely:

STAG-RTSE County: bDe-chen [29°40'N 91°22'E], bSam-grub-gling [29°39'N 91°18'E], gTsang-t[h]og [29°46'N 91°29'E], La-mo [29°49'N 91°33'E], Chu-mda' [29°50'N 91°38'E], Dar-rgyas [29°45'N 91°25'E], Thang-dga' [29°51'N 91°33'E], Zhog[s]-mda' [29°50'N 91°28'E], 'Brom-stod [29°42'N 91°23'E].

MAL-GRO GUNG-DKAR County: Gung-dkar [29°49'N 91°43'E], Klong-grol-sgang [30°03'N 91°41'E], Gad-la-hor [30°04'N 91°45'E], rTsa-zhol [30°03'N 91°49'E], Nyi-ma lcang-ra [29°59'N 91°54'E], Yangs-ri-sgang [30°00'N 91°59'E], Ro-mdo-sgang [30°06'N 92°12'E], sPang-mda' [29°54'N 91°48'E], rGya-ma [29°45'N 91°40'E], Ru-thog [29°41'N 92°14'E], Thang-skya [29°53'N 91°46'E], Dvags-pa [29°49'N 91°45'E], Bya-ra-mdo [29°48'N 91°49'E], bKra-shis-sgang [29°45'N 91°54'E], gZi-sbug [29°41'N 91°49'E], rMam-pa [30° 05'N 92°18'E].

LHUN-GRUB County: dGa'-ldan chos-'khor [29°54'N 91°15'E], mTsho-stod [29°56'N 91°01'E], gSum-'phreng [29°58'N 91°15'E], Byang-kha [29°57'N 91°08'E], Gad-po [29°54'N 91°01'E], Bye-ma [30°01'N 91°08'E], dPal-'byor-gling [29°51'N 91°23'E], Grub-bgya [29°52'N 91°16'E], lCang-ra-shar [29°52'N 91°20'E], mKhar-rtse [29°54'N 91°10'E], Yul-snga [29°56'N 91°22'E], Phu-mdo [30°10'N 91°20'E], Ngar-nang [30°06'N 91°29'E], lHa-khang [30°04'N 91°33'E], dBu-ru-lung [30°16'N 91°15'E], gTsang-gzhung [30°21'N 91°41'E], bCom-mdo [30°17'N 91°24'E], sTag-lung [30°09'N 91°13'E].

'DAM-GZHUNG County: 'Dam-chu-kha [30°28'N 91°06'E], Yangs-pa-can [30°05'N 89°32'E], gNam-mtsho [30°48'N 91°10'E], Kong-thang [30°29'N 91°07'E], sNying-drung [30°22'N 89°54'E], rGyas-dar [29°52'N 90°21'E], dBu-ma-thang [30°33'N 91°22'E], Lung-ring [30°30'N 91°20'E].

STOD-LUNG BDE-CHEN County: gDong-dkar [29°38'N 90°59'E]; rGu-rum [29°43'N 90°46'E]; sNa-mkhar [29°44'N 90°40'E]; gNas-chung [29°37'N 90°59'E], sByar-rags [29°39'N 90°55'E], sNe'u [29°37'N 91°05'E], gSang-mda' [29°34'N 91°05'E], bDe-chen [29°58'N 90°42'E], Chu-bzang [29°59'N 90°44'E], dMar [29°51'N 90°44'E].

CHU-SHUR County: Chu-shur [29°21'N 90°43'E], mNyes-thang [29°33'N 90°57'E], Nam-mkha' [29°54'N 90°42'E], Tshal-sna [29°26'N 90°57'E], rTa-dkar [29°20'N 90°40'E], mTshar-pa-nang [29°23'N 90°50'E], Chu-phu [29°24'N 90°43'E], Bye-nub [29°18'N 90°37'E], Tshva-rags [29°15'N 90°31'E], Sa-smad [29°15'N 90°28'E], gNam [29°27'N 90°54'E].

* The geographical positions (longitude/latitude) follow here (and in most cases throughout the book where no own GPS data exist) the details given in the *Xixang Dimingshi* (*XD*). It should be noted that this extremely valuable catalogue of place-names does contain some errors apparently ascribable to mistranscriptions by the editors.

the later generations of emperors during which the "mobile centre" became a characteristic feature of the state organization (Hazod 2003; Dotson, *forthcoming*), he actually resided alternatively in different parts of Central Tibet – in the earlier phase of his reign especially in the section of upper sKyid-shod (cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 15, *passim*). Here also the well-known Nyen-kar, one of the most frequented royal residence places, is situated, namely in Lo, the side valley of the sKyid-chu due east of 'Phan-po Zhogs (see below fn. 7).

'Phan-yul itself spreads out between the passes of sGo-la (north of Dog-ste/sde) and Chag-la. Beyond this point the area is called Byang (e.g. Byang sTag-lung, Byang Rva-sgreng, etc.); to the east it borders on Klung-shod and Mal-gro. The area south of sGo-la (i.e. the Dog-sde valley and Nyang-bran) is also regarded as part of sKyid-shod. Towards the west and south-west, 'Phan-yul borders on sTod-lung,[6] its side valleys towards the south-east reaching as far as sNye-mo and Chu-shul. The sTod-lung-chu flows south of lHa-sa, and opposite sNe'u / Ra-ma-gang, where it empties into the sKyid-chu. The eastern bank of the sKyid-chu is traditionally regarded as part of sTod-lung. The latter is evidently identical with the ancient principality of sTod-ro Lung-gsum (see App. IV: Chap. 3). The stretch of land defined by sNe'u *rdzong* – the once imposing fortress on the eastern bank of the sKyid-chu and home of the sNe[l]/sNe'u-pa ruling house (below, Chap. 9.1) – constitutes the border between upper and lower sKyid-shod (i.e. sKyid-shod-stod, and -smad). The area downstream from lHa-sa is generally called sKyid-smad, an indication that the division into sKyid-stod and -smad was made from the vantage point of lHa-sa itself. In the sources, the toponyms encountered to the south of this area are all identified as being part of sKyid-smad (cf. e.g. sNye-thang of sKyid-smad or gSang-mda'/-phu of sKyid-smad). In the south-eastern direction, sKyid-smad district reached as far as Yar-rgyab Gong-dkar *rdzong*, seat of the important 14th-century Yar-rgyab rulers. It must be assumed that it was in this section of lower sKyi that the ancient principality of sKyi-ro (and the territory of the "sKyi dynasty", see *TDD* 197 [l. 2]) was situated, the centre of which is given as lJang-sngon. The latter toponym may refer to the present-day lCang (lJang) in sKyid-smad (Hazod 2003).

lHa-sa itself is commonly regarded as the core part or heartland (*mthil*) of sKyid-shod (cf. e.g. *Ka khol ma* 201; *Thang stong rnam thar II* 213; *DL4* 23b3) and further (post-dynastic) epithets corroborating its centrality include *dBus phyogs nor 'dzin gyi lte ba* (*'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 90, 95). It sits firmly entrenched on a marshy basin in a mountain-fringed valley that stretches out on a plain in the middle reaches of the sKyid-chu. Upwards (= eastwards) from lHa-sa, at least up to Ba-lam or neighbouring lDan-ma (also known as sKyi[d]-stod kyi lDan) is the section of the middle sKyid-chu referred to as the well-known lHa-sa *sa dpyad* (i.e. the geomantic classification of the landscape of the greater lHa-sa valley ascribed to the Chinese consort of Srong-btsan sgam-po). It represents an external buffer zone around the sanctuary of the Jo-khang, usually demarcated by four mountains in

[6] From the early dynastic period, western or upper 'Phan-yul, between the Ra-ma valley and the present-day Bye-ma district constituted a core area within this region north of lHa-sa, where the two chiliarchies of the 'Phan-yul *stong sde* and the bodyguard *stong sde* can be localised (these are the homelands of the clans who dominated these districts, namely the sGro, rMa and Ngan-lam). In the same area is situated the imperial *yul sde* district of Za-gad, where Srong-btsan sgam-po had a residence and indeed passed away (in 649 A.D.). The site is not far from the village of mGar-yul, one of the many mGar sites in Central Tibet (mGar-grong, -yul, -khang, -lung) which local tradition describes as places associated with the great councillor mGar sTong-btsan, such as those in upper and lower sTod-lung), in Mal-gro and not least in Ram-pa and Grib, where the later mGar *dpon po* of Tshal came from (see App. IV: Chap. 2).

sTod-lung-mda' (W), Dog-ste (N), Grib (S) and sTag-rtse/Ba-lam (E). This model arguably originated in the 11th century and served as a scheme for the establishment of later institutions within the lHa-sa valley, which could aptly be called the "lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone" (lHa-sa *dkyil 'khor steng*), a centre-periphery imagery which reflects the well-known penchant among Tibetans for numerical schemes, in this case the quadripartite Indic mandalic model (cf. Macdonald 1997 *passim* for its wide application to the Tibetan landscape; cf. also App. II: Chap. 1; App. IV: Chap. 2). The notion of lHa-sa as a geo-political axis of orientation is later heightened by the celebrated identification of lHa-ldan/lHa-sa as a Tibetan rDo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana), a parallel to the Buddhist spiritual centre of India, with the further connection of being the centre of the world or of the universe. A similar concept underlies the epithet sKyid-shod Chos kyi 'byung-gnas, "sKyid-shod – the Origin of Dharma" (e.g. *sKyor lung chos 'byung* 44b), born out of the belief that lHa-sa was the centre of centres. This geo-political concept of a spiritual fulcrum of lHa-sa would expand to include the district containing the later monastic models of Tshal Gung-thang, the cultic history of which in many ways is closely linked to the older history and religious geography of lHa-sa (for further discussion, see App. IV).

According to the description of the territorial division of Tibet proper in post-dynastic sources, lHa-sa, or more precisely the Ra-mo-che temple, stood at the centre of the Central Horn province (dBu-ru), one of the Four Horns into which (from the 8th century onwards) the key zones of the Tibetan Empire were divided. The borders of dBu-ru are listed with the toponyms sNye-mo (= E), 'Ol-kha (= W), Prags (Srag) (= N) and rMa-la la-brgyud (= S); see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: fn. 14). The southern border (= the northern border of the Left Horn, g.Yo-ru, the later lHo-kha) was obviously the rGod-dkar-la mountain range, a watershed between the middle sKyid-chu area and the northern valleys of gTsang-po. A network of paths and roads from time immemorial connected these two river zones, such as the routes leading from gSang-phu or from Grib to 'Phrang-po (and onwards to rDo-rje-brag, etc.), from Zhal (close to Tshal Gung-thang) to sGrags, from sTag-rtse (through the Shing-tshang valley via the rGod-dkar-la pass) to mChims-phu and bSam-yas, from lHas-phu to Upper 'On (and onwards to bSam-yas or rDo, etc.), from rGya-ma to Upper 'On, from gZi-sbug and Ru-thog (both located in the eastern part of Mal-gro) to Upper 'On or 'Ol-kha and Zangs-ri.

The Central Horn was early divided into two large regions (dBu-ru-stod and -smad), and also into a number of minor military and civil district units. The sources variably register 10 to 13 military thousand districts (*stong sde*) and 10 to 17 additional administrative units, the *yul sde* or *yul dpon tshan* (see App. IV: fn. 58). Two of the *stong sde* were sKyi-stod and sKyi-smad, militarily governed (*ru dpon*, *dmag dpon*) by the famous dBas/dBa' clan (cf. e.g. *lDe'u-2* 261; *Lo paṇ bka' thang yig* 439.1). Members of it appear to have owned large estates in the middle sKyi-chu region.[7] The same clan thus was also in command (*dmag dpon*; *ru dpon*) of the lower (Central) Horn, which provides a rough idea of where the border between upper and lower dBu-ru ran. A late source registers mTha'-rgyas (located on the heights above the mouth of 'Phan-po-chu) as bordering dBu-ru-stod and -smad (*DL6* 423).

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[7] See Richardson 1998: 231; one homeland of the clan at sKyid-chu was Ba-lam, possibly to identify as a later branch settlement, although the *dbang ris* catalogue (see below) gives Za-gad (in 'Phan-yul, see above fn. 6) as the land of the dBas (dBa's, dBa') minister, perhaps meaning dBa's dByi-tshab Phangs-to-re, who served under the *btsan po* gNam-ri srong-btsan and Srong-btsan sgam-po. The same minister is mentioned in connection with La-mo (or La-mo chag-pa-prum, the site of the later La-mo Tshangs-pa-lcog in sKyid-shod), where he is reported to have invited Khri Srong-btsan (Srong-btsan sgam-po) who at that point sojourned in Nyen-kar (*TDD* 210f.). This is the pre-imperial seat of Nyen-kar

One old geographical name relating to dBu-ru is dBu-ru-shod or dBu-ru shod-chen (Great Lower Tract of dBu-ru), a designation which apparently refers to the whole sKyid-chu region.[8] It is known from the *dbang ris* (territorial shares of power) catalogue, which reports on particular divisions of land in Tibet proper between the *btsan po* and his allied clans (*mKhas pa'i dga ston* 186f.; cf. also Vitali 2004: 118). dBu-ru shod-chen is here the territory which was directly subject to the emperor (*btsan po mnga' bdag*). One may see a contradiction in this between the clan-specific allocations of the *stong sde*, according to which this area was subject militarily to the dBas clan; but the details of the district record refer to the 8th century, whereas the *dbang ris* list probably reflects a much older state of affairs (presumably from the period of Srong-btsan sgam-po).

A number of toponyms registered as dynastic sites in the *Dunhuang Annals* (i.e. places of royal residence and/or council assembly) are located within the narrow sKyid-chu region, prominent among them being those ancient toponyms that were prefixed by [s]Kyi, such as sKyi Glags (i.e. Glags Ba-lam), sKyi lHas (south-west of dGa'-ldan), sKyi Bur (the present day Ra-stod valley, south-west of sNye-thang) and sKyi rNams (south of Bur).[9] Based on the locations corresponding to these toponyms, one immediately recognizes that the sKyi region comprised the valleys south of the middle sKyi-chu (up to the end of the valleys) and the eastern and western side valleys of lower sKyi, a circumstance which had some bearing on the subsequent border designations of sKyi[d]-shod. According to the late *'Dzam gling rgyas bshad* (Wylie 1962: 74). sKyid-shod begins east of gTsang sNye-mo, and thus includes areas within present-day Chu-shul county. The eastward extension of the lower sKyid reaches at least as far as 'On-shang-rdo (cf. the form 'On-shang-rdo of sKyid-shod), and possibly even 'Phrang-po, a district once part of dBu-ru (and currently under the jurisdiction of Gong-dkar county).

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rnying-ma (seat of the Klum-ro and Yel-rab ruler Zing-po-rje sTag-skya-bo; *TDD* 204.29–30) which corresponds to the Nyen-kar of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the most important royal residence place in the 7th and early 8th century. As we were able to establish during the fieldwork of 2007, Nyen-kar (or Nyen /Nyan) was the original name of the Lo valley in sKyid-shod (with the site of Nyen-kar more precisely referring to the hamlet Nyenpokar (Nyan/Nyen-po-mkhar) in Upper Lo; see Part I: Map 1b.1). According to the local tradition, the valley became known as Lo following the foundation of the Lo-dgon by the bKa'-gdams-pa master sPyan-snga-ba Tshul-khrims-'bar (1038–1103), a native of Nyan sNang-ra-sgang, south of Lo-dgon (*bKa' gdams chos 'byung* 316; the area which in the Tshal-pa *mi sde* list is registered as Lo appears in the sources at least until the 13th cent. still also under the name of Nyan; cf. e.g. BA Roerich 612, 302). sPyan-snga-ba, the originator of the famous bKra-shis 'od-bar *stūpa* type (CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 86), was a descendant of the dBa', suggesting that this section of sKyid-shod, too, once belonged to the ancient branch settlements of this important clan. Moreover, there are good reasons to belief that Nyan was the actual homeland of the dBa'; this is supported by the presence of the two impressive burial grounds in the areas of Chumpo (Chums-po?) and Bami in the lower part of the valley (with some of the tombs of Bami comparable to the size of the imperial 'Phyong-rgyas tombs; below Fig. 4; Part 1: Map1.b.1). Bami, located in the valley section known as brGya-grong ("100 hamlets") is probably to be read as [s]Ba-mi, "settlement of the sBa (~ 'Ba'/dBa'[s]) people." In its closer environs, the side valley of sTag-lung where traces of an ancient ruined complex are to be found may correspond to the Nyen-kar sTag-rtse of the *Old Tibetan Chronicles*, whereas lCang-bu and Thang-dga' situated at the entrance to the Lo valley, are to be identified as the Nyen-kar lCang-bu and Nyen-kar Thang-bu-ra of the *Annals* (see *TDD* 230f.; Dotson, *forthcoming*; for the identification of Nyen-kar, see Hazod, *forthcoming b*).

[8] Cf. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1533b; there is also the form Shod-chen sKyi-lung (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1102.1–2), which appears to mean the "sKyi[d] Valley of [dBu-ru] shod-chen."

[9] Cf. Uebach 1988 and Hazod 2003 on sKyid-chu district. As far as is known, in the *Dunhuang Annals* the toponyms relating to places in the sTod-lung side valley of the sKyi-chu (in the *Annals* usually abbreviated sTod) and 'Phan-yul, and to Mal-gro as well, are not listed as part of the greater sKyi.

Less clear is its northern extension or upper reaches: It can be surmised that sKyid-shod largely still conforms to the former borders of sKyi districts known from dynastic times. It is here advisable, though, to distinguish between the historical and the purely geographical borders of sKyi, which latter reach as far as the upper course of the sKyid-chu, to an area for which additional sKyi or sKyi[d]-lung sites are registered (*Xizang Dimingzhi I* (*XD*) 75b, 76a).[10] It had been asserted that the assembly place called sKyi Sho-ma-ra is located in the upper course of the sKyid-chu, corresponding to the present-day bShol-ma-ra in the district of dBu-ru-lung in north-western Byang (*HSLG* 4: 71–72; *XD* 76a; Hazod, 'King Mer-ke'). sKyi Sho-ma-ra is renowned first and foremost as the place where, according to post-dynastic sources, mGar sTong-btsan yul-zung, the chief administrator of Tibet proper, in the 650's wrote the law book.[11] The same district contains the dynastic site of Mer-k[h]e (i.e. present-day Mer-chung, -chen; cf. *XD I* 75b; *HSLG*, *ibd*.), where King Mang-slon mang-btsan preferred to reside. It was under him that *blon po* mGar served. The latter died – according to the *Annals* – in Ris-pu, arguably the Ris-phu valley opposite Mer-khe. In the north one similarly finds the dynastic sites of sNying-drung (Map 1 above) and sPrags (not yet identified, but it may be identical with sPrags, on the northern border of dBu-ru); dBu-ru-shod gyi Re-skam of the *Annals*, registered as an assembly place, corresponds to Rol-skam (also Ru-skam), located close to the sKyid-chu in present-day Ngar-nang district (in the border area of Byang and Klung-shod; Part I: Map 6a).

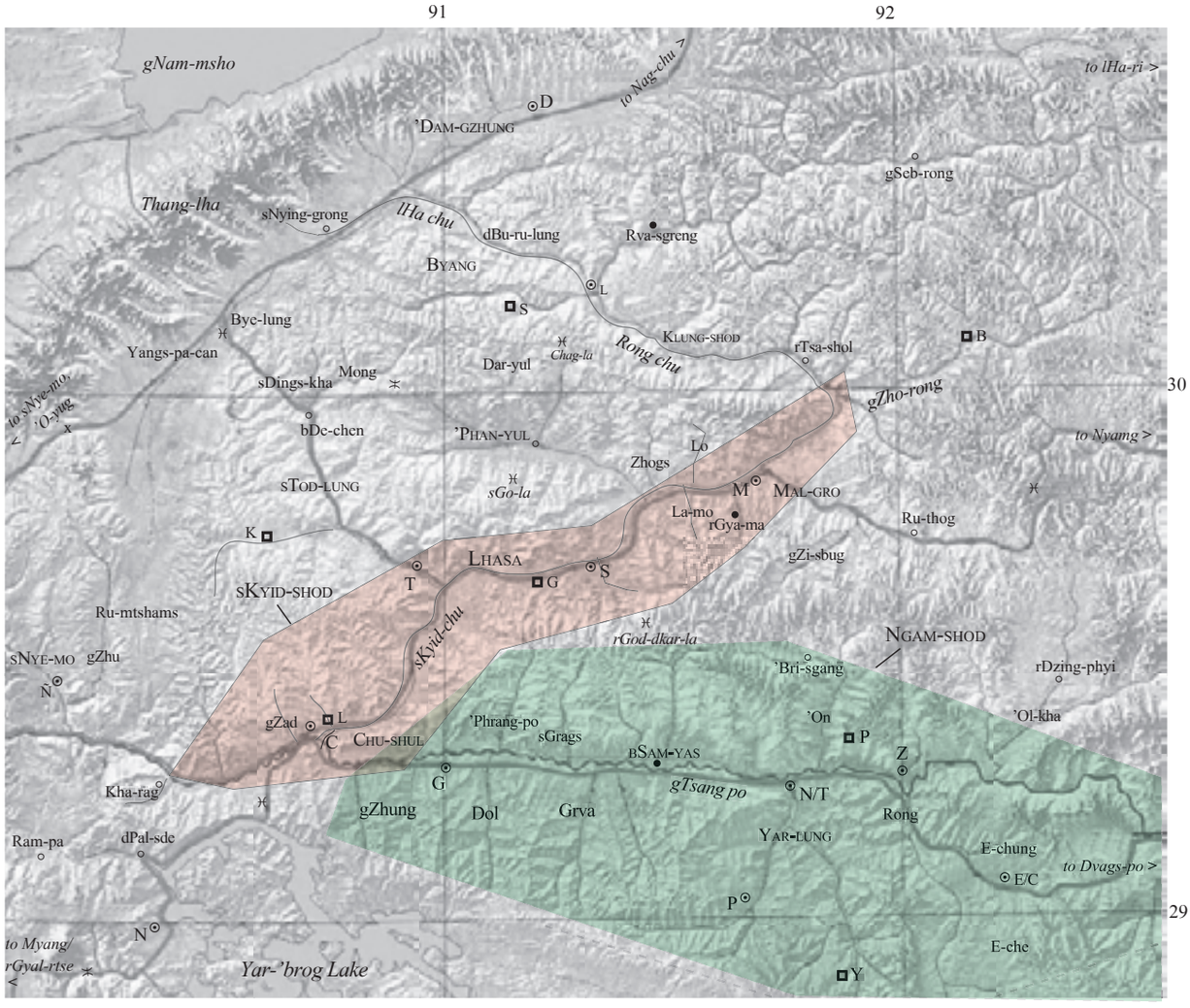
The upper stretches of areas along the sKyi-chu areas are historically less well known and documented, and it is quite conceivable that additional, hitherto unidentified, sKyi place-names known from the *Annals* can be traced to these areas. It is fairly likely that the thousand district of sKyi-stod extended up to the river's upper course. Concerning the upper border of sKyid-shod, today it is commonly assumed that was at the level of northern Mal-gro. The northernmost point of sKyid-shod known to us is 'Bri-gung-thel/mthil, the location of which *sde srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho once vaguely defined as sKyi[d]-shod-stod.[12] Such references are seldom, it being places below Mal-gro (from La-mo) that are most commonly identified as proper to sKyid-shod. When Tshal-pa are refrerred to as the lords of Upper and Lower sKyid-shod (cf. e.g. *Deb dmar gsar*, Tucci 1972: 194), then thus commonly means the regions stretching from Mal-gro to Chu-shul. sKyid-shod *in toto* thus comprises the area which in the post-Tshal-pa period were under the political and administrative rule of the following six local Phag-mo-gru-pa governors, each residing in his own *rdzong*,

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[10] sKyi[d] toponyms are found in different areas of Central Tibet, and even beyond. These places may have different proveniences and histories. Some may go back to the ancient Kyi clan, or to the sKyi-mi grong-bdun (fn. 4), the latter historically also related to the origin of the well-known sKyid-[g]rong district in former Mang-yul. The toponym sKyi arguably can also be related to the (Zhang-zhung?) term *skyi 'dang* (*skyin dang*, *skyi 'thing*/*thang*) that appears in different contexts, including a cosmogonic one in which it means "water." A certain sKyi-dang is known from Bon-po sources as one of the 12 human creators (see Dagkar Namgyal Nyima 2003: 39, 113). Note also the well-known toponym Mi-yul sKyi-lding/thang ("sKyi-lding, the Land of Men"), site of the Tibetan anthropogenesis in rKong-po (Part I: fn. 3).

[11] The place was once assumed to be located in lower sTod-lung, based on a reference in *Deb sngon* that calls it sTod-lung Sho-ma-ra; cf. Uray 1972: 43; TBH Sørensen 184. However, when compared with parallel sources, the entry is seen to contain two place-names, sTod-lung and Sho-ma ra. sKyi Sho-ma-ra gave its name to the later college of Sho-ma-ra, mentioned in connection with the former Byang sTag-lung-pa (see for details Hazod, 'King Mer-ke').

[12] Cf. Lange 1976: 50. See also *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1533b. The upper border roughly corresponds to the peculiar description of the course of the sKyid-chu given in *dPag bsam ljong bzang* 576.2–6, where the river is said to begin at the level of 'Bri-gung, i.e. [...] *skyid chu ni dbus kyi shar stod 'bri gung phyogs nas* [...], etc.



Sigla and Abbreviations:

⊙ = modern district capitals (*xian*):

Ñ = sNye-mo N = sNa-dkar-rtse C = Chu-shul/r G = Gong-dkar P = 'Phyong-rgyas
N/T = sNe'u-gdong and rTse-thang Z = Zangs-ri E/C = Chu-gsum M = Mal-gro Gong-dkar
S = sTag-rtse L = lHun-grub D = 'Dam-gzhung T = sTod-lung bDe-chen

◘ = monastic centres of the bKa'-brgyud school est. in the 12th / 13th cent.:

P = gDan-sa-thil Y = gYa'-bzang L = Ge-re lHa-pa K = Tshur-phu G = **Tshal Gung-thang**
B = 'Bri-gung-thil S = Byang sTag-lung

pass approximate borders of the areas of sKyid-shod and Ngam-shod
modern road rivers

Map 1. Northern Central Tibet

fortification or stronghold: Bye-ri sTag-rtse *rdzong* (in sTag-rtse village, close to Zhogs), Brag-dkar *rdzong* (south of dGa'-ldan) and bDe-chen[-rtse] *rdzong* (in present-day bDe-chen township, formerly part of Ba-lam), sNe'u *rdzong* (south of lHa-sa), lHun-grub[-rtse] *rdzong* in Chu-shul (in sKyid-smad) and Gong-dkar *rdzong* (see Map 1; see also below Part I: fn. 542).



***1**. The sNying-ri hill in present-day sNying-grong village (Map 1) is described as the heart of Thang-lha and the source of the lHa-chu (or sKyid-chu)*



***2**. The valley of Mer-khe in dBu-ru-lung on the upper course of the sKyid-chu formed a key district of dBu-ru during the time of the Tibetan kingdom*



***3**. The village of Bami in the lower Lo valley of sKyid-shod most probably refers to the ancient homeland of the dBa', the ruling clan of sKyid-shod to whom the great tombs close to Bami (sBa-mi) arguably are to be connected (Fig. 4)*



***4**. Remains of the great tombs of Bami. In the background the site of lCang-bu which corresponds to the Nyen-kar lCang-bu of the Old Tibetan Annals (see Part I: Map 1b.1)*



***5**. The village of Nyan-po-mkhar in upper Lo with ancient ruins nearby still recalls the former name of the Lo valley: Nyen-kar, the central royal residence place in sKyid-shod in the 7th and early 8th century*

4.1 Tshal-pa District in Narrow and Wider Perspectives

In the autobiographical writings *bKa' rgya ma* (compiled and revised by his disciples in the 13th century), Bla-ma Zhang narrates his vision of the future monastic centre and of the surrounding Tshal-pa territory, which the *klu mo* (*nāgī*) of gTsang-chab, as the divine donor, so to speak, placed in his hands (*GT* 42b–43a). This act of transference of land and territory was envisioned to be accompanied, most dramatically, by a major flood that gradually expanded from gTsang-chab successively through the districts of Ngan-lam lung-pa Ral-gsum and Grib, gradually spilled over into sKyid-shod Ngam-shod, and dBus-gtsang Ru-bzhi, and finally flowed eastwards towards Mi-nyag.

This unfolding geographical activity, as delineated in the basic sources, reflects the gradual expansion of the outer borders of his "realm", the Tshal-pa school, in the 13th century. This analogy must be distinguished from the later Tshal-pa hegemonic realm in its narrow, political sense, as demarcated by the establishment of its myriarchy (*khri skor*). The Tshal-pa estates defined in the edict of Qubilai as *mi sde* districts and territories refer to a number of settlements in Central Tibet, primarily in the region of sKyid-shod and Ngam-shod (App. III).

Ngam-shod in older sources designates the areas above and below (i.e. east and west of) bSam-yas (e.g. *dBa' bzhed* 13a–b), but according to references in more recent sources the name refers to a larger area. one that to the east bordered directly on sKyid-shod, reached almost up to Zangs-ri and included the areas watered by the tributaries both north and south of gTsang-po (Part I: fn. 597; above Map 1). It is noteworthy that Ngam-shod also surfaces as one alternative designation for sKyid-shod (e.g. *Deb dmar* 126, 445); so also in the oral tradition, according to which the lHa-sa valley once was called Ngam-shod. Hence the above reference "sKyid-shod Ngam-shod" may also be read as Ngam-shod of sKyid-shod. The background for such apparent geographical vacillations should possibly be sought in the reorganization of the religious geography in the post-bSam-yas period, during which a sort of spatial equation between the areas of lHa-sa and bSam-yas was conceived. A link between the areas may be seen in the position of gNyen-chen thang-lha. The leading territorial or telluric god of northern Central Tibet had a residence at sKyid-shod dMar-po-ri (of the "lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone") and at bSam-yas Has-po-ri (see *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 89). As *blon po* (minister) of *rgyal po* Gangs Ti-se, Thang-lha may be considered an "offspring" of the prominent divine mountain that contains the source spring of the gTsang-po, in which – whether in lHa-sa or bSam-yas (or indeed elsewhere) – the same water flows (often euphemistically called the "turquoise-blue river-water of gTsang[-po]" or *gtsang chab g.yu sngon*). It is therefore small wonder that the general equation sKyid-chu ↔ gTsang-po should exist, as documented in both written and oral sources. Incidentally, the sKyid-chu was very recently renamed lHa-sa gTsang-po (or Lasa He). Such notions of the transference of divine properties forms within a larger context the background for such formulations expressive of spatial interlinkages or encountered in the above version of the Tshal-pa territory.

Ngan-lam (or Ngan-lam [lung-pa] Ral-gsum) is attested in early post-dynastic sources as a territorial designation for the central sKyid-shod area. Tsha-ba-gru, Zhang's birthplace in Tshal is given as Tsha-ba-gru of Ngan-lam, and the founder calls himself the Ngan-lam-pa, or the "beggar of Ngan-lam." The presence of the same place-name in sKyid-shod is as a case of a "wandering toponym," testifying historically to an early branch settlement of the Ngan-lam clan of 'Phan-yul (see App. IV: Chap. 3). Grib in the compound of Ngan-lam lung-pa Ral-gsum Grib refers to the

valley of that name south of lHa-sa, where in the 12th century a branch of the influential mGar lineage from Ram-pa in sTod-lung settled. The clan functioned as a *yon bdag* of Zhang and his monastic centre. Up this very day Grib and Tshal Gung-thang still form one united district.

The closer area of Tshal Gung-thang encompasses [lHa-gdong] Shan-kha (W) and dPal-lding (E). Tshal village together with Yang-dgon is situated to the south-west; Gung-thang, seat of the gTsug-lag-khang, the sKu-'bum chen-mo, and other shrines, a few kilometers further south-east. This part of Tshal and Gung-thang also surfaces in the earlier sources under the names Tsha-ba-gru and rTa-mo-ra, two toponyms each going back to dynastic times (see Part II: App. IV).

5. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

5.1 The Religious Communities in Northern Central Tibet in the 11th and 12th Centuries

As already detailed, the political landscape in the 11th century was characterized by a burgeoning monasticism and by small hegemonc powers in juxtaposition to one another. These latters were generally formed by branch lineages and petty dynasties that splintered off from the two main royal lines issuing from Yum-brtan and 'Od-srung, and from their widely ramified lines of descendants. Yet there were also numerous clan-based ruling houses and migrants from them that had settled down in the environs of the main lineages – local clans that had populated former dynastic districts and whose territorial and hegemonic claims were justified not least on the basis of bygone allegiances and once-held fiefs within clearly demarcated territories. These clans were often "invited" onto their land as its common rulers according to an ancient tradition of upholding and perpetuating a divinely vested throne (CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 27), an arrangement that in the long term would face considerable difficulties. Thus they were eventually forced to enter new alliances with the rise of a of new hegemonic powers and religious settlements. Such shifting alliances and the renewal of bonds of patronage forged under changing conditions proved conducive to ensuring their own survival as local rulers.

For northern Central Tibet during this period, the districts of 'Phrang-po, Lum-pa (a valley east of 'Phrang-po/'go), lCang-rgyab (clearly lCang/lJang in sKyid-smad), Glag Ba-lam, Grib, sNye-thang, 'Phan-yul, Klung-shod, dPe-bzhi (~ sPel-bzhi = Yer-pa?), bSam-yas, lHa 'Bri-sgang (in 'On) and still other areas are mentioned by name (cf. TBH Sørensen 441–443). The fate of most of these local powers is only indistinctly visible in the sources; the blurred traces of their leading members usually disappear sometime in the 12th century, after being referred to merely as *btsad po*, *rgyal po*, or the like. The historical importance of these local rulers, as stated, largely depends on their roles as patrons of the religious movements and settlements that mushroomed in Central Tibet (as elsewhere) during the early Renaissance epoch (*bstan pa phyi dar*). They formed the politico-economic base for the reorganization of the Buddhist teaching and the establishment of affluent Buddhist communities from the early 11th century on. Among the main figures in these developments we are aware of are the rulers of bSam-yas, Tsha-la-na Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan and Bodhirāja, who had precursors in the West Tibetan rulers. Among the first initiators during the *bstan pa phyi dar* period that returned from eastern Tibet, namely the "Ten Men of dBus-gTsang" and their pupils, it was primarily the four groups under Klu-mes Tshul-khrims shes-rab, 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan, rBa-btsun Blo-gros dbang-phyug and Rag-śi Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas (fol-

lowed later by rMa Chos kyi byang-chub) that were active in Central Tibet. They initially arrived in bSam-yas (with Klu-mes and his group of adherents in the vanguard), before in their relentless missionary quest spreading out across Central Tibet to establish numerous settlements and communities (or to take over old or renovated temples), where they set up schools as centres for the teaching and the spread of the Vinaya.[13] According to Nel-pa Paṇḍita's account, forty temples alone in northern Central Tibet were established by the first two generations of the so-called Klu, 'Bring, rBa und Rag groups: in 'Phan-yul, Mal-gro and sTod-lung, and in most areas of sKyid-shod (Part II: App. II and Table V.6). Some of them functioned as mother temples ([*dgon*] *ma*) for subsequent branch settlements (*lag*) or dependencies; many, except for their names, now have passed into oblivion and may never be properly identified.

These branch settlements for their part became the starting point for the further ramification of monastic establishments. We only have scattered information on these numerous, often minor settlements. Atiśa, for example, conducted many visits to some of these sites, where he exerted a strong pioneering impetus through his missionary presence. In this case, the distinct communities often were deputed with the same care as for the primary temples of the bKa'-gdams-pa orders established by the first- and second-generation disciples of Atiśa, such as Thang-po-che, Rva-sgreng, sNye-thang and gSang-phu (cf. Eimer 1979: 298). In their build-up, the settlements established in this initial phase often resembled communities or groupings (*tsho ba*, *sde ba*). The spread and distribution of the communities within the different regions and the distinct patron-priest bonds that were established should slowly led to increased political influence, with hegemonic implications, since the vital alliances based on patronage conduced to the forging of political unions. This process thus went hand in hand with the mobilization of political forces in the country, namely the local aristocratic clans who made themselves felt as patrons behind the distinct groups. One open question in the territorial division was the control of the lHa-sa area itself, which given the growing importance of the Avalokiteśvara cult during the 11th century brought with it control of the country's key *sanctum*: the ritually vital Jo-khang and its sacred image. Whereas bSam-yas and Khra-'brug (along with the Jo-khang the leading sanctuaries of Tibet, i.e. the *chos 'khor gnas gsum*) fell under the patronage of a single ruling house – bSam-yas under the *mnga' bdag* of the Yum-brtan *brgyud*, Khra-'brug a branch settlement of the Yar-lung jo-bo of the 'Od-srungs *brgyud* – lHa-sa was – as far as we know – politically a relatively "open zone," a nonaligned site. We have yet to come across any detailed information suggesting that any ruling lineages occupying lHa-sa in the 10th and 11th century. From the local areas of rule in sKyid-shod (i.e. Grib, Ba-lam, sNye-thang, etc.) we hear next to nothing, and in the area as a whole other external clans came to the fore at the latest from the early 12th century.

5.2 Rulers of the lHa-sa Valley in the Pre-Tshal-pa Period

The breakdown of the dynasty in the 9th century and the lengthy interregnum that saw widespread civil war heralded a prolonged power vacuum in Central Tibet, one that would last well into the early 11th century. It is a well-known fact that the ensuing turmoil had devastating effects on temples and sanctuaries, many of which were destroyed and ransacked. At the outset of the 12th

[13] On the "Ten Men of dBus gTsang," see most recently Stoddard 2004.

century a branch of the aristocratic mGar clan settled down in Grib, a sub-line of this widely ramified clan (see e.g. *mGar rtse*, *passim*), which is commonly regarded as having descended from the dynastic counsellor mGar sTong-btsan yul-srungs. At approximately the same time a branch of the influential [Kha-rag] gNyos clan, which originally came from lHa-sa sKyid-shod, resettled in the sKyid-shod area (App. I, II). Much earlier, the sNa-nam clan, that of the paternal side of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang's family (Chap. 6), is registered as occupying parts of lower sTod-lung, at the western fringe of the lHa-sa valley, as can be drawn from the aforementioned imperial *dbang ris* list. For the mid-12th century, the sparse sources unanimously report skirmishes taking place between the Klu, 'Bring, rBa and Rag factions of lHa-sa, which appear to have been what was then and later known as the lHa-sa sde-bzhi ("four communities/divisions of lHa-sa," also mentioned in the sources in a more toponymical sense as the "four quarters of lHa-sa township"). They apparently vied for the appropriation, custodianship, and control of the key sanctuaries of Ra-mo-che and Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang (cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 448, 801; *Deb dmar* 400; App. II: Chap. 1). It can be assumed on good grounds that these still largely nondescript local clans, which in this period were on the rise, acted as lay patrons of the distinct groups steeped in the conflict.

From scattered references we in particular know that gNyos-nag Grags-pa-dpal (1106/22–1182) of the [Kha-rag] gNyos lineage figured as *bdag po* of the upper and lower 'Bring community (*gNyos kyi gdung rabs* 24; cf. also Vitali 2004; Akester 2004; App. II below), and it is safe to say that members of the mGar clan, the rNgog and still other clans played a similar role. The branch settlements of the two 'Bring groups, whose main seats were at Ngan-lam sPyi-mo (in 'Phan-yul) and at Bran[g] Ra-mo-che in sTod-lung, spread out over the areas of 'Phan-yul and sKyid-shod up to Gong-dkar (and Dol and gZhung, south of gTsang-po). A similar expansion of branch settlements in northern Central Tibet was witnessed among the clans supportive of the religious communities of Klu-mes and his pupils, in particular rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas and Zhang sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug (the latter a distant relative of Bla-ma Zhang). Settlements of Rag groups could be found in 'Phan-yul, while those of the rBa (~ dBa'/dBas) were primarily in sTod-lung (having come from sNyan-dmar in mTshur-phu).[14] It is easy to see that behind the feuds in lHa-sa a conflict of supraregional importance was brewing.

In the mid-1150's Dvags-po sGom-tshul – who by then had taken over the representation of the Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa centre of Dvags-lha sGam-po in eastern Central Tibet (1145 A.D., see *sGam po khri rabs*) – established the lHa-lung monastery in mTshur of sTod-lung. He arrived there upon the invitation of *gnas brtan* Shes-rab-grags, who possibly headed one of the rBa *tsho* monastic communities of mTshur sNyan-dmar. It would soon become a centre of attraction for a

[14] The most significant settlements in the immediate vicinity of lHa-sa were the Bran[g] (~ Bran-ka; later and even today also Beng) Ra-mo-che (erected 1168 A.D. by sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa upon the former 'Bring-smad settlement located at the confluence of the sTod-lung-chu and sKyid-chu; cf. Richardson 1998: 231, 311), and the 12th century dGa'-ba-gdong established by the 3rd sKyor-mo-lung throne-holder Shes-rab rdo-rje (1181–1253), at the site of a former settlement associated with rGya 'Dul-'dzin dBang-phyug brTson-'grus (1047–1131). Cf. Part II: Table V.8.

Among the disciples of rGya 'Dul-'dzin was Sha-mi sMon-lam-pa (1084–1171) from the Klu-mes group, who as *upādhyāya* served during the ordination of the first Tshal-pa ruler before the establishment of Yang-dgon. Two of the dependencies of Bran[g] Ra-mo-che were the (reoccupied) sKar-chung temple (in Ra-ma-sgang opposite lHa-sa) and two temples in Zhal (obviously Zhal of Gung-thang); cf. Part II: Table V.6. According to Zhang's *Writings*, a philosophical school, arguably a branch of the 'Bring *tsho* establishment of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog, was erected in Tshal itself (App. IV: Chap. 4.1).

large number of "monks from dBus, gTsang and Khams" (see *lHo rong chos 'byung* 178). We are informed from other sources that Bla-ma Zhang often visited lHa-lung to meet Dvags-sgom, who became one of his root teachers. After fighting between the factions in lHa-sa broke out – tumultuous skirmishes which were likened to being haunted by a noxious demon (*'dre srin gdug pa can*) – Dvags-sgom was invited to lHa-sa as mediator, namely by dPal-ldan lha-mo and Grib rDzong-btsan, the two mighty protectors of lHa-sa (*lHo rong chos 'byung*, *ibd.*; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 448). In a society long bereft of a centralized power and still lacking the consensual hegemony of later epochs, monks were commonplace for settling disputes both prior to a conflict and after warfare had broken out, and not only as a *pis-aller*, given their reputation for impartiality. Dvags-sgom's endeavours in lHa-sa consisted in successful mediation among the warring lHa-sa sde-bzhi factions, evidently with the help of the strongest forces, the 'Bring settlements and the gNyos clan. The result of his efforts was a settlement that led to the renovation of the war-ravaged Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang *sanctum*. The future political and religious responsibility for this national shrine, and hence for lHa-sa, finally was deputed – after an intermediate period of rule by gNyos Grags-pa-dpal – to Dvags-sgom's close pupil Zhang Rin-po-che, before he himself left lHa-sa in the 1160's. The ritual obligations sworn to for the protection and support of the Jo-khang (which in essence meant the protection of the Jo-bo image inside the shrine) included responsibility for its structural maintenance and overall preservation, which required protection against the elements of nature in form of embankments (*chu rags*) towards the south of lHa-sa town. For further details, see App. II.

6. GUNG-THANG BLA-MA ZHANG
Yogi, Warlord and Monastic Founder

6.1 Origins and Religious Career

Bla-ma Zhang was born according to the Western calender in August 1123 in Tsha-ba-gru, located in the southern part of present-day Tshal Gung-thang district. His birth name was Dar-ma-grags. His parents were the Tantric lay-practioner (*sngags pa*) rDo-rje sems-dpa', a scion of the sNa-nam (or Zhang sNa-nam) clan and a former nun by the name of Mang-skyid, who according to one source was addressed Shud-mo-bza', evidently descending from the influential Shud-phu clan. Both clans usually are recorded as minister clans of the imperial period, while distinguished representatives of both lineages were prominently active in the political and religious movements of the early post-dynastic period of the 10th and 11th centuries. The Shud-phu were leading members in the regional movement of the g.Yo-ru *kheng log*, and particularly distinguished themselves in the bKa'-gdams-pa and the rNying-ma-pa circles in the 11th and 12th century, being active in the area of their home estates in southern and western lHo-kha, where they soon emerged as founding figures of religious establishments and as heads of important spiritual lines. A leading Shud-phu lineage representative was the well-known teacher of bTsong-kha-pa and Vajrapāṇi master (Phyag-rdor-ba) Shud-phu Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1326–1402). Among the most prominent early post-dynastic sNa-nam-pa was Zhang sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug (*ca*. 976–1060), to whom is ascribed the establishment of a large number of branch settlements of the Klu-mes communities (cf. Table V. 6.). In imperial if not even in pre-imperial times, the celebrated sNa-nam lineage had settled in lower sTod-lung, more precisely – as already indicated – in the area at the western entrance of the lHa-sa valley (in Bran[g] and gZhong as listed in the imperial *dbang ris* catalogue), but probably also in neighbouring districts, such as sNyams (south of sNye-thang in sKyid-smad) where rDo-rje

dbang-phyug was born (as the son of sNa-nam Jo-sras – a name indicating the presence of a local sNa-nam-pa ruling house). Within larger dBus, the lineage from the 8th century on is also registered for upper dBu-ru (probably with its branch settlements in the gZho-rong valley; see Part I: fn. 11), and it occupied territories in the environs of Grva-thang, which – corroborated by a number of sources – bordered on local Shud-phu estates. The latter situation suggests that a long tradition of affinal affiliation prevailed between the neighbouring sNa-nam und Shud-phu clans, an affiliation which was continued in sKyid-shod district, as exemplified by the marriage between the parents of Dar-ma-grags. In sKyid-shod district, the two clans evidently played no major political role during this period. In the first half of the 12th century other lineages, as stated, had moved into the foreground, namely branches of the gNyos and mGar. In all likelihood the birthplace of Bla-ma Zhang in Tshal Gung-thang district at that point was located within the territory held by the mGar.

The sources contain no further references to Bla-ma Zhang`s family ties. Occasionally his *Writings* mention an older and a younger brother, along with a (younger?) sister, however, details of these family members are nowhere provided. His elder brother is called Zhang sNag-po, which can be read as the "maternal relative (*snag*) of [sNa-nam] Zhang." It is reported that he, along with the mother, taught the young Dar-ma-grags the art of reading and writing. The first teacher outside the family was a certain *grub thob* Ma-jo dar-ma, a teacher arranged for him by his mother. It was with him that the spiritual development and the religious career of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang got underway – a development that according to the conventional arrangement in *GT* is described within the framework of outer, inner and secret biographies. It can be divided chronologically into three phrases, which we may subsume under the following headings:

1. Education in Central Tibet and Khams – until the early 1150's

At the age of seven, Zhang received teachings in the basic doctrines of *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Abhidharma* and *Pramāṇa* at the feet of bSam-bu *lo tsā ba*, and in addition received teachings in different *tantras*, such as the cycles of Hevajra and Mahākāla, from Bla-ma rNgog-pa, one of his most important tantric teachers. He was trained in the practice of black magic, too, which he allegedly exploited in his dealings with some members of his family (1143 A.D.). The dispute (one source mentions Zhang sNag-pa as his primary opponent) may have arisen over his decision to move to Khams (between 1144 and 1148), where he was ordained in a monastery in Nags-shod (i.e. ordained at the age 26 (1148 A.D.) in the presence of *mkhan po* [rGya-ston] mKhar-sgo-ba and *slob dpon* Grab-mkhar). He remained a seven full years in Ngam-shod, where he first met his root *bla ma*, the translator and yogi dPal rGva-lo (rGva *lo tsā ba* gZhon-nu-dpal; 1110/1114–1198/1202). The yogic instructions he received at the feet of rGva-lo (in *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, *prāṇāyāma* and Mahākāla-related teachings) were followed by a lengthy period of practice, perfected through instructions offered him by Mal Yer-pa sMon-lam-btsan (1105–1170 A.D.).

2. Pacification and Fixation

The period after his return to Central Tibet (in the early 1150's) until 1187/89, the year of the foundation of the Gung-thang *vihāra* and the erection of the great Byang-chub chen-po statue. The lengthy epoch again can be subsumed under the period complementing his education paired with the perfection of his yogic practice and the period with the establishment and development of the Tshal-pa (*ultimo* 1160's):

From the early 1150's on Zhang (along with his loyal disciple, the young Dar-ma gzhon-nu) visited and established numerous retreat sites and hermitages in Central Tibet; these are collectively known as the Bla-ma Zhang's Seven Sites of Spiritual Realization (*sgrub gnas bdun*), all situated in the areas between lHa-sa and bSam-yas. The classification alludes to lHa dPal-'bar dBang-phyug, the "Master of the Seven Sites" (i.e. Maheśvara), one of Zhang's numerous "borrowed identities," to be seen in connection with his endeavour to underpin his religious rule. One visible early triumph of the practice conduced at these sites was the pacification and the binding under oath of the local gods and demons of Grib and the lHa-sa valley – propitiations that were conducted primarily at his favourite *sgrub gnas* of Byang-mkhar (near Gung-thang), and which can be dated to *ca*. 1155/56, prior to his meeting with sGom-pa Tshul-khrims snying-po (1116–1169 A.D.). The latter (often abbreviated sGom-tshul or Dvags-sgom) is, aside from rGva-lo, to be regarded as the most significant among Bla-ma Zhang's six root *bla ma*. From mid-1150's, sGom-tshul mainly resided in lHa-lung (in mTshur-phu of sTod-lung), where – as already stated – the two repeatedly met and where he conferred upon Zhang the teachings of the patriarch sGam-po-pa, first and foremost the celebrated Mahāmudrā cycle *lHan cig skyes sbyor*. In the biographical writings, he is often identified as the one with whose help [Zhang] realized the ultimate *bodhicitta*. Following the passing of sGam-po-pa (1153), Dvags-sgom rose to become the successor guardian of the bKa'-brgyud-pa order that was originated by his uncle, and which now was handed over to leading disciples via Dvags-sgom; we are referring to the "Sixteen Great Sons of D[v]ag[s]-la sGam-po-pa," among whom four were classified as the actual "Holders of the [Dvags-po] Lineage" (*brgyud pa 'dzin pa bzhi*). In *Deb sngon* 550 (BA Roerich 462), sGom-tshul is counted among these four, a position of trust he eventually passed on to Bla-ma Zhang, who usually is not regarded as a direct pupil of the wise sGam-po-pa.[15] From these principal lineage-holders, the following monastic establishments, known as the bKa'-brgyud che-bzhi (i.e. the Four Great bKa'-brgud Orders), sprang, namely the Phag-mo gru-pa, Tshal-pa, 'Ba'-rom-pa and the Karma-pa. As already indicated (Jackson 1994: 59), it is untenable to maintain that Zhang was a representative of a pure Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud tradition, since he received teachings from other bKa'-brgyud-pa lineages and the Great Seal teachings – either transmitted by his root *bla ma* Mal Yer-pa and 'Ol-kha-ba Grol-sgom chos-g.yung (1103–1199) or through the influence of dNgul-chu Be-ro-ba (Vairocana-rakṣita).[16] The last of these, the Indian yogi Vairocana-rakṣita, was, so it appears, chronologically the last of Zhang's six *rtsa ba'i bla ma*, and from him he received, apart from the Great Seal teachings in the

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[15] See also below fn. 18. A particular indication of Zhang's prominent position within the Dvags-po order is to be found in the story of his meditation hat (*sgom zhva*), described as the *sgom zhva* of sGom-tshul, which the latter had passed on to Bla-ma Zhang. sGom-tshul himself was presented the hat by sGam-po-pa during a meeting in *ca*. 1151 A.D. The sources (*sGam po khri rabs* 18a6–b1; *sGam po pa rnam thar III* [B] 146b1– 6; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 473) specify the hat more precisely as one with long lappets folded [above the head] (*sna ring gi 'dab ma bldabs*). Its origin is said to be the *zhva sna rings* ("hat with long lappets") of the Bon-po, then the "10 men of dBus-gTsang" used to wear it, followed by the bKa'-gdams-pa from whom the tradition was taken over by (the originally bKa'-gdams-pa student) sGam-po-pa (below Fig. 6). It says in *sGam po pa rnam thar III*, at one point sGam-po-pa's nephew, sGom-tshul, was unhappy with the long ear flaps and subsequently bended it upwards. It is apparently the crest represented on Fig. 5 of App. II and the highly significant *sgom tshul sgom zhva* which Bla-ma Zhang inherited from his teacher (see App. I: Fig. 8), signalling the Tshal-pa founder as an immediate successor of the sGam-po-pa tradition. For variants of the [Dvags-po] *sgom zhva* tradition mentioned in connection with other bKa'-brgyud founding figures, see *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 847.

[16] The Zhang biographies list, in addition to the six root *bla ma* (Part I: fn. 56), over 40 teachers associated with Bla-ma Zhang (see Part II: Table V.4). The actual extent of their influence can be gleaned only through a more detailed examination of the *Writings* of Zhang.

tradition of Maitrīpāda, also the Cakrasaṃvara initiations and not least the *dohā* tradition (going back to Virūpa). At the end of the 1150's or the beginning of the 1160's,[17] Bla-ma Zhang began to commit some of his most seminal works on the Great Seal tradition to paper, the foremost being the celebrated *Lam mchog mthar thug* (Martin 1992a). The early 1160's also was the period when the first (monastic) Tshal-pa institutions (*dgon*, *chos grva*) are documented, witnessing among the young communities, the first monk ordinations, whether in the *dgon* of Re'u-chung or at the *chos spyil* of Tshal-sgang, the latter a precursor to the monastery of Tshal Yang-dgon, established in close proximity in 1175. Tshal Yang-dgon soon became the main seat of the religious dignitaries of Tshal-pa, that is, the Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba*. *GT* claims that Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims had ordered its foundation, and in addition that "all the teachers of dBu-ru" (= northern central Tibet) – as euphemistically remarked in Zhang's *bKa' thor bu* – had requested him to construct the monastery.



***6**. sGam-po-pa bSod-nams rin-chen*

Bla-ma Zhang at that point already was a renowned authority, but reportedly notorious for his contentiousness and controversial attitude in matters concerning doctrine and method. This ill repute he apparently had acquired earlier on, if we are to believe the entry chronicled in *Deb sngon* (657.16–658.11; BA Roerich 558), according to which a certain *dge bshes* Zhang in 1152–53, assisted by Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po, visited sGam-po-pa in Dvags-lha sgam-po in order to clarify a number of recriminations against Zhang that were circulating. The identification of this person with Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang, however, remains questionable.[18] From the main sources, Bla-ma Zhang's controversial behaviour – described in some detail for the first time

[17] See Martin 1992a: 254.

[18] The events chronicled in the *Deb sngon* to our knowledge do not surface in the biographical *Writings* of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang, and there is good reason why not. It appears that the companion of Phag-mo gru-pa in reality was one of the latter's main pupils, Zhang Sum-thog-pa, a noted local ruler (*mi chen bdag po*) of 'On and commonly addressed as a *dge bshes chen po* (*lHo rong chos 'byung* 327.20–21); he primarily is known as the founder of gSe-gseb in 'On and as the ordination teacher of 'Bri-gung-pa 'Jig-rten mgon-po. The form *dge bshes* (*kalyāṇamitra*) Zhang for the Tshal-pa founder is most unusual; confusingly, Zhang [g]Sum-thog-pa is occasionally addressed as Bla-ma Zhang, which apparently led to his being mistaken for Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang (see Part I: fn. 813). Bla-ma Zhang does not appear in the list of direct disciples of sGam-po-pa, in contrast to Zhang gSum-thog-pa (see *Deb sngon* 550.13). A similar case of mistaken identity (many more cases could be quoted) can be registered, in connection with another event (see e.g. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* 3223), in which Bla-ma Zhang, in the wake of Phag-mo gru-pa's demise (1170), "conducted the deceased's merit-transference [at gDan-sa-mthil], but did not take over the throne of Phag-gru." However, this can only refer to Zhang Sum-thog-pa (notwithstanding the details in *lHo rong chos 'byung* 322f.), who ordained 'Jig-rten mgon-po in 1177, and attended to the throne of Phag-mo gru-pa (see V. Table 11.1; and Czaja 2006).

Concerning the Tshal-pa founder, it is transmitted that he had a statue erected of sGam-po-pa in Dvags-la sgam-po (see *Dvags la sgam po gnas yig* 38a4); it can be viewed as a posthumous appreciation of the spiritual father of the Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa, whom Zhang from Tshal allegedly never met personally.

in Jackson's excellent study (1994), appears to have become noticeable at a later point, perhaps in the late 1160's (or even later). This *vrata*-based idiosyncratic behaviour of his was instantiated by an uncommon approach to the realization of the Great Seal practice and tradition,involving a radical, perhaps personal interpretation of the concept of *'dul ba*, the conversion (i.e. the pacification and taming of people and territory). The battle campaigns of the "hot-tempered" Zhang and his small retinue of "brothers-in-arms" also involved the "killing" or elimination of enemies, an issue which Zhang at different places in his *Writings* justified or at least attempted to justify (see below). Dung-dkar (in *Deb dmar* 445) states that the warfare was directed against the local lords in Central Tibet. However, we find among the Zhang "warriors" (all, as far as we can judge, coming from the group of disciples called *'phrin las grub pa'i bu chen*; see App. V: Table 5.II-E below) a number of local chiefs – among them scions of the imperial Yum-brtan lineage. A few must have voluntarily joined the charismatic lord of Tshal and offered him their protection and material support. According to what is reported in *GT* and other sources (see e.g. *Deb sngon* 836.3f.), the primary objective was the acquisition of the necessary resources for the implementation of the Gung-thang project, that is, the erection of the grand Gung-thang *vihāra* and its furnishings (cf. App. IV: Chap. 4). In this connection we occasionally find details concerning the radical destruction of older religious establishments. In one case from lDan in sKyid-shod (orally transmitted only), the demolition of a *stūpa* at the insistence of Bla-ma Zhang is mentioned, the material out of which it was made allegedly being needed in order to build Gung-thang. A closer reading of this account reveals that it masks a more complex issue, namely the occupation of a key site of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone, arguably in connection with the transmission and adoption of a Yamāntaka tradition descending from Rva *lo tsā ba*, who had his main seat in lDan (see Hazod 2004). It is certain that the activism of the "mightiest warlord of (early post-dynastic) Central Tibet" (Jackson) during the late 1160's or early 1170's led to preparations for and the actual consolidation of the territory of the Tshal-pa, in the first place the areas of central sKyid-shod (not least the so-called lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone); but we also have reports of warfare in a number of areas of Ngam-shod (Chap. 4 *supra*). Zhang fulfilled the task of his teacher Dvags-po sGom-tshul, who had entrusted to him responsibility for lHa-sa (and the lHa-ldan Jo-bo-gnyis). As already noted above, this assignment had a history to it: Due to his unrivalled authority, Dvags-sgom in or around 1160 had been requested to come from sTod-lung to lHa-sa, in order to mediate in the warring disputes between the lHa-sa sde-bzhi groups, an arbitrage which made possible a long-needed renovation of the Jo-khang. A number of sources, however, tenaciously claim that it was the presence of the powerful gNyos clan in the area and the influential patriarch gNyos Grags-pa-dpal who finally broke the prevailing stalemate and brought peace to the area. Whatever the case, it was Bla-ma Zhang who eventually assumed oversight of the largely pacified area around the *sanctum*, which he, adroit in the exercise of power, steadily expanded and secured. Dvags-sgom's invitation to lHa-sa was notably extended by its protectors, Grib rDzong-btsan and dPal-ldan lha-mo, who would have decisive roles to play in the later Tshal-pa cult. Zhang had already won them over to serve his quest in the early 1150's during a successful retreat session in Byang-mkhar of Tshal Gung-thang. In a way, then, the Tshal-pa story truly begins with Zhang's return to his homeland from Khams, after being forced to leave it during his family dispute.

3. Retirement – The Last Stages of his Life 1187–1193 A.D.

Following the erection of the Gung-thang *vihāra* (1187) and the ensuing construction of the great Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po statue, Bla-ma Zhang gradually withdrew from active life. One well-known event is his meeting with Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa (1110–1193), which can be dated to the



7. Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang in a biographical thangka
Photo: The Hahn Kwang-ho Collection

late 1180's. The founder of mTshur-phu *dgon* as member of the *brgyud pa 'dzin pa bzhi*, similarly had received instructions from Dvags-sgom to build his monastery in sTod-lung (the later main seat of the Karma-pa), on which occasion Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa urged Bla-ma Zhang "not to engage

in fighting, because people are unhappy with this method" – a request which the latter eventually fulfilled. Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa later attended the consecration ceremony of the Byang-chub chen-po statue (in 1189, according to our sources), along with other important founding figures, such as Gling-chen ras-pa (1128–1188) and rGya-ma Sangs-rgyas dbon-ston (1138–1210). The consecration of the statue, which represents lHa dPal-'bar dBang-phyug (see above), marked the zenith and simultaneously the end point in the career of Bla-ma Zhang. He would not live to see the completion of the adjacent building-project of the sKu-'bum chen-mo, only that of the *stūpa*'s third socle (or *parisaṇḍa*). At the point of death, he is said to have prophesied: "'Bri-gung-pa, mTshur-phu-ba and the Worm (*nga 'bu*, i.e. my humble self), the three of us, this year have received invitations from Uḍḍiyāna. Since 'Bri-gung-pa's (i.e. 'Jig-rten mgon-po's) auspices [for longevity] are good, he will not need to go [now], but the two of us will have to go!" The very same year, both Dus-gum mkhyen-pa and Bla-ma Zhang indeed passed away (cf. *'Jig rten mgon po rnam thar II* and *III* [B] 77a1–b1 [= 153–154], 246–47). Prior to his demise, the latter entrusted his legacy to his closest pupils and assistants, first and foremost Dar-ma gzhon-nu and Śākya ye-shes (see below).

6.2 "In the world, [except for] me, no one exists"
Strategies of a Charismatic Ruler and Warrior Saint

Looking back upon an eventful life, at its close and well advanced in age, Zhang summarily concludes at one place in his *Writings* (*ZhK III* (Cha) 254b1f.) that the three main objectives of his life hitherto were the appropriation of political hegemony (adressed by the term *gnya'* or "yoke," i.e. bringing his subjects under his sway), the enactment and implementation of secular law (*rgyal khrims*) – in other words, the introduction of social and civilizing measures – and finally, the "sealing of roads and valleys" (see below). In addition to his religious identity and saintly repute, it was by means of these endeavours that he came to be considered "Lord of the Teaching" and equated with a manifest Buddha.

Elsewhere, in a [self-?]revelatory statement in the *Zhang gi lung bstan mDo Za ma tog* (*ZhK III* (KA) 146.5f.), we encounter a possibly more genuine portrait of Zhang as being small and sturdy in build – in conformity with the depictions of him in art – his countenance always radiating with brilliance, his one eye small, the other large(r) – a person, it is said, capable of converting sentient beings by his own sheer dragon-like force. He was permanently surrounded by numerous beasts of prey, and supported by his loyal attendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu. On the battlefield he worked for the welfare of sentient beings, and whereby subdued all demonic powers. Assisted by all members of his retinue, and without regard for his own life, he accomplished all the tasks he felt called to perform. And indeed the prophecy continues (reminding us here of Avalokiteśvara and his universally altruistic mission), these exploits of his were immeasurable, innumerable, truly unimaginable. In almost formulaic, and certainly apologetic tones, it is said that he, in that extraordinary behaviour of his, eventually turned into a lord for those without a protector, a refuge for those without refuge, a last resort for those without any, an abode for those without abode, or a support for those sentient beings without proper support, and the like.

This statement enunciates a number of ideal characteristics that mark out the religious leader and founding figure of post-imperial times: a self-proclaimed mission or commitment to liberate living beings, instantiated in the mastery of the Mahāyāna Buddhist *bodhisattva* ideal but here

converted into a zeal for political activism, an ideal that was instrumentalized to serve as basis for the territorial transfer of a civilizing political order. The founding figure viewed himself in the form of an assumed or borrowed identity as a higher unity spanning his religious community ("an abode for those without abode") and put himself forward as one who could pacify a territory and liberated it from its barbaric nature. In its programmatic, ideological orientation, his hegemony once called into existence by the foundation of a ruling throne, never stepped beyond the frame set up and adhered to by the founder himself, for his authority and identity were regarded as limitless and all-pervasive. It was, then, binding in its historical dimension, too. The transference of rule and authority followed a lineage principle according to which in each new generation, the founder was present. As already remarked, the secular throne was occupied by a pupil lineage stemming from Zhang, and retained its legitimacy not least because of this specific nexus to the master. In a sense, the history of Tshal-pa always is the history of Bla-ma Zhang. This perception and understanding of history is reflected in later (dGe-lugs-pa) chronicles (as well as in the local tradition), where the demise of Tshal-pa as a religio-political institution and polity is viewed as linked with certain events in the biography of the founder (see App. IV: Chap. 5).

Zhang, therefore, may be held to be the prototype of a charismatic religious ruler of an idiosyncratic Tibetan-Buddhist type, in whom we – with regard to his political calculations – recognize a particular combination of undisputed authority, yogic vision, territorial quest and "borrowed identities."[19] He commonly was looked upon as of one nature with U-rgyan (Guru Rinpoche) (*u rgyan ngo bo bla ma zhang gi gnas*; cf. *rDo rje gling pa rnam thar* 221.1–4), and he saw himself as a manifestation of sNang-ba mtha'-yas or Amitābha (cf. e.g. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 92–93). As stated, he was identified with lHa dPal-'bar dBang-phyug, the "Master of the Seven Sites," which fact was embodied in the *sgrub gnas bdun* sites relating to him. One of these significantly included the *chos rgyal* Srong-btsan sgam-po chamber (also called [Bla-ma] Zhang gzims-khang) in the lHa-sa Jo-khang. This form of identification with Tibet's first *dharmarāja* in association with a specific site can only be matched by bTsong-kha-pa or the later Dalai Lama(s), and is indicative of Zhang's position as *bdag po* of lHa-sa and of sKyid-shod. The identification with Srong-btsan sgam-po certainly was not an exclusive claim but one that could be asserted by any master or any other religious rulers. Thus, we encounter similar claims being made by the g.Ya'-bzang founder Chos kyi smon-lam (1169–1233), who in order to underpin his hegemonic ambitions in Yar-lung once proclaimed in front of his community: "I am Srong-btsan sgam-po!" (CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 149; BA Roerich 656). He too was in Tshal, registered as pupil of Bla-ma Zhang. It possibly was from the latter that g.Ya'-bzang-pa was inspired to implement the practice of territorial sealing (*lam rgya* or *ri rgya lung rgya*), which he declared in connection with his territorial quest. This normally included a hunting ban, and also

[19] In accordance with tradition, as routinely observed in hagiographical writings, and apparently also endorsed by Bla-ma Zhang himself, the latter was fitted out not only with an array of previous and future rebirths but also had numerous identities and *aliases*, so that whenever he met Dvags-sgom, he called himself sKye-med Zhang-sgom, whenever he met *rje btsun* Mal, he called himself Zhang, the beggar-monk (*sprang ban zhang*), whenever he resided in the Byang-mkhar hermitage, he was called (and called himself) Byang-mkhar-ba, whenever he resided at Mon-pa-gdong, he called himself Sangs-rgyas Zhang-sgom, and whenever sojourned at the g.Yu-brag hermitage, he was simply known as g.Yu-brag-pa.

On the point of death, he even prophesied a total of eight future rebirths (*ZhK III* (KA) 222a1f.), initially as one Shes-rab rig-pa, born close to lHa-sa *gtsug lag khang*, then as one Shes-rab grags-pa, followed by five future rebirths in a number of celebrated Buddhist sites in India, China and again in India, among others, as a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara.

the effective control of the territory vital for the hegemonic appropriation and control of large areas. We encounter this practice in this form for the first time in the post-dynastic period in the person of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang.

dPa'-bo gtsug-lag pertinently summarizes the formation behind the rise of the Zhang polity:[20]

> In general, that period was a time when Tibet was without a national law and had become fragmented. Therefore [Bla-ma Zhang] restricted the access to mountains, river and roads (*ri rgya klung rgya lam rgya mdzad*) to everyone. Against those who did not respect these restrictions, he performed acts of aggressive liberation (*drag po'i 'phrin las mdzad*), including military battle. Among his disciples there where many in whom the realization of the Great Seal was born in the front line of battle, the nobleman (*dpon*) Dar-ma gzhon-nu beholding the countenance of Cakrasaṃvara while at the front.



8. *The Tshal-pa protector mGon-po Bya-rog gdong-can*
Detail of a Zhang *thangka*
(see App. I: Fig. 2a)

Here in a few words we again find a vivid description of the political and spiritual context of Bla-ma Zhang's territorial conquest and annexation, in which physical violence served as a seemingly appropriate means and the protagonists (headed by the later first Tshal-pa *dpon po* Dar-ma gzhon-nu) should emerge as virtual zealots and "holy warrior." The whole notion of army or battlefield may appear somewhat exaggerated to describe a small band of armed men, all loyal and devoted to Zhang's visions (and equipped with bows, arrows, spears, stones and slingshots and, not least, magical spells). Nonetheless, we are arguably here dealing with a phenomenon in post-imperial Tibet (though gNyos Grags-pa-dpal to some extent may have served as his precursor): a ritualization of war as means of establishing and violent enforcing civilizing principles under the direction of a leading representative of the Buddhist doctrine. The fierce form of Mahākāla (as Bya-rog (Fig. 8), mGon-po Beng and other forms) assisted him in this endeavour.

The uniqueness of this approach may be gauged by a statement of the *siddha* U-rgyan-pa (1230–1309) that though the Tantras taught and endorsed the liberation of creatures from the three lower realms (*ngan song gsum*) [by killing them], still, except for Virūpa in India and Zhang Rin-po-che in Tibet, no one else took recourse to this form of liberation.[21] On the basis of the biographies of a number of Zhang disciples and later founders of Tshal branch seats and dependencies, it is often maintained that such person fought for Bla-ma Zhang in this or that area as if testing under battle conditions was part of the education of a tantric adept, perhaps way beyond what was called for out of loyalty to Zhang's visionary course. That Dar-ma gzhon-nu had a vision of Cakrasaṃvara at the front in fact indicates that battle itself had become a means of attaining spiritual realization (see also App. IV: Chap. 4.1).

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[20] *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 808; the translation for the most part follows Jackson 1994: 63.

[21] Again *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 810; cit. in Jackson 1994: 63. For Virūpa in this connection, see App. IV: Chap. 5.

Further,

> Against anyone who defied his orders (i.e. refused to support materially the erection and furnishing of the *vihāra*), he repeatedly dispatched troupes to fight them. [In this way] he executed a *siddha*'s various deeds, acts hard (i.e. impossible) for others to fathom.
>
> (*Deb sngon* 836.5–7; BA Roerich 714–15)

This may be read as implying that Zhang himself was not engaged on the battlefield, but that his deeds as a tantric adept (*grub pa'i spyod pa*) were accumulated for him by way of his pupil-soldiers whom he dispatched into battle. Together they formed a community of conspirators, bound by a common programme: "When one judges my outer activities, no one apart from my stout-hearted (*snying rag ma*) disciples can fathom them," Zhang declared in the "Instruction to Jo-bo lHa-btsun" (*Deb sngon* 836.11–12, see also Jackson, *op. cit*., 62). Only one disciple is recorded as having entertained scruples about accepting the programme: Ti-shri ras-pa (1164–1236), originally a 'Ba'-rom-pa disciple who later spent most of his active life in Xixia and among Mongol nomadic lords; during the period he spent with Zhang he once uttered that he attended on him for the sake of the Dharma and not in order to fight and kill people (*GT* 16a).

Bla-ma Zhang's approach was practical-oriented, and he himself was a man of action, like many bKa'-brgyud ascetics both preceding and those following him, most notably Mi-la ras-pa. At no point in his life did he have a high regard for learned discourses or "tongue-users," his term for representatives of a purely intellectual approach (see Jackson, *op. cit*. 52); the latter merely came up with approximations to the Buddha's Four Truths, whereas the Teaching of the Great Seal (*bka' phyag pa*) aimed at the actual attainment of spontaneous realization, which is why he propagated his method (decoupled from Buddhist ethics, as it were) and defended its utility for the Buddhist path.

One source (*rNam thar phyi ma*) elaborates:

> At the moment when [I] was engaged in warfare, I [solemnly] pledged that anyone killed would not be reborn in hell. [Even] if it involved the killing of one single monk, [his death] would produce rainbows and [other miraculous signs such as] relics. […] My warfare was in the service of the Teaching; not for a single moment did I do it for my own personal interest.

And similar in *GT*:

> 'Gro-mgon swore that however other might look at his [unusual belligerent behaviour], if [this amassing of riches] should prove to be for his own sake only, they could kill him, he assured.

The small, sturdy man, often depicted with a roguish smile or sardonic mien (see App. I: "The many faces of Bla-ma Zhang"), was seen as a holy saint by some, but as a rascal and maverick of considerable controversy in other corners of contemporary Tibet. The statements bear witness to a spontaneity and a candor – to an eccentric self-projection that ranged from being a Nothing ("I, the Worm") to being Everything ("In the entire world, there is only me"), statements bespeaking a sens of self-irony and humour. And while they were spoken by a particularly charismatic personality, they are in no way extraneous to the tradition.

7. DAR-MA GZHON-NU
Pioneer of Tshal-pa

In a retrospective view about his life (in *ZhK III* (Cha) 254b1–265b6), Bla-ma Zhang specifically acknowledged the great service performed by his favourite assistant, Dar-ma gzhon-nu, for the consolidation of the Tshal polity and for his contribution to winning new disciples and patrons. Zhang's testamentary manifesto included the transfer to Dar-ma gzhon-nu of control of all the real property, including arable fields, possessed by the Yang-dgon and Gung-thang seats, and he instructed his successor to wholeheartedly provide alms to beggars (both of them would be helped in this endeavour by rich donations, such as those from the founder of sTag-lung). At the time, large parts of Gung-thang allegedly were in the hands of two of Bla-ma Zhang's close pupils, *lHa bzo* Phag and *dkon gnyer* Hral-chung. In order to meet the costs for the consecration, Bla-ma Zhang privately (?) donated two sets of religious books written in gold and seven sets of other books. He further donated all of the items (including sculptures, *thang ka* and musical instruments) belonging to [Tshal] Gung-thang.

The intendant (*nye gnas*, or should we say "aide-de-camp"?) Dar-ma gzhon-nu (1145–1232/33 A.D.) stands first in the list of the Zhang's disciples summarized as the *'phrin las grub pa bu chen*. As said (Chap. 6.1), the members of this group devoted themselves wholeheartedly to fulfilling Zhang's overall religious crusade and joined with the master in establishing a new polity. Another member of this group was mGar rGyal-ba 'byung-gnas of Grib, who was one of the first patrons (*yon bdag*) to offer Bla-ma Zhang his support. He was the head of the celebrated mGar clan, which had land in what would later be part of the heartland of the Tshal-pa polity, and a figure whose lineage would come to occupy the seat of the secular rulers of Tshal Gung-thang. Up to this point (*ca*. 1232), Dar-ma gzhon-nu was the dominant person. After Zhang, this disciple-intendant obviously was the most important figure in the founding phase of the Tshal-pa. Bla-ma Zhang himself in his writings maintains that the transfer of power from him to his favourite disciple resembled the heritage bequeathed from father to son (*phas bu 'bogs pa*).

Dar-ma gzhon-nu was a native of Ban-khos, a small district not far to the east of Gung-thang. The name of his lineage (and hence the lineage of the first three generations of Tshal *dbon*/*dpon sa*; see following Chap. and fn. 23) deplorably remains unknown. The sources chronicle that he had come, still a child, into the presence of Zhang, sometime in the early or mid-1150's. This early and most common form of apprenticeship *in loco parentis* meant that he was specifically groomed to serve as Zhang's close aide and confidant. The ties or bonds that evolved between them would make of him his teacher's most loyal zealot, to whom the role of co-founder of the monastic centre has been ascribed. As for the Gung-thang *vihāra*, the sources at least corroborate that Dar-ma gzhon-nu was the founder. The Tshal tradition accordingly acknowledges his role in a corresponding cultic representation. He is described as the symbolically significant rider on a white mare and as an incarnation of brGya-byin (Indra), the latter of which must be seen in connection with the Pehar configuration of rGyal-po sku-lnga, often featuring brGya-byin in the central position. The Pehar tradition, according to local informants, had appeared in Tshal by Zhang's time. The deities of this group together with the Phyag-bzhi-pa (i.e. the Four-armed Mahākāla and his acolytes, including the Gung-thang protectress dPal-ldan lha-mo 'Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma), formed the primary tutelary gods of Tshal Gung-thang. In the cultic represen-

tations of the "Tshal-pa Triad," Dar-ma gzhon-nu is situated to the left of Bla-ma Zhang, while the root *bla ma* dPal rGva-lo is depicted to the right. The latter, as stated, was Zhang's principal yogic teacher, and the one through whom the celebrated Mahākāla teaching cycles among others were later transmitted – the school's spiritual and esoteric hallmark. Whereas rGva-lo thus embodied the paternal teachings, Dar-ma gzhon-nu occupied something like the position of an "executive minister" of the religious throne. Small wonder that following the demise of Zhang, he was elected master (*bdag po*) of Gung-thang, which was tantamount to the position of the first secular ruler of Tshal-pa. This Tshal-pa pioneer passed away at the age of 88.

8. TSHAL-PA HEGEMONY IN THE 13th AND 14th CENTURIES

Following the establishment of Tshal and Gung-thang in the latter part of the 12th century and the passing of Bla-ma Zhang shortly after, the master's closest disciples and devotees were initially concerned with the consolidation of the new polity, and spcifically with the establishment of the two lineages of a religious and secular throne.

8.1 The Religious and Secular Thrones of Tshal Gung-thang and the Expansion of the Monastic Seat

In the years 1187 or 1194 – the sources are at variance – the Zhang assistant Śākya ye-shes (1147–1207 A.D.) succeeded to the religious throne (*gdan sa*) of Tshal Yang-dgon. Like Dar-ma gzhon-nu and numerous other Zhang disciples, he had come into the presence of Zhang as a child (*ca*. 1158 A.D.). And like Dar-ma gzhon-nu, he offered Bla-ma Zhang a rare personality fit to groom for his own coming grandiose quest. The task deputed to Śākya ye-shes as part of this missionary quest was the supervision and training of subsequent Tshal-pa students. During the same period, Dar-ma gzhon-nu (at the behest of Zhang) was elected *bdag po* of the Tshal community and of the gTsug-lag-khang. Conjointly with Śākya ye-shes, Dar-ma gzhon-nu afterwards committed himself to the erection of the bKra-shis 'od-'bar reliquary of the deceased master, and to the completion of the temple and the large sKu-'bum *stūpa*. The patron-priest union entered into between these two persons thus ushered in the beginning of the post-Zhang era, with Tshal-pa hegemony resting upon two pillars, of the religious and secular thrones.

The institutionalized form of the *chos srid lugs gnyis* (this term was introduced only later, in the mid-13th century), represented a dual system of religious and worldly rule shared between a lay patron and his religious client, and the Tshal-pa can possibly be acknowledged as the first such monastic-hegemonial polity ever established in post-dynastic Central Tibet. Still, one may also argue that the preceding gNyos rule may have predated Tshal hegemony. Within this power-sharing coalition, the religious throne, at least in its initial phase, clearly remained the determining force, since the throne-holder of Tshal Yang-dgon was the principal representative of the spiritual lineage instituted by Bla-ma Zhang. Following Zhang's demise, the throne-holder's lineage ramified into numerous sub-lineages embodied in the numerous abbatial successions of the branch institutions, originally establishments of the direct "sons" and "nephews" (*sras*, *bu*, *dbon*) – that is, disciples – of the paternal master. According to the school's account of origin, the establishment of the secular throne of Dar-ma gzhon-nu, too, counted among the offshoots of the Zhang lineage.

The first ten generations of the *mkhan rabs* (abbatial succession) of Yang-dgon were dominated by two lineages, namely the lineages of the first abbot Śākya ye-shes[22] and his pupil Sangs-rgyas snying-po, which provided the see with seven throne-holders. In between the incumbent and Zhang's pupil lHa-phyug-mkhar-ba, Sangs-rgyas-'bum filled the post. Summoned to Tshal from his monastery lHa-phyug-mkhar, he had formerly been the assistant of lHa-phyug-mkhar-ba and would later establish his own abbatial line in Gung-thang (see below). This restriction to only a few lineages points up a tendency already observable among the lines ruling the branch monasteries and other monastic centres, where the abbatial succession was held by one clan or line. A direct link between clan affiliation and throne was evidently crucial, and related to the question of heritage and loyalty. One may speculate whether pure subjective commitments and power interests had gained the upper hand here; in other words, whether the clan-based or family-based occupation of the see (in Tibet, usually transmitted lineally from father to son or uncle to nephew) was effective in ensuring a maximum of loyalty and filial commitment. One may also argue that the chosen lineage-based transmission of the see in fact merely served practical purposes, inasmuch as – contrary to the conventional rule – the clan affinity of the line of throne-holders was not directly hereditary; rather, succession to the throne was determined in the first place by the paramount spiritual lineage of the founding master. For if a breach in the succession occured, the election of a new candidate was defined in purely symbolic terms rather than through lines of descent. Election was ensured once a link between the candidate and the question of his status as heir to the sacred throne and its founder was established. This evidently was the case with the 11th throne-holder, the abbot *chos rje* Byang-chub bzang-po, who happened to rediscover the highly symbolic and numinous Zhang footprint Byang-mkhar Zhabs-rjes 'Gro-don-ma. This single feat sufficed to cement his claim to the throne. We can safely assume that both mechanisms for regulating the question of succession were in use. It is not surprising that this throne-holder appears to have played a key role in the dissemination of important biographical writings of Bla-ma Zhang – in particular his brief esoteric sketches. (Part I: fn. 156).

The time following the tenancy of this throne-holder, was marked by a certain monopolizing of power, with the abbatial see of Yang-dgon appearing to have permanently fallen into the hands of the family of the ruling clan and house of mGar. The 12th abbot *spyan snga* Grags-pa bshes-gnyen (1322–1381 A.D.) handed over the *dpon chen* title to his brother and he himself took over the see of Yang-dgon. All subsequent generations of throne-holders came, as far as is known, from this ruling mGar house. Until the take-over by the Phag-mo gru-pa, the abbot and *dpon chen* (respectively, the spiritual court-chaplain and secular ruler) now shared power, linked by blood and fate either as uncle and nephew or as elder and younger brother (Table V.1–V.1.2).

The early history of the secular throne can be divided into two phases: The period until *ca*. 1230–31 A.D., in other words the period covering the reign of the first three throne-holders. These tenants all descended from the family of Dar-ma gzhon-nu. It was the time of the successful expansion of the Tshal-pa schools into the territories of eastern, central and western Tibet (below Chap. 8.2). During the period of the third *dpon po*, the occupation of the areas in sKyid-smad (1225–30 A.D.) followed. *GT* (29a) in hindsight designates the phase (alluding to the traditional threefold divisions of *snga dar* and *phyi dar*) as the beginning of the Tshal-pa Teaching (*bstan pa'i dbu brnyes pa*).

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[22] We here follow the list of *GT*, in which not Zhang but his successor, Śākya ye-shes, is counted as the 1st Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba*.

The subsequent phase of the Tshal *dpon po* was dominated by the mGar lineage.[23] The Tshal-controlled districts at the beginning of the Mongol supremacy and their distribution among princely appanages (established 1251–53 A.D.) were attached to Tshal but later, in the 1260's, placed under Qubilai imperial patronage. The period following 1260 and lasting roughly one hundred years was the heyday of Tshal-pa hegemony. The Tshal-pa rulers proved capable of developing close bonds with the Mongols, and a particularly vital and profitable ones with Qubilai Qan and his family lineage. The Tshal-pa succeeded in convincing this powerful ruler and his successors, the Yüan emperors, that Tshal Gung-thang indeed was the "private temple" (*sgos kyi lha khang*) of Qubilai Qan. A private shrine (*se chen gyi pho brang*) in his honour was erected at Tshal Gung-thang in order to strengthen the patron realtionship with the powerful emperor. A large portion of the donations and offerings that reached Tshal from the imperial court served to maintain or restore the lHa-sa temples (Ra-sa, Ra-mo-che, Tshal Gung-thang). This point is repeatedly emphasized in the decrees and honours awarded to Tshal after it emerged as a myriarchy. During the concomitant administrative and military reorganization of Central Tibet, Tshal not surprisingly was transformed into a myriarchy (*wanhu*, *khri skor*) that comprised over 40 *mi sde* lay territories. During this period, the erection of the *khri dpon* palace in Tshal (no longer extant) was successfully completed. *GT* designates this period of mGar rule as the "Tshal-pa rule of dBus-gTsang." It was to last for close to 130 years (*ca*. 1231–1360's) – in other words, until the fall of the Yüan dynasty and the rise of the Phag-mo gru-pa in Central Tibet under the patriotic and ambitious *ta'i si tu* Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan.

In 1232 or 1233 A.D. Dar-ma gzhon-nu passed away at the advanced age of 88, the last representative of the first founding generation of monks who had successfully established Tshal hegemony. By 1215 he had ceded the seat to his nephew 'Byung-gnas brtson-'grus. In keeping to its occupancy of the first *dbon sa*, the mGar family had long been one of the principal patrons of the monastic centre. A shift of power to the neighbouring ruling house of Grib, therefore, seemed long overdue. It was no coincidence that at the close of Dar-ma gzhon-nu's life the old doyen of Tshal Gung-thang again emerged onto the scene. Though long past retirement, he was still vested with considerable authority. The ensuing *coup d'etat* for control of Tshal hegemony had serious consequences, particularly for the religious throne of Yang-dgon. The events culminated in the violent dismissal of the fourth Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba* Sangs-rgyas-'bum in 1231 A.D. According to an entry in the *Deb sngon* (BA 716), he was banished from the see and sent into exile by one *sgom pa* Ye-shes-ldan. The latter is not mentioned in *GT*, but in other lists he is registered as the successor of Sangs-rgyas-'bum (Table V.1). *GT*, on the other hand, lists Ti-shri ras-pa (the aforementioned disciple of Zhang and 'Ba'-rom who had arrived from the moribund Buddhist empire of Xia or Mi-nyag in 1226) as having possibly under the provisional title *gral dpon* temporarily taken over the see for about one year. He was followed in 1232 A.D. by the sixth abbot Sangs-rgyas snying-po. The entire story is reported in the *GT* in a different context, involving factional fighting in Gung-thang, in the wake of which a certain *sgom sde ba* (= Sangs-rgyas-'bum) was banished from the see. He managed to escape to Grib-mda' gNas-gsar and lHa-sa rtse-mo (see *GT*

[23] The throne occupied by Dar-ma gzhon-nu is in *GT* designated as *dbon sa*, lit. "Seat of the Nephew," though nephew also may imply "disciple." If it is not simply a mistranscription of *dpon sa*, the term may reflect the fact that succession to the throne during the first three generations followed from uncle to nephew. It differed from the succession of the mGar *dpon chen*, which was regulated by the principle of primogeniture, i.e. from father to son or to the second-eldest brother.

22a; Part I: fn. 231–233), only to return again before long, and found the *sgom sde* college called the gZims-khang shar-ba. It was erected under the patronage of the *dpon chen* Rin-rgyal-ba in Gung-thang, – a seminary which he would head as its first incumbent. The dating of the *sgom sde* to 1242 A.D. appears somewhat contradictory, though (Part I: fn. 115). In any case, the foundation must have taken place within the tenure of the mGar ruler, under whom the dismissed *gdan sa ba* obviously was rehabilitated. Sangs-rgyas-'bum had been – so it may be construed – the victim of an internal conflict, which backfired, leading to the rise of mGar in Tshal Gung-thang. The abbot evidently was a favourite of the mGar from Grib, and behind his dismissal we may perceive the hand of the old Dar-ma gzhon-nu, who opposed a seizure of power, obviously in vain, by the increasingly dominant mGar family.

The new *mchod yon* union forged between Sangs-rgyas-'bum of the abbatial throne and the secular *dpon chen* Rin-rgyal-ba of the mGar clan (i.e. the Tshal *khri dpon*) ushered in a fruitful revival of the *chos srid lugs gnyis* relationship that had existed between the religious seat and its benefactors. It heralded a new era in the monastic history of Tshal Gung-thang. Until that point Gung-thang had been registered as a temple, but now it was enlarged with a meditation college (*sgom sde*), named, after its location, Eastern Residence (gZims-khang shar-ma/ba), which later was turned into an independent college with a throne of its own. This seat soon acquired a status and reputation both inside and outside Tshal, similar to its "mother seat." The link between these two institutions remained close; for example, the latter's *mchod khang* (the distinct chambers of worship) were traditionally maintained by monks from Gung-thang.

At the outset of the 14th century, Gung-thang underwent an expansive phase that witnessed the establishment of two additional colleges, namely the Dharma Wheel (Chos-'khor-gling) and the Dharma Throne College or Temple (Chos-khri lha-khang/lho-lcog). Tshal, too, similarly erected the dBus-gling Mantra College, which came to be associated with the old prestigious retreat sites of Byang-mkhar (in Zhal) and g.Yu-brag of sGrags. Records of the individual abbatial lineages of these branch colleges deplorably disappeared from the sources sometime in the 14th century, and it is only during the dGe-lugs-pa period that more concrete information becomes available after the individual colleges and seminaries affiliated themselves (*lag*) to different dGe-lugs-pa institutions, – for example, by being incorporated into the scholastic *grva*/*chos skor* programme of study for visiting monks. The mid-14th century saw the culmination of Tshal-pa's expansionism within the history of intellectual and spiritual life in Tibet. Under the guiding hand of the two influential *drung chen* sMon-lam rdo-rje and Kun-dga' rdo-rje, rulers of great intellectual acumen, Gung-thang became the site of one of the key philosophical seminaries in dBus, which were all situated on Tshal territory or close to it. These were dGa'-ba-gdong, sKyor-mo-lung and Zul-phu, and bDe-ba-can, gSang-phu and Chos-'khor-gling in Gung-thang (cf. Table V. 8.4 below; see also fn. 26 *infra*). It was in Tshal that in the years 1347–51 the prototypical Tshal-pa bKa'-'gyur canon was revised and rearranged. The Tshal-pa manuscript edition of the canon constitutes the basis or archetype for almost all subsequent versions.

The *sgom sde* enjoyed a particular status: Its abbatial succession, defined by the "nephew lineage" of *sprul sku* Sangs-rgyas-'bum, experienced a remarkable revival in the 17th century in the person of Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol, who was considered a manifestation of the *sgom sde* founder, Sangs-rgyas-'bum. The enthronement of this celebrated representative of the rule of the Fifth Dalai

Lama eventually led to the appropriation of the whole of Tshal Gung-thang by the central government. The then abbot of Yang-dgon, *spyan snga* sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho, the last *gdan sa ba* of the Tshal (i.e. mGar) lineage, entrusted to Zur-chen the empowerment and authorization of Bla-ma Zhang's *bKa' rgya ma* writings.

Zur-chen's activities in Tshal Gung-thang say much about the symbolic continuation of the institution and how the shift in power in this case ensured a smooth transition. Zur-chen, the principal esoteric teacher of the Fifth Dalai Lama, initially went to Yer-pa, the old cultic "life-pole" (*yaṣṭi*) of the lHa-sa sanctuary, where Bla-ma Zhang manifested himself in a vision and urged him to resume responsibility for the renovation and revitalization of his (Bla-ma Zhang's) dilapidated temple complex (see 10.1 below). During the ensuing visit to Gung-thang and to the tomb of the *sgom sde* (sGom-sde gZims-khang shar-ma) founder, Zur had recollections of his former existence as Sangs-rgyas-'bum, an experience which served as a strong and, perhaps even irresistible impetus to accept the throne (*GT* 51b–53a). Following his arrival in 1633, he took over the seat, first of Gung-thang, and then of the colleges of Chos-khri lho-lcog and gZims-khang-shar. The biography of Zur-chen further confides that he manifested himself as Sangs-rgyas-'bum at a point when the above-mentioned *chu rags pa* dGe-ba-'bum was about to carry out rituals and construction work on the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang (Part I: fn. 119). Both Bla-ma Zhang and the Sangs-rgyas-'bum disciple lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum are counted among the pre-existences of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Additional links were thus forged to the heritage of these two important figures in the history of lHa-sa. Their elevation into the ancestoral gallery of those who devoted their life to the preservation of the Jo-bo *sanctum* in lHa-sa would decisively strengthen the nascent bonds between dGe-lugs order and the old bKa'-brgyud site.

8.2 The Tshal-pa Branch Schools Outside Tshal Gung-thang

The establishment of the basic institutions of the Tshal-pa school, – called according to their geographical position into Bar Tshal (the Tshal-pa school of Central Tibet), sMad Tshal (of East Tibet) and sTod Tshal (of western Tibet), – largely goes back to the first generation of Zhang's disciples (see App. V: Table V.2). Their foundations fell during a period when Bla-ma Zhang was still active. Under Bar Tshal *GT* lists the founding of Ro-skam (established by the Ro-skam-pa Lo-sgom Nyi-ma shes-rab in 1183 in Glags [Ba-lam] district), Kha-rag-dgon (established by Kha-rag-pa 'Dul-ba-'od in Kha-rag, in 1181 or 1193) and Ru-thog-dgon in eastern Mal-gro (established by *rtogs ldan* Ru-thog-pa, a disciple of lHa-phyug-mkhar-ba, probably before 1200). From these monasteries, Ru-thog in particular, numerous branch foundations followed, in Mal-gro, sTod-lung, Kong-po, in Grva-phyi and other districts. A number of these have still not been precisely localised. lHa-ri-kha (or lHa-ri sPang-gshong) was founded 1168 A.D. by the Zhang disciple Gra-'jed-pa Nam-mkha-'od. This site (not mentioned in *GT*) was probably located in present-day lHa-ri county and along with its dependences is also to be counted as a part of Bar Tshal. Further Tshal-pa branch institutions included 'Ju-bu-dgon (est. 1187 A.D. in Phrad-tsam, arguably sPras in 'Phan-yul) and the monastery of lHa-phyug-mkhar (in eastern Ba-lam, established in 1193 A.D.), both founded by the Zhang disciple lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa Nyi-zla-'od.

The classification of the monastery founded by the Zhang student 'Bri-ra-ba Śākya-'od, who conjointly with the founders of lHa-ri-kha, lHa-phyug-mkhar and Kha-rag-pa belonged to the group

of "'Od-bzhi" disciples, is uncertain. His monastery in Byang, no description of which survives, is perhaps the Zhul-bu dgon-pa in West Tibetan Gung-thang, which in *GT* is listed under sTod Tshal and as having been erected by the Zhang disciple Nyag 'Bri-ra-ba (= 'Bri-ra-ba Śākya-'od ?).

The monastery of lHa-phyug-mkhar, the founder of which later emerged as the 3th Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba*, gained increasing importance in the 13th century. The monastery not only developed into a virtual mother-seat for Ru-thog and its branch establishments (Za-lung-dgon etc.), but also served as a catalyst for the expanding sTod Tshal school. It was from here that the exodus of students of lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa and Ru-thog-pa had its beginning. They set out towards the West,[24] launching their missionary quest in the environs of the famous Mi-la ras-pa hermitages in Mang-yul Gung-thang (i.e. the celebrated *rdzong drug*). The monastery of rTa-sga, erected in *ca*. 1200 A.D. by sNang-sgom ras-pa (*alias* Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa), became a key institution of the western Tshal-pa. Under the benign patronage of the local lords in the districts of the kingdom of Mang-yul Gung-thang, it paved the way for further missionary forays into little-known territories. From here they succeeded in expanding further towards Pu-rang, where they established additional dependencies. In Pu-rang they rose to become court chaplains of the local kings (see Table V.2). The monastic mother-seat and centre of Tshal Gung-thang profited from the local affluence of the sTod Tshal branch monasteries, from which donation regularly were dispatched to Central Tibet, to the temple of Gung-thang, to the sGom-sde and their "mother-seat" of lHa-phyug-mkhar. However, the heyday of sTod Tshal and its local political influence would be restricted to the 13th century (see also Everding 2000: 336ff.).

Riding the tide of Tibetan missionary activity eastwards in their service to *propaganda fides*, and no doubt in their search for patrons and benefactors (already initiated by the Sa-skya-pa, the Karma-pa and – close behind them – individual members of the 'Ba'-rom-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa in the late 12th century), the Tshal-pa can be counted among the first wave of Tibetans seeking land and affluent backers for their creed and seats. A pervasive clientelism arose between mighty eastern rulers and their numerous Tibetan teachers. The Tibetan religious institutions were in great need of securing support for their ever-expanding missionary work and for their financially burdensome religious establishments. They often found fertile ground in eastern Tibet, while in Xia state (982/1038–1227) and in areas of China occupied by different tribes and ethnic groups, such as the Mongols, they came across not a few pious Buddhist patrons, rulers or nomadic chieftains. The relationship that evolved served both sides, allowing for a rich intellectual, spiritual, economic and cultural exchange of teachings, ideas and commodities, but often it took the form of benign coersion, with the Tibetan religious clients being bound to remain at the court or headquarters of ruling patrons over an appreciable number of years. Possibly as early as 1209 A.D., the Tshal presence in East Tibet led to the foundation of Go-ra-dgon in the bTsong-kha area by Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge, who had followed in the wake of gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba, and Ti-shri ras-pa, of dPal Śrī-phug-pa, later of mGar dam-pa Chos-sdings-pa and others, and still later of figures such as Ba-lam-pa (fn. 24), all of whom became court preceptors (*bla mchod*) in Xia. Prior to these endeavours, Karma Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa and his students, as well as figures like Vairocanarakṣita/-vajra (the above-mentioned root-teacher of Bla-ma Zhang), similarly entertained early contacts to leading circles in Mi-nyag. The initial contact between Xia and Central Tibet was initiated by the Sa-skya-pa.

[24] And arguably also to the east, perhaps in the retinue of Bla-ma Ba-lam-pa, who is chronicled as having returned from Mi-nyag in the 1220's to become the 4th abbot of lHa-phyug-mkhar.

As far as can be discerned, there was never any permanent Tshal settlement in East Tibet. Following the defeat and destruction of the Xia state in 1227 A.D., the Tshal proselytizers in the new territory again withdrew to Central Tibet. The brief activity in the east was not in vain, however, inasmuch as the early contact with the Mongol princes and chiefs had positive repercussions during the subsequent Mongol supremacy. The Tshal-pa teacher mentioned, Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge, arrived in Mongolia a second time between 1235 and 1240 upon invitation, where he is said to have served as tutor to the leading members of the Tolui line, the future ruling princely line of the Yüan Dynasty. Such contacts ensured rich donations and honours for Tshal over the years. The chronicles repeatedly stress the particular favour which Tshal-pa enjoyed under the successive Mongol chiefs, who evidently took over the commitments and contacts initially entertained by the defunct Xia state. This found expression in the recognition of the Tshal-pa as *bdag po* of lHa-sa and in the rich donations to Gung-thang gtsug-lag-khang, the "private temple of the Emperor Qubilai." The policy charted by the Tshal-pa combined a stready expansion of its main seat and its affiliated branches. Its success was ensured not least through the rich patronage on the part of the Mongol patrons.

The monasteries outside of Tshal were usually strongly embedded in their own local contexts and had their own lines of *yon bdag*. We are provided with some information about the first-generation abbots of the scattered Bar Tshal dependencies. The successors of the founders were typically addressed as *dbon*, often in the sense of a genuine nephew, and where the collateral lines and their families serving as local patrons, just as the Sa-skya polity functioned during the same period. The relationship between an uncle as *yon bdag* and a nephew as throne-holder was a much cherished Tibetan hegemonic structure. This may best be illustrated in the case of Ro-skam, which until the first part of the 14th century was dominated by the Lo-mi clan of Glags (Ba-lam), the clan of the founder Ro-skam-pa chen-po (1139–1208 A.D.). The abbots of this dependency were, at least during the period of mGar rulers, traditionally appointed by the successive Tshal-pa *dpon chen* (cf. *Deb dmar* 136–37) – an arrangement that possibly applied to the other Bar Tshal institutions too. This would have meant close bonds with the mother seat, and also centralistic structures that only permitted the branch institutions and their patrons limited autonomy.

The later history of the Bar Tshal monasteries is less well documented. The stray information in *GT* is primarily based upon the notes and records listed in Kun-dga' rdo-rje's *Deb dmar*, which end in the middle of the 14th century. With the exception of Ru-thog (and some minor Tshal-pa branch sites, such as sKam-dgon, Za-lung or rDzams-dgon) none of the other Bar Tshal institutions made it into the 17th century monastic catalogue of *Vaiḍūrya ser po*. Apart from the monastic center itself (and retreat sites established by Zhang), the majority of branch settlements apparently disappeared from the scene under the changing hegemonies in the 15th century.

9. TIMES OF TRANSITION
Tshal Gung-thang during the 15th and 16th Centuries

In mid-14th century Central Tibet the area in and around lHa-sa witnessed a period of political upheaval, which gradually brought an end to so-called "Tshal-pa epoch" (*tshal dus*) and its heyday during the regency of the erudite Kun-dga' rdo-rje (rl. 1323–1350/51). The political changes, as is generally known, were largely due to the machinations of the Phag-mo gru-pa *khri dpon* Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan of the Rlangs lHa-gzigs clan, and followed a lengthy phase of self-assertion and the consolidation of his former administrative area (i.e. the Phag-gru *khri skor* in the lHo-kha region; see App. III). He eventually abandoned his regional base to replace Sa-skya and assume its supremacy over inner Tibet. The leading position of the *ta'i si tu* (*da situ*), was soon confirmed by a weakened imperial Yüan court in Dadu, followed by the actual dissolution of same dynasty (1368), – events that in Tibet proper led to a durable re-organization around a new central court now dominated by the ruling Rlangs family, the heads of which had their main seat in Yar-lung sNe'u-gdong-rtse. Until the end of the 16th century they would have the status and title – in tangible mimicry of the new eastern imperial court – of "Sovereign" (*gong ma*), holding sway over all areas of dBus-gTsang. This development proved possible not least because of the vacuum caused by the absence of the Mongol court and by the political factual laissez-faire, or non-interference, practised by the succeeding Ming vis-a-vis Tibetan affairs. The Tshal-pa now lacked their prestigious and profitable imperial protection, which had ensured them their unrivalled position as lords of the lHa-sa valley. The predicament that the Tshal-pa found themselves in was partly self-caused: It was Tshal's inevitable, yet ill-fated decision in the warfare between the Sa-skya and Phag-gru for supremacy to take sides against the *ta'i si tu* (for details, see Petech 1990, and now Czaja, 2006). The sovereignty of the Phag-gru *gong ma* throughout long stretches of their history often was reduced to nominal recognition. From the mid-15th century on centrifugal and regional powers in and around the centres of the so-called 13 governor seats (*rdzong*) dominated the political landscape. Among the *rdzong*, which were erected by the *ta'i si tu* (from 1355/56) and whose governors (*sde pa*, *rdzong dpon*) were elected from among his allies, six *rdzong* alone were located in sKyid-shod (see above Chap. 4.1 and Map 1). The *rdzong* families to a very large degree acted autonomously within their jurisdiction, with certain matrimonial alliances, the outcome of conflicts (alternating between domination and subordination with the waxing and waning of power) now and again leading to shifts in regional dominance; or with new powerful families emerging from minor estates stepping in the foreground, such as the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa, who in the 16th century eventually replaced the sNel-pa and sKyor-mo-lung-pa as a dominant force.

Regarding the gradually evolving political pre-eminence in the lHa-sa valley and in the middle section of sKyid-shod (from the mid-14th century), the following phases can be discerned chronologically, among the major players.[25]

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[25] For the source references concerning the following brief description, see App. II, *passim*; and App. V. Table 12.1–3. It should be noted that the sources available still do not allow for a complete historical and genealogical representation of these important local ruling houses. This in particular is true with respect to the sKyid-shod-pa.

Reportedly a MS copy of a uniquely rare text known as *sDe pa sKyid shod pa'i gdung rabs* written by *A khu* bKra-shis rab-brtan (see Part I: fn. 565) has survived (see *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 252–53). An untitled supplement to this text, on the other hand, composed by *drung* Ngag-dbang Tshangs-pa'i dbyangs (d. 1724) of the Ga-zi house, the father

• *ca*. 1350's until the beginning of the 15th century:

Given the weakened Tshal-pa polity, the sNel-pa and Brag-dkar-pa governor seats now represented leading Phag-gru outposts in sKyid-shod; with occasional 'Bri-gung influence.

• *ca*. 1415–1480 A.D.:

Hegemony of the sNel-pa or sNe'u *rdzong dpon* (i.e. the "heyday of sNe'u"; *sne'u dus*)

• *ca*. 1480–1517/18 A.D.:

Occupation of the sNel-pa territory in sKyid-smad and the broader lHa-sa valley by the Rin-spungs-pa and the Karma-pa hierarchs; the gradual rise of the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa, who for a short period sided with the Rin-spungs-pa.

• *ca*. 1518–1550:

The sKyid-shod-pa and the sKyor-mo lung-pa (the latter ruled by a branch line of the Phag-gru that had taken over or now replaced the sNel-pa house) now represented the dominant hegemonic powers in and around the lHa-sa valley.

• *ca*. 1550's–1620/25 A.D.:

Hegemony of the dGa'-ldan-pa in sKyid-shod and beyond (they also resided at Tshal).

• from 1620 A.D.:

Initially supported by the dGa'-ldan-pa, their strongest inner-Tibetan ally, the *phyag mdzod* bSod-nams rab-brtan of 'Bras-spungs takes over the political command in lHa-sa and sKyid-shod.

• from mid-1640's:

Tshal Gung-thang comes under the jurisdiction of the Central Government.

9.1 The sNe'u-pa / sNel-pa: Pioneer Patrons of the dGe-lugs-pa in sKyid-shod and the Interregnum with the Rin-spungs-pa in lHa-sa

In the wake of the ascent of the Phag-mo gru-pa regime and strongly supported by the latter, the new dGe-lugs-pa order gradually disseminated throughout sKyid-shod at the beginning of the 15th century. It all started with the inauguration in 1409 of the *sMon lam chen mo* in lHa-sa by its creator, bTsong-kha-pa, who shortly after initiated the founding of the three great dGe-lugs convents and seats of dGa'-ldan, Se-ra and 'Bras-spungs. The local representatives of the Phag-gru, the governors in sKyid-shod, served as patrons – in the first place the sNel-pa (sNe'u *rdzong dpon*), but also other local chiefs, such as the Brag-dkar-pa governorship (in upper sKyid-shod), and the latter's neighbouring rGya-ma-pa, whose ruler at least up until the 15th century was still called the rGya-ma *khri dpon*. According to *GT* (38f.), during the *sMon lam* prayer festival, the Tshal-pa (represented by the 15th *dpon chen tre hos* dGa'-bde bzang-po) still served as official patrons (*dānapati*), but shortly after (*ca*. 1415), during the tenure of the 16th *dpon chen*, *spyan snga* dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan, the Tshal-pa house was constrained to hand over Gung-thang to the

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of Tibet's eminent literary figure *bka' blon* mDo-mkhar-pa Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal (1697–1763 A.D.), most deplorably must be regarded as lost. Cf. *Deb ther rgya mtsho* 15.

The recently published study on this ruling house titled *sKyid shod sde pa'i skor* by Yon-tan rgya-mtsho represents a first, rather inchoate attempt, – based upon too limited a number of secondary sources – to unravel the exciting history of this ruling family. A thorough study of the sKyid-shod-pa is an urgent desideratum within Tibetology; this, however, will require access to the still extant but unseen 16th-century family chronicle by bKra-shis rab-brtan.





***9a**. bTsong-kha-pa is taught medicine in Tshal Gung-thang*

***9b**. bTsong-kha-pa with his patrons, the sNel-pa from sNe'u rdzong*

Details from a Thangka



***10**.* Byams-chen *chos rgyal* Śākya ye-shes

Phag-gru *gong ma* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374–1432); see App. I. This heralded the demise of the Tshal-pa as a regional political hegemony.

The author of *GT* is of the opinion that following the rule of dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan, there were four or five additional generations of Tshal *dpon po*, although he does not mention them by name. One source (*Thang stong rnam thar I* 244f.) for the late 1440's records the "Tshal-pa *dpon po* rNam-rgyal bzang-po," possibly a descendant of the 16th *dpon chen*. The title "Tshal ruler" can only be understood as a nominal one. The real rulers were other persons. After their annexation, the Tshal-pa districts were administered by the local Phag-gru governors, with the house of the sNe'u *rdzong* (which produced the later rulers of Tshal, the dGa'-ldan-pa) controlling the largest portion (see below 9.3 and 9.3.1). The monastic centre itself, where bTsong-kha-pa studied in the 1380's, lost none of its status as an influential centre of erudition; in fact, it soon turned into one of the leading seminaries or learning centres of the dGe-lugs-pa in sKyid-shod.[26] Se-ra Theg-chen-gling played an especially great role in the dGe-lugs-pa-ization of parts of the Gung-thang institution, not least through the strong commitment shown and close bonds maintained by Se-ra's founder, Byams-chen *chos gyi rgyal po* Śākya ye-shes (1354–1435 A.D.), who came from Tshal Gung-thang. The latter's

[26] This concerns in the first place the Gung-thang Chos-'khor grva-tshang, among the most celebrated circles of philosophical seminaries of sKyid-shod (see above) (*ca*. 1419). These *chos grva* historically perceived themselves as overlapping teaching institutions within the Tibetan epistomological tradition (going back to rNgog Blo-ldan shes-rab,

founder, Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang, remained an indisputable authority for the new rulers. This found expression, among other ways, in the classification of *bod nor bu rnam gsum*, or the "Three Gems of Tibet," a triad recognized from the 15th century on that referred to bTsong-kha-pa, Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po and Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang (see App. I) – in other words, to the spiritual fathers of the political and religious leaders who in the 12th to the 15th century dominated and determined the fate of the lHa-sa valley.

In order to characterize the alliance between the Phag-gru (of sNel-pa) and the dGe-lugs-pa, we may refer to an episode that can be dated to 1416, the founding year of 'Bras-spungs. The primary sponsor, the 2nd sNe'u *rdzong dpon* Drung-chen Nam-mkha' bzang-po (rl. *ca*. 1400–30), placed a large stretch of land as monastic estate at the disposal of the dGe-lugs-pa, namely the area of Dan-'bag to the west of lHa-sa. Upon completion of the complex, the sNe'u ruler went about transferring the relics of the Yamāntaka master Rva *lo tsā ba* from lDan to 'Bras-spungs, where they served as "inner support" for the later Vajrabhaivara statue known as Chos-rgyal lCags-thag-ma (*gShin rje gshed chos 'byung* 94bf.; Hazod 2004: 36). This was a symbolic act incorporating the Yamāntaka tradition into the dGe-lugs-pa, for whom the deity would serve as a leading Protector of the Doctrine. The Phag-gu lord occupied a position similar to the local lords and the pupil-warriors, who over 200 years earlier (and probably guided by similar motives) emerged in this valley at the eastern entrance of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone (see above 6.1).

Similar cultic and symbolic borrowings are reported in connection with 'Bras-spungs, the power base of the dGe-lugs-pa (until the mid-17th century) and the primary site where the religious policy of the new order was formulated. The most spectacular (and still somewhat nebulous) episode, also mentioned in *GT*, was the transfer of Pehar from Tshal to 'Bras-spungs as the latter's new protective deity (namely in the 'Bras-spungs bDe-yangs college, founded by lCog-pa Byang-chub dpal-ldan). He later would serve as the oracle deity of Pehar-lcog, or as gNas-chung *chos rje* (App. IV).

The Pehar transfer, according to one source, was linked with the great fire of Gung-thang of 1546, an event which perhaps actually occured in the period of the Second Dalai Lama dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho (1475–1542), namely in 1529, according to the *sde srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (cited in *GT*). When in 1517 A.D. dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho returned to lHa-sa from a lengthy mission and teaching tour through eastern Central Tibet, he was urged to ascend the abbatial see of 'Bras-spungs. In hindsight, this signalled a turning point in the political history of the lHa-sa valley: the end of the hegemony of the Rin-spungs-pa, a ruling house that had been controlling large parts of the sKyid-shod territory since 1880/81, when the Rin-spungs lord Don-yod rdo-rje made successful military inroads into the area.

Among the main instigators of the Rin-spungs military and political activity in Central Tibetan territories were the Karma-pa hierarchs, who never ceased coveting the lHa-sa area and its prestigious national legacy. Once in control of it, they soon fulfilled a long-cherished wish to establish

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with its main seat in gSang-phu sNe'u thog), but from the 13th century on they were dominated by the Sa-skya-pa. The classification of the (sKyid-shod) *chos grva drug* (Table V.8) goes back to the dGe-lugs-pa, who made their entry into the old seminaries of sKyid-shod, but also into former, local centres of the rNgog *lugs*, such as the Ngan-po *dgon* of 'Phan yul. Often such centres were designated *dge sa lugs*, meaning that a dGe-lugs-pa seat structurally was attached to a Sa-skya monastery.

a temple in the near vicinity of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang *vihāra*. The 4th Zhva-dmar Chos-grags ye-shes (1453–1524 A.D.) and the Rin-spungs lord erected the Byang Yangs-pa-can monastery in sTod-lung in 1503 and in the very same year the 7th Zhva-nag Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454–1506) had the Thub-bstan Chos-'khor[-gling] erected, in the Sa-nag area on the eastern fringes of lHa-sa, Sa-nag being the Site of the Black [Tents] (i.e. of the Black Karma-pa). The second institution was erected as an outpost of the Karma-pa in the central lHa-sa area, and also a response to the ideological campaign the dGe-lugs-pa undertook in gTsang territories by building bKra-shis lhun-po. From 1498 until 1517 the dGe-lugs-pa clergy were excluded from participating in the *sMon lam chen mo*, the supervision and management of which during this period was alternately the responsibility of the Karma-pa and the (neutral but universally respected) gSang-phu-pa monk communities. In the same period (1503) the Karma-pa gained a firmer foothold by assuming control of the dBus-gling college in Tshal. Their influence, however, did not survive beyond the year 1517 A.D. According to *GT*, dBus-gling was taken over by the dGe-lugs-pa during the tenure of the 12th Se-ra abbot *rje btsun* Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan (1469–1544) and attached to the Ser-Byes college.

9.2 In sKyor-mo-lung – Powerful Patroness of the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje*

In accepting the religious seat of 'Bras-spungs in 1517 A.D., dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho, a strong and highly popular man, entered upon the political and religious scene in lHa-sa. During the preceding years he had toured southern and central Tibet and throughout had accumulated immense prestige. The monastic establishments he founded and the network of religious and political alliances he forged later proved decisive for his enduring political success. This included a fruitful collaboration with prestigious local chiefs, not least in the southern, south-eastern districts of Central Tibet, such as the chiefs of g.Ye/E-yul (i.e. the lHa-rgya-ri-pa), in gNyal, Nyang-po, Dvags-po, and particularly with the 'Ol-kha sTag-rtse rulers (*nang so*), who donated and sponsored the erection of the retreat und teaching center of Chos-'khor rGyal (in Me-tog-thang of north-western Dvags-po). The sympathy, and indeed popularization, the dGe-lugs-pa reaped from his activities were not insignificant, i.e. "from Kashmir in the west to China in the east there was not a place in Tibet that was not touched by his teaching" (cf. *DL2* 556ff.; Mullin 1994: 98) – at that point an optimistic claim within the hostile milieu the dGe-lugs-pa was still facing. As already noted, his consolidation of the bKa'-gdams-pa legacy, embodied in the person of 'Brom-ston-pa, the spiritual father of the succeeding dGe-lugs-pa order (whom dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho repeatedly identified himself with in visions and on whose teachings he gave public lectures), was led to the subsequent ascent of the order and heralded the



***11**. The 'Bras-spungs chos rje dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho and later Second Dalai Lama*

ideological self-image of the institution. No other Dalai Lama (with the exception of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama) more vigorously promoted the crucial 'Brom-ston legacy, which in the 17th century proved vital for the later Dalai Lama's institutional legitimacy. Against this background, he may, in retrospect, well be regarded as the greatest of all Dalai Lamas.

The reinstitution of the *sMon lam chen mo* and the introduction of further lHa-sa annual festivals and rites (in connection with the establishment of certain crucial *dharmapāla* cults) were important milestones (see *DL2* 552ff.; Mullin 1994: 94–103). What was decisive for his success at 'Bras-spungs and lHa-sa, however, was the unmitigated support he garnered from the Phag-gru *gong ma* Ngag gi dbang-phyug bKra-shis grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1488–1564 A.D.) and, perhaps more importantly, his consort and co-ruler (*dpon sa* or *bdag mo*) Sangs-rgyas-dpal-'dzoms-ma (*ca*. 1485–1555/61?). The latter resided at the sKyor-mo-lung estate of rNam-sras lHa-rtse (in lower sTod-lung), originally a branch seat of the sNe'u *rdzong*. She evidently was responsible for dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho's ascent in 1517 and was the unrivalled local chief in this area to the west of lHa-sa; within the wider sKyid-shod area she only faced serious opposition from the aspiring dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa. The 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho lauded her as a truly peerless *bstan pa'i sbyin bdag* or "patroness of the teaching." She served (conjointly with the *gong ma* by her own personal decision) as the main sponsor of the *sMon lam chen mo* (by 1518 it again was being conducted by monks from 'Bras-spungs and Se-ra). Further, she provided the financial means for the construction of the pivotal dGa'-ldan pho-brang in 'Bras-spungs. After the passing of dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho (1542), she no doubt oversaw and completed the construction of the priceless reliquary for containing his remains (executed in sKyor-mo-lung) and ensured (still before the ailing 2nd Dalai Lama had passed away) that the rebirth of the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* would be from the neighbouring district (i.e. in retrospect the 3rd Dalai Lama bSod-rnams rgya-mtsho (1543–1588) – on his mother side, a scion of the Kun-bzang-rtse branch of the sNe'u-gdong house). Her rule obviously came to an end with the invasion of sKyor-mo-lung in the early 1550's by her local rivals and sometime antagonists, the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa (see Table V.12.3).

9.3 The dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa: The Figures behind the Rise of the dGa`-ldan Pho-brang State

The rulers of the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa during this epoch was the *sde pa* or s*a skyong* bSod-nams rgyal-po (1506–46) and, of even greater significance, his son Don-grub rgyal-po/rab-brtan (*ca*. 1525–68). These able men laid the groundwork for the rise into what can be called the leading political power in Central Tibet during the mid- to late 16th century. The fortress of bDe-chen-rtse, which they took over from the Brag-dkar-pa, eventually became their main seat. The war that raged during 1553–54 A.D., largely triggered by a dispute within the ruling Phag-gru family at rTses-thang, is said to have led to the arrest of either Sangs-rgyas-dpal-'dzoms-ma or bSod-nams grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1532–66), whose incarceration may have lasted until 1561. The popular lHa-sa *sMon lam chen mo* and the Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa* festivals were both called off because of the warfare. Among the important secular branch seats of the sKyid-shod-pa were the lHa-sa mansion dGa'-ldan khang-gsar and, in Gung-thang, the residence called Tshal Zur-khang (est. 1549). As noted in *GT*, the sKyid-shod-pa were now the actual rulers at Tshal Gung-thang. Chronologically this coincided with the last of the "four or five" old Tshal-pa *dpon chen*, listed in *GT* after 1415 as still being holders of this position, if only nominally (see above). Nonetheless, we have references



***12**. The Third Dalai Lama in Tshal and Gung-thang*
Detail of Thangka, 16th century

(in *GT* and other sources, most notably the *Bod kyi deb ther* of the Fifth Dalai Lama) that the sKyid-shod-pa as already from early 15th century entertaining close bonds with Tshal, and possibly having a secular seat there (Chap. 9.3.1 *infra*). When the Rin-spungs-pa invaded Central Tibet in 1480, sKyid-shod reportedly assisted the gTsang troops against the sNel-pa, then their local rivals; not long afterwards they chose sides and supported the Phag-gru *gong ma* in their skirmishes with the Rin-spungs-pa, and for their service were rewarded with large areas in sKyid-shod: Ba-lam bDe-chen-rtse, lHa-sa and beyond (cf. Table V. 12.3). From the 16th century on, they regularly surface in the sources, as when, in 1511, they invited the prospective 2nd Dalai Lama to Gung-thang. During the remaining first part of the 16th century, the sKyid-shod-pa consolidated their position throughout upper Central Tibet.

After the infamous and reckless sKyid-shod-pa ruler Don-grub rgyal-po, held responisble for military adventures and the shift in loyalty away from former allies, met a violent death through assassination in 1568, his younger brother *mi dbang* bKra-shis rab-brtan (also called sKyid-shod *zhabs drung* bKra-shis rab-brtan, 1531–89) assumes control of the house. During his and his nephew's reign (other sources claim that *sde pa* Rin-po-che g.Yul-rgyal nor-bu (d. 1607/08) was his son) the power and influence of the house was further consolidated. Often referred to as the Byang-rgyud rgyal-po or the "kings of the northern districts [of dBus]" they actively patronized the dGe-lugs-pa in the latter part of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, and to a considerable extent attended the birth of the dGe-lugs state. bKra-shis rab-brtan must be regarded as the most influential political figure in second half of the 16th century in Central Tibet. His career started in Tshal Gung-thang, where he was soon acting as a very devoted patron to the dGe-lugs-pa. He developed especially close personal bonds with the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho, who in 1547 had visited Gung-thang as a five-year-old. The sKyid-shod-pa *zhabs drung* is extensively lauded in *GT* as the patron, who in the wake of the devastating fire of 1546 initiated the lengthy reconstruction of the Gung-thang *vihāra*. According to the description in *GT*, a very large part of the monastic inventory was destroyed in the fire, including the central lHa-chen dPal-'bar or Byang-chub chen-po statue, only the right arm of which allegedly survived. The young 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho was invited to conduct the inauguration of the new image, during which he performed the key *spyan dbye* ("eye-opening") ceremony (*ca*. 1552). It is reported that the Zhang statue in Gung-thang on that occasion took off its hat as a token respect for the *zhabs drung*.

The fire in *GT* registered for the fourth month of 1546 was a catastrophe, no doubt the gravest in the long history of Tshal Gung-thang. If the year is accurate, it was a true *annus horribilis* not only for Gung-thang but also for lHa-sa and other parts of Central Tibet. It is reported that a severe drought ravaged Central Tibet in the spring months, followed in the seventh month, during the rainy season, by a disastrous flood that swept across the open marshland of lHa-sa – a phenomenon, we know, of merciless regularity. This time called for renewed training in flood control, extensive repair of the faulty dikes and embankments and protracted relief for the hapless lHa-sa inhabitants. It would be tempting to see a complicity of the ruinous fire at Gung-thang in the drought (*DL3* 27b5–6; *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 358.3–370.4). Regardless of whether the fire was an accident, a consequence of warfare or a case of arson, the tradition nevertheless holds – when in hindsight an explanation for the disaster was sought – that Pehar had been involved. According to one persistent account, he was subsequently brought to 'Bras-spungs – an anachronism, given the date 1529 mentioned earlier. The tradition at any rate sees a break in the history of Tshal Gung-thang that led to the dominance of the dGe-lugs-pa during the period of the second and third Dalai Lamas, when concerted attempts were made to conquer lHa-sa in cultic terms. Both the sKyor-mo-lung-pa and the sKyid-shod sde-pa were, in spite of their occasional local rivalries, the decisive patrons and promoters of this process.

The dominance of the sKyid-shod sde-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa hierarchs in lHa-sa was constantly contested during the supra-regional dBus-gTsang conflict (from 1580). These disputes served as opening shots of the battle over ultimate supremacy in Tibet. The main dGe-lugs-pa adversaries not only included the gTsang rulers (i.e. the gTsang *sde srid*, who in 1565 had replaced the Rin-spungs-pa), but also the Karma-pa, and even more so, the 'Bri-gung-pa, a local polity that, despite being ridden by inner conflict during these unruly years, had increasingly intervened in the local polity of the lHa-sa valley since the time of the 16th 'Bri-gung throne-holder and hierarch Rin-chen Phun-tshogs (1509–57) from their extended territory in the Mal-gro area.

In 1605 the gTsang ruler bsTan-srung attacked 'Phan-yul, defeating the sKyid-shod-pa and appropriating many districts. In 1610 and 1612, in what later came to be known as the "Rat-Ox War" (*byi glang sde gzar*), the gTsang-pa *sde pa* Karma Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal (?1597–1621 A.D.) attacked Yar-rgyab, thus intruding even further into dBus territory. He conquered many monastic estate districts of the sNe'u *rdzong* in the vicinity of lHa-sa, destroyed 'Bras-spungs and Se-ra and killed many monks. Central Tibet was now firmly in the hands of the gTsang troops, and the leaders of the sKyid-shod-pa, bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1586–1636) and his brother *zhabs drung chos rje* bsTan-'dzin blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, were compelled to flee to Kokonor (see Sørensen 2007a). In 1618 the gTsang troops destroyed the sKyid-shod-pa residence of bDe-chen-rtse, and in the same year reportedly also took over the Tshal Zur-khang estate. The presence of the gTsang ruler, however, was only of a brief nature. In 1621 the joint forces of the sKyid-shod-pa and dGe-lugs-pa, assisted by Mongols troops were able to defeat the gTsang troops at rKyang-thang-sgang (the wide plain due south-east of 'Bras-spungs). This decisive battle was launched by the new strong man in sKyid-shod, the 'Bras-spungs treasurer (*phyag mdzod*) bSod-rnams rab-brtan, the later first regent of Tibet. His career was eventful. As young man he was politically active in the front-line, involving in the search of the re-birth of the 4th Dalai Lama and promoting the collaboration between 'Bras-spungs and the sKyid-shod-pa, in the first place with the *sde pa* bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan and his son *chos rje* mTsho-skyes rdo-rje (d. 1655). Joining hands and arms at a point in their history that may be characterized as a battle for survival against an overwhelming gTsang opponent,

they forged contacts with the Mongols (the Tümed and later Qośot) in order to generate support for the dGe-lugs-pa. The decisive success in winning over the Mongols, however, must largely be credited to bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, who inveigled them by offering the celebrated statue of 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara, the most precious object on dMar-po-ri in lHa-sa.

For all the merit of the sKyid-shod-pa in guaranteeing the success of the dGe-lugs, after the elimination of the gTsang-pa from the political scene in sKyid-shod, the entire lHa-sa area was appropriated by the dGa'-ldan pho-brang ruler of 'Bras-spungs, despite the fact that it had earlier been under the sway of the sKyid-shod-pa. As compensation, the latter received 'Phan-po mKhar-rtse *rdzong*, no doubt much to their disappointment, because the loss of their bDe-chen seat meant a marked weakening of their house. This setback for the sKyid-shod-pa was ultimately due to their ally bSod-rnams rab-brtan, who in the 1640's has taken over the bDe-chen seat in his function as *sa skyong* and as regent of the emergent lHa-sa central government. Political outmanoeuvred, they did not play any decisive role in the remaining part of the 17th century.

9.3.1 The mGar and the Tshal *sde pa*

We may characterize the eventful medieval period of sKyid-shod from 15th to the early 17th century as displaying an ever-changing pattern of hegemony – the outcome of unabated warring conflict – with new local powers emerging on the scene and affecting (and upon occasion) reshaping political developments. Returning to the Tshal-pa again, their fragmented history and the vicissitudes of their monastic centre cannot be documented seamlessly, given the paucity of relevant sources. Adding to the complex picture is the fact that we are not dealing with one single institution, but with a number of autonomous institutions, colleges and chairs, each with its own estates, the management and direction of which often was shared by a number of superordinate institutions, such as the 'Bras-spungs, Se-ra, and gSang-phu. Writing a history of Tshal-pa during this period consequently would require a detailed recording of the genealogy of each individual institution, including successive holders and proprietors. Still, we can at least sketch the main features of this exciting history (see also Table V.3). Throughout the unstable, ever-changing historical phases delineated above, we recognize in the sKyid-shod-pa as one particular consistency and continuity. From the *Bod kyi deb ther* (182f.) we learn that they sprang from a certain Mi-chung Don-grub rgyal-po (*fl. ca*. 1380–1420), who (as also briefly mentioned in *GT*) served the Tshal-pa *khri dpon* dGa'-bde bzang-po (1384/86–1409/10) and then became a loyal paladin in the service of the sNe'u *rdzong dpon* Nam-mkha' bzang-po. This petty lord (*mi chung = mi dbang chung ba*) was entrusted under the sNe'u with an estate outpost, the Nyang-bran dGa'-ldan (in the north-western part of the lHa-sa valley), after which his successors took their name (i.e. the dGa'-ldan-pa). As the 5th Dalai Lama notes in his chronicle, Don-grub rgyal-po's son received additional territories, including estates that bound him to the Tshal see of Yang-dgon (Table V.12.3). These bonds to Tshal are remarkable. Mi-chung Don-rgyal was a scion of the family line of the *blon po* mGar (*chos rgyal srong btsan sgam po blon po mgar gyi rigs*) and a relative of the presiding Tshal-pa *dpon chen*, a member of the mGar clan from a collateral line.[27] It appears that

[27] That he descended from a branch of the mGar clan of Grib is not likely, since this would have been recorded in Tshal-pa sources. His original estate and residence is called Yar-phyogs-gling, which is still not clearly identified. The allocation of dGa'-ldan to him possibly implies previous occupation so that the "Garden of the Upper Region" [of the

some sort of historical continuity was consciously striven for. As far as we can tell, there is no actual breach in the overall sKyid-shod-pa genealogy; the Zhang statue who bowed and saluted *mi dbang* bKra-shis rab-brtan by taking off its hat (see above) was thus displaying his respect to a remote member of his own glorious *dānapati* line.

'Jog-ri-pa, the author of *GT*, mentions the *spyan snga* sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho as the last scion of the mGar clan (meaning here the mGar of Grib). The work refers to the throne-holder lineage of the Yang-dgon see, which subsequently was taken over by Zur-chen after he arrived there in the 1630's. The last mGar passed away in 1649 A.D. (according to *Zur chen rnam thar* 162a). The origin of the lineage-holders preceding sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho in the Phag-gru era, listed in *GT* (18b), remains little known. The succeeding Tshal-pa representatives in this critical phase in the mid- to late 17th century are not well-known either to the author of *GT*. They unfortunately include a most interesting and influential figure, the *zhabs drung* Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan, who was held in high esteem by *sde srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. The Tshal-pa *sde pa* Grags-pa is recorded as having been responsible for the acquisition and transportation of a historic monolith from Sri (in Tshal Gung-thang) to lHa-sa, where in 1693 it was installed in the Potala as memorial *rdo ring* for the Great Fifth. He arguably is identical with the *sde pa* Tshal-pa registered under the 1660's (as having invited the 12th sTag-lung Ma-thang throne-holder to Tshal; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* [A] 1460). The achievements of the Tshal-pa, 'Jog ri-pa argues, recall those of *blon po* mGar; the *zhabs drung* may therefore be a descendant of the lineage of the past Tshal-pa *dpon chen*. 'Jog ri-pa's identification appears to be a nostalgic attempt to establish a genealogical link between the last Tshal-pa representative and the glorious lineage of the *dpon chen*. It is far more plausible, however, to regard the Tshal-pa *sde pa* as the last sKyid-shod *sde pa* to reign there. It is maintained in *GT* that following the demise of Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan (1693), who remained without issue, the [Yang-dgon?] estates (*sa ris rnams*) remained under Tshal administration for one additional year, before being confiscated by the [lHa-sa] government (*gzhung bzhes*). This signalled – as summarized in a stanza in *GT* (40a) – the end of the "sKyid-shod Tshal-pa *srid*." Still, we need not read this as the end of Tshal-pa hegemony over sKyid-shod (its demise can be dated to a period futher back in time) but rather as the end of the secular rule of the [dGa'-ldan] sKyid-shod-pa over Tshal. They had been the administrators there since the early 15th century. but arguably restricted to Tshal Yang-dgon and its precincts, the abbacy of which was held by the mGar clan up to the 17th century. All traces of most of the founding clans of the early history of Tshal-pa were erased in the turbulence of events, but the mGar clan, in lasting that long, proved more durable. It terminated with the sKyid-shod-pa, which on the basis of their ancestral origin we can identify as a branch of the *blon po* mGar lineage, and thus as the legitimate inheritor of the glorious Tshal-pa *dpon chen*.[28]

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lHa-sa valley?] (*yar phyogs gling*) and the (later) estate of dGa'-ldan may refer to one and the same area in Nyang-bran. The present-day dGa'-ldan-pa is situated in the upper part of Nyang-bran, not far to the north-east of the Gar-ri hill (cf. *Xixang Dimingzhi* 12b; App. V: Fig. 62). In 1113 A.D. the *siddha* Pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas erected a hermitage there (cf. Chos-'phel 2004: 59). The Gar of Gar-ri can likely be read as mGar, and may well be linked to the *blon po* mGar legend domiziled in Grib and lHa-sa valley (see App. IV).

[28] The dGa'-ldan-pa lineage did not become extinct, but split into more sub-lines, one of which formed the later sKyid-shod sTag-rtse-ba. See *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1492a and Part I: fn. 565.

10. CHANGING FORTUNES
The History of Tshal Gung-thang in the Period of the lHa-sa Central Government

10.1 The Gung-thang bla-brang as a Monastic and Private Estate: Transition and Survival of a Patronized Institution

The management of monasteries and institutions, particularly during the period of the emerging dGa'-ldan pho-brang theocracy with its burgeoning number of temples, was largely dependent upon the availability of patronage and ample governmental revenue. The limited governmental resources doubtlessly were strained from the very outset, and a large number of monasteries and their holdings, often landed or manorial estates – akin to classical latifundia – and moveable property (*rgyu dngos*) along with tracts of land throughout Central Tibet, were increasingly distributed as fiefs to the upper aristocratic echelon and their families; they were donated as private or ecclesiastic landed estates or as prebends with substantial landholdings to a selective number of dignitaries in the form of governmental estate grants accompanied by large-scale tax exemptions. For the government, this arrangement ensured the civil and military services of a large number of governmental officials at no cost, and a fair amount of loyalty from a large portion of the upper class including high ranking hierarchs. Another useful instrument to meet the running costs of an establishment was the religiously motivated endowment or fund (*dge rgyun gyi thebs*, *mchod thebs*, etc.). This covered a wide-ranging number of ritual performances and festivals or the partial subsistence needs of entire institutions or groups of monks. Such grants or funds were often the most efficient and direct means available to ensure the survival and perpetuation of monastic institutions and the smooth flow of their burdensome ritual and liturgic calendar.

Tshal Gung-thang was initially bereft of such patronage, and felt its lack. Indeed, their situation was gloomy and dismal, akin to many glorious institutions of yore that found themselves caught in this transitional phase at the turn of the 17th century without proper funding. The inclusion of Tshal Gung-thang under the government, however, would bring some relief, turning Tshal – in the nascent period (1642–1717) of the dGa'-ldan *gzhung* government – into one of the 18 *gzhis kha* under the lHa-sa Zhol administration.

The redoubtable Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol must be considered one of the giants of 17th-century religious life in Tibet – a figure who, not unimportantly, commanded the 5th Dalai Lama's undivided respect. It must have been a deplorable sight that met this leading preceptor when he first assumes responsibility for Gung-thang, whether undertaken on another's urging or his own inspiration. Driven by the spiritual impetus behind this appropriation, Zur-chen's activities in Tshal Gung-thang formed a symbolic bridge to the past. As already noted, Zur-chen had a visionary experience in Yer-pa in which Bla-ma Zhang manifested himself and urged him to take on the task of revitalizing the master's temple. The transference thus was a traditional Tibetan act of appropriation and legitimation ensured by way divine or mystic revelation. But equally important for the site's survival was Zur-chen's incarnational nexus to Sangs-rgyas-'bum, for his incarnate status and his subsequent line ensured that this newly established Gung-thang *bla brang* or Gung-thang monastic estate including its land grants would enjoy a basic income. Zur-chen devoted himself, following his arrival there in 1633 A.D., wholeheartedly to the care and renovation of his monastic establishment. The monastery had been donated to this master as a personal or private monastic estate together with its tenurial residence, or *bla brang* (the whole could be called Zur-chen's patrimony), as such

arrangements were commonly known. During his lengthy stay at Gung-thang and almost until his death in 1657, he successively occupied different seats within the monastic complex, before finally becoming master of the entire complex. His extensive repairs included the wholesale renovation of the gTsug-lag-khang and the erection of a new assembly hall. He introduced and procured endowment funds to facilitate the revival of obsolete ritual and liturgical services, among which was what later became known as the Gung-thang Butter Lamp Festival. His foremost legacy, however, was in the artistic field. Himself a talented artist and renowned painter, he personally executed numerous wall paintings (now all lost), had statues manufactured and installed, and conducted the appropriate consecration rites in the different parts of the monastic complex. Due to his repute as a leading esoteric teacher and to his position as tutor of the Fifth Dalai Lama, he succeeded in turning Gung-thang into an oft-frequented centre of erudition. He invited to Gung-thang a number of prominent contemporary scholars, such as mGon-po bSod-nams mchog-ldan (1603–1659/60). Under an incarnation line (that went back to Sangs-rgyas-'bum) that owned property and was in control of the monastery, Gung-thang along with its retainers (known as *bla brang*; i.e. *bla* [*ma'i pho*] *brang*; lit. "Guru's Palace") functioned as an independent body in control of the incarnation's resources and funds.

10.2 The Last Centuries: An Estate in Search of Stable Patronage and Survival

At this stage in Tibet's history, institutional survival always hinged upon adequate maintenance and patronage. Soon afterwards the supervision of the monk community and responsibility for the Bla-brang were placed in the hands of A-mdo Bya-bral, better known as *rje* dGe-'dun phun-tshogs (1648–1724), the 50th dGa'-ldan throne-holder (tenancy 1715–22). It was at some point after 1706 that he was offered the temple complex from the last Qošot ruler of Tibet Larjang (or lHa-bzang) Qan (1658–1717), who placed at his disposal the entire Gung-thang complex, the two *grva tshang*, and the endowment fund that ensured the revenue for the execution of rituals and offering (*mchod thebs*) as well as all land and assets under the estate grant. A few years later, probably around 1718, dGe-'dun phun-tshogs, by now known by his title Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa, was driven away from the Gung-thang see by the marauding Dzungars, in the wake of which the monastery suffered many raids. When peace finally was restored in Central Tibet in 1720, and the Dzungars expelled, dGe-'dun phun-tshogs returned and initiated a much-needed renovation and refurbishment of the *vihāra* and the individual *lha khang*. He ensured that any revenue and other assets from endowment funds were allocated to the distinct institutions, in an attempt to revive moribund local traditions. With his passing in 1724 – and clearly in order to perpetuate the smooth running of the monastery – a *sku phreng* line was established that issued from him. This lineage became known as the Gung-thang-tshang line. His reincarnation and hence its second incumbent Ngag-dbang blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1727–59) was installed on the throne at Gung-thang in 1729. Upon the return of the 7th Dalai Lama to lHa-sa in 1735, the abbacy and precinct colleges of bKra-shis-'khyil, in the context of the commemorative service for the Qinghai dGa'-ldan, asked the Paṇ-chen Bla-ma and Pho-lha-nas for permission to invite the Gung-thang incarnation to Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil. The latter indeed entered in 1736. His subsequent apprenticeship at bKra-shis-'khyil (in present-day southern Ganzu or Gannan), however, meant that the Gung-thang-tshang or the Gung-thang gser-khri lineage in the future had precious little to do with its mother seat. All subsequent lineage-holders (its sixth lineage-holder, ever devoted to the survival of Gung-thang, passed away as recently as in 2000) remained active in eastern Tibet or in China. Beyond the above

request and appeal, we do not know the exact reason for this shift of the line's permanent seat, but it may not least have been due to the fact that dGe-'dun phun-tshogs's native soil (and hence field of his conversion activity and main source of revenue and patronage) was A-mdo and eastern Tibet. From the very outset the line no doubt had insufficient resources to manage the seat by themselves, without the aid of the subsequent permanent absentees. There is no record of any discord in the management strategies between this line and the government or patrons.

Following the shift in location of the Gung-thang-tshang incarnation line during the second incumbent, the 7th Dalai Lama, on behalf of the Tibetan "precious government" (*gzung sa rin po che*), again took over the monastic estate of Gung-thang. Soon afterwards, the young hierarch (after the latter's return from eastern Tibet in 1735) handed over the Gung-thang monastic estate to his maternal uncle, *sku mdun* sNgags-rams-pa bSam-gtan rgyal-mtshan [~ mtsho] (d. 1740 A.D.), a beneficium governed less by the otherwise ever-rampant excesses of nepotism (most relatives of a new high incarnate were customarily ennobled – following Chinese imperial promotional traditions to ensure loyalty – and were usually entitled to manorial estates, certain associated prerogatives and to large tracts of land) than by a sense of gratitude reflecting the wish to repay service and wardenship during the Dalai Lama's initial years of trial in lHa-sa. sNgags-rams-pa, in any case, belonged to the inner court, and was possibly the closest attendant of the high hierarch during these taxing years. In 1729 he had faithfully followed the 7th Dalai Lama into temporary banishment in mGar-thar (Taining) in eastern Tibet. Simultaneously, together with the conferal of the monastic estate and its abbacy, he had been vested with the title *dar han mkhan po* or "holy abbot" by the Emperor Yongzheng (rl. 1723–1735). But already well advanced in age, sNgags-rams-pa grew seriously ill in 1738, and all the largest dGe-lugs monasteries in Central Tibet were directed to execute extensive *rim gro* rites for his recovery. Although a slight improvement was registered, he nevertheless later the same year decided to retire as ecclesiastic official and to dedicate the end of his life to the care of Gung-thang. A *bka' shog* was issued that transferred proprietorship of the entire Gung-thang bla-brang property to his nephew (*tsha bo*) *dge slong* bsKal-bzang yon-tan (d. 1783/4), who until then had served as his household servant. mKhan po sNgags-ram-pa passed away in 1740, having arguably fallen victim to a smallpox epidemic, one of those that with fatal regularity seemed to haunt Tibet and lHa-sa. That same year a formal request was forwarded to the emperor to confer upon the nephew, hereditarily, the title and prerogatives of a *dar han mkhan po*.

Groomed early as a monk, the new incumbent bsKal-bzang yon-tan similarly belonged to the closest entourage of the Dalai Lama. Holding the title and rank of *dar han mkhan po* from 1740 until his death in 1783–84, he also served an an unknown number of years as *mkhan po* at Zha-lu, and faithfully served as the high hierarch's both as rTse-shod secretary and as one of his scribes. During the subsequent period Tshal counted as one of the minor private district estates (*rdzong gzhis*), of which Gung-thang may only have constituted a part, a district estate being normally what was conferred upon nobles and dignitaries of holding the seventh rank (*rim bdun*, Ch. *qipin*) (Duojie Caidan 1995: 201–02) during the second of the two last decisive Qing imperial political-administrative reorganization of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung* (1750–1788 and 1793–1911). The year 1751 saw dramatic events: the assassination of the "King of Tibet" (Zangwang), the anti-imperial 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal and the ensuing murder of the two ambans Fuqing and Labudun (cf. e.g. Petech 1972: 216f.). bsKal-bzang yon-tan and his hereditary *tsha bo* lineage at Gung-thang received the so-called Ka-brgyad smad-pa'i khang-pa (Lower Eight-Pillared Mansion) in lHa-sa, once the landed estates and moveable properties of 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal and his cohorts were

confiscated and restored either to their former owners or to the nobility that had remained loyal to Qianlong and the imperial throne. The Gung-thang bla-brang including the two *chos sde grva tshang* were turned from a monastic estate (*mchod gzhis*) into a private estate (*sger gzhis*) during this period, after it had been presented to bsKal-bzang yon-tan as his private property (*bdag thob*), a transfer which was confirmed in 1764 (see e.g. *dGa' bzhi rnam thar* 107, 407) as part of the dGa'-ldan *gzhung* programme of relieving governmental finances. Temporarily, *dar han mkhan po* bsKal-bzang yon-tan even rose to become an imperially elected *bka' blon bla ma* in 1767, only to resign in 1773. In 1782, the year the *Gung thang dkar chag* was written, he is listed as *bka' zur* (or ex-*bka' blon*) Gung-thang mkhan-po. Never without means, he was throughout the entire period regularly registered as a generous donor of offerings – during the obligatory *sMon lam chen mo*, for instance. As may be gleaned from *GT*, *dar han mkhan po* in the first place undertook extensive renewals and renovations at his own Gung-thang complex. He passed away in 1784 and was followed by the Gung-thang *dar han mkhan po* Blo-bzang dge-legs, a relative of his.

At this point in Tibet's history, a so-called "latifundium economy" of landed estates – whether state, private or monastic – predominated througout an overwhelming part of the country. Yet we still do not possess precise information as to the exact extent of private estates or how they operated, and unfortunately the same holds true for Gung-thang's financial and political situation and its relations to the neighbouring Tshal estate (which at some point became a private estate of the Zhol-khang noble house). Unclear, too, is whether the control of the private estate was inherited patrilineally (popularly phrased *pha shul bu 'jags*), as was the case with most noble houses in Central Tibet. It is likely that it was. Only access to relevant dGa'-ldan pho-brang or local Gung-thang bla-brang tax and land-use documents will shed light on these important topics (cf. *lCags stag zhib gzhung* 10, 22, 39).

To resume the ensuing history of Gung-thang bla-brang: In the following years, during the somewhat somnolent 19th century up to the beginning of the 20th century, the conditions prevailing at the Gung-thang estate are only little or meagrely documented in contemporary literature. The reason for this silence was partly due to the circumstance that very little changed during this long period. The local Gung-thang-tshang incarnation sojourned permanently in eastern Tibet, and the few references are restricted to the brief visits of travelling hierarchs. We do possess some stray information: for instance, the visit of the 9th Dalai Lama Lung-rtogs rgya-mtsho in 1807 and 1808 as infant hierarch (*DL9* [A] 22a6–24a1, 61a5–62a6 [B] 645–48); this hierarch is said to have enjoyed special visionary bonds with Bla-ma Zhang; small wonder given that the latter, ever since the time of the 5th Dalai Lama Bla-ma Zhang had been included in the lineage succession of the Dalai Lama. In 1808 Ngag-dbang chos-'phel (1760–1839 A.D.), the later 70th tenant of dGa'-ldan, received Tshal dBus-gling as household revenue (*thab 'dzin*).

The 11th Dalai Lama mKhas-grub rgya-mtsho visited Gung-thang in 1841 in connection with the selection of the prospective Dalai Lama (apparently, Gung-thang served as residence for the high hierarch pending a final decision). Here again we find reference to Gung-thang and to the local statue of Bla-ma Zhang. Evidently, as with the 13th Dalai Lama, Gung-thang *vihāra* played a central role. Again in 1852, the same Dalai Lama paid visit to Gung-thang (and its four still existing colleges) and was received by the local Gung-thang *mkhan chung* Byams-pa chos-rgyan (i.e. Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan). During the tenure of the 12th Dalai Lama, the latter was received by Gung-thang-pa Ngag-dbang tshul-khrims (1860 A.D.), followed by visits by the hierarch in 1873 and

1874, where he was welcomed by the Gung-thang-pa steward Byams-pa bstan-rgyas and offerings were presented to the principal statue of Zhang Rin-po-che (see *DL11* 316–17, 406, 436; *DL12* 648, 677). From stray sources we are informed about natural disasters, foremost flooding, that regularly visited the area along the sKyid-chu river (for details see App. II). For instance, we have reports that Gung-thang was devastated by severe flooding in 1803 and again in 1863, which led to a reduction or exemption of taxes (see *Rang'byung gnod 'tshe chu skyon skor* 3–5, 64–65).

In 1868 the rNying-ma *gter ston* mChog-gyur gling-pa, like a host of other peregrinating masters, passed through Gung-thang (*gTer chen lam yig* 178), but beyond that silence seems to have surrounded the seat. Gung-thang's repute by now had decreased dramatically. Still shortly afterwards it attracted the attention of all devout Tibetans. When the newly found 13th Dalai Lama was on his way from Dvags-po to lHa-sa in 1877–78, the infant hierarch took up residence at Gung-thang bDe-ba-can for two months, where he underwent the ceremonial hair-cutting ceremony and received his official name (*DL13* 31–37).[29] Another noteworthy event was the birth in 1888, in lCags-ri-shar (under the Tshal Gung-thang private estate), of the 11th rTa-tshag *rin po che* sKal-bzang bstan-pa'i sgron-me (1888–1918).

Gung-thang bla-brang (Gung-bla for short) during this period remained, quite unpretentiously, in the hands of the family of the maternal uncle (or *zhang tshan*) line that had issued from the 7th Dalai Lama. The family remained the proprietor of the private estate up until 1959. The spiritual bonds with the founding figure Bla-ma Zhang must have been dim at this late point, but he still was held in high esteem and his writings were both studied and kept in the local *gtsug lag khang*. From the vivid memoirs of the eminent 3rd Khri-byang *rin po che* Blo-bzang ye-shes bstan-'dzin rgya-mtsho (1901–1981) – one of the 20th-century's illuminaries, a pupil of the controversial Pha-bong-kha and junior tutor of the 14th Dalai Lama (he belonged patrilineally to the house of the local Gung-thang nang-gong branch of the family, and thus descended from the line of estate holders at Gung-thang) – we are fortunately allowed some rare glimpses of the estate and of the daily life at a critical juncture at the beginning of the 20th century. His father Tshe-ring don-grub (1843–1907 A.D.), a distant relative of the 7th Dalai Lama, in 1904 carried out a renovation of a part of Gung-thang *gtsug lag khang*, including the rGyal-ba'i gzims-chung and the dormitories in the outer courtyard. The most decisive event in this period, however, was the alliance that was forged when his daughter, the older sister of Khri-byang *sprul sku*, sKal-bzang sgrol-ma in the 1890's married into the influential Khe-smad (better known as the Kun-bzang-rtse aristocratic *mi drag*) house. She wedded its heir, the learned and very able Dza-sag Khe-smad Rin-chen dbang-rgyal (1874–1927), a nobleman who later rose to become *rtsis dpon* and shortly after, in 1914, *bka' blon*.[30] Through this marriage alliance – emblematic of the finer nobility – the so-called Khe[-smad] Gung[-thang] family bond was established between this noble house and the family in charge of the Gung-thang bla-brang (see *Khri byang rnam thar* 4b1–6b6 *et passim*; *Shar rtse chos 'byung* 849f.).

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[29] The 13th Dalai Lama visited Gung-thang one more time in 1919.

[30] Cf. Petech 1973: 93–94; Goldstein 1989: 102–03; *DL13* 534. In 1921 he became head of the newly established *phyi rgyal las khungs*; cf. bShad-sgra 1991: 74. For a picture of Khe-smad or Kun-bzang-rtse *zhabs pad*, see Tsarong 1995: 82–83; on the additional private estates of the Khe-smad in Yar-lung; see *CTZZ* 83, 86. For a folk song relating to this noble family, cf. Sørensen 1990: 382. The original Khe-smad estate was located in 'Phyongs-rgyas. The famous A-ṇi Lo-chen Chos-nyid bzang-mo (b. 1852/65) was born into the family of Khe-smad (her father was *sde pa* Rin-chen phun-tshogs).



***14**. The 3rd Khri-byang Rin po che Blo-bzang ye-shes bstan-'dzin rgya-mtsho (1901–1981)*

The ensuing estate merger (or *gzhis* [*zla*] *sgril* alliance) – a very common occurance throughout this epoch – allowed the father as head of the family and as a governmental official to shift in 1904 to a newly constructed family residence (or *gzims shag*) attached to the Kun-bzang-rtse mansion in lHa-sa (finished in 1907, still located – having been newly renovated – in the southern Bar-skor quarter).[31] The prevailing system of absentee landlordism in Tibet required feudal landlords or estate owners, in return for the traditional substantial governmental grants of landed property and tax privileges, to meet certain terms and conditions, such as governmental service, which made it obligatory for them to be permanent residents of lHa-sa (*lha sar gtan bzhugs*). These sedentary estate owners of the nobility were barred from sojourning on their estates, except for a brief annual inspection tour (*gzhis skor*). This expains why Tshe-ring don-grub left the daily management of the Gung-bla estate in the hands of a steward (*gzhis sdod ngo tshab 'jog pa*) assisted by other permanent household retainers or clerks (*gtan sdod nang gzan*). When the father passed away in 1907, Khri-byang *sprul sku*'s mother Tshe-ring sgrol-ma (1875–1956) and his older sister remained on the estate at Gung-thang, with a relative of the deceased father (an aunt (*a ne*) by the name of g.Yang-'dzoms) and her husband (a Khams-pa (of 'Ba'-thang?) nomad named 'Ba'-pa A-pho) being deputed as estate managers and retainers. These latter are recorded as still being there up until at least the mid-1940's (and very likely up until 1959), overseeing daily affairs. A tense atmosphere is reported to have reigned at the Gung-thang estate throughout the entire period, with no love lost between the remaining family members and their managers. Khri-byang narrates how the relatives of the aunt gradually attempted to take hold of the estate and how the life and fate of his own family, the proper owners, became increasingly miserable. He compared their hapless situation with the proto-typical story of Mi-la ras-pa and his mother in the hands of crude and merciless relatives. The Kun-bzang-rtse *rtsis dpon* (or Khe-smad rim-bzhi) Tshe-dbang don-grub (1902–1967), the son and successor of Rin-chen dbang-rgyal and nephew

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[31] The charming three-storeyed Kun-bzang-rtse mansion must have been erected upon an older structure at the same site, since a Kun-bzang-rtse house is registered for 1904–05; cf. *Waddell Map* no. 65; the mansion (opposite which was located the rTa-ra or stables) is listed in *Taring Map* 1984: no. 68; *Aufschnaiter Map* Section Nga 70 (Kun-bzang-rtse); Nga 82 (Tshal-pa khang-gsar); Larsen and Sinding-Larsen 2000: 88, and *Map*. no. 127. It was located in the Rab-gsal district of the southern Bar-skor quarter (along the so-called south-east Gling-skor circuit), and in 1959, along with most other noble houses, was sequestered by the authorities. In 2002–03, the Kun-bzang-rtse mansion underwent a complete reconstruction. It was in the lHa-ldan Kun-bzang-rtse mansion that the scholar *dge bshes* Shes-rab rgya-mtsho resided in the early 1920's; see Jackson 1997: 449.







***15a**. Khe-smad jasaγ bSod-nams dbang-'dus (1901–1972)*
The last Estate-owner of Gung-thang
Drawing: Kanwal 26.03.1940

***15b**. Khe-smad jasaγ bSod-nams dbang-'dus*
Photo: 1955

***16**. The Kun-bzang-rtse rtsis dpon Tshe-dbang don-grub*
Photo: E. Schäfer 1939
Courtesy Bundesarchiv Koblenz

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of Khri-byang rin-po-che remained at the helm of the noble family as the new estate owner along with his brother-in-law Khe-smad *jasaγ* bSod-nams dbang-'dus (1901–1972);[32] the latter, possibly not overly interested in estate affairs, had an eventful life, holding important political posts, including Zhol *gnyer* and *mda' dpon*, and later *dmag spyi* (commander-in-Chief of the Tibetan army)

[32] He belonged to the Zur-khang family (*mi drag*) and entered the Khe-smad/Kun-bzang-rtse family as a *mag pa* (adopted groom) and assumed their name when he married the daughter of Rin-chen dbang-rgyal, bDe-skyid dbyangs-can (see Prince Peter 1963: 445f.; C. Harris ed. 2003: 104; Yuthok 1990: 317). In 1936 he participated in the search for the new 14th Dalai Lama; see his *The Discovery of the 14th Dalai Lama* (Bangkok: Klett Thai Publ. 1975; and more recently *Discovery, Recognition and Enthronement of the 14th Dalai Lama* (LTWA 2000)). He was one of the signatories of the 17-point agreement in 1951 in Beijing.

Khe-smad bSod-nams dbang-'dus had two daughters, sKal-bzang g.yang-skyid (married to Rig-'dzin rdo-rje) and Ye-shes sgrol-ma. The latter married bDe-legs rab-brtan *sras* II, the hapless Don-grub dbang-'dus (they had one daughter, Rig-'dzin Tshe-brtan; cf. Prince Peter 1963: 438–42). The former's eldest daughter (among nine children in all) is Kun-bzang-rtse bSod-nams lha-skyid, who is married to the scholar (Khams-sprul) bSod-nams don-grub. The retired couple presently live in lHa-sa (in the Karma dgon-gsar district).

between 1948 and 1957.[33] They did occasionally sojourn on the Gung-bla estate in the late 1950's, but these were the last known activities of the leading members of the old estate owners who in 1959 decided to leave and seek asylum in India, although other members of their family did remain back in Tibet. Detailed information is lacking, yet in the same period major changes took place in the area, such as the establishment of the Gung-thang bzhugs-sgar (Gung-thang Military Camp) as well as different greenhouse and state farms (*nongchang*) on the Celestial Plain (Caigongtang; see e.g. *Rang byung zangs* 56; Yeh 2003, *passim*).

The dissolution of the old order meant the disappearance of its foremost representatives, and with them the irrevocable loss of their unique cultural and religious world, and its unique social system, values and customs. Their loss was also the loss of old pre-1949 Tibet. Adding to the woes, the insurgencies following the excesses of the Cultural Revolution saw massive destruction of many parts of the Gung-thang main temple; for example the entire first storey with its many chapels burned down, their priceless religious and artistic inventories being either plundered or lost. The annual *Gung thang Me tog mchod pa* ceremonies also came to a halt for a number of years. By 1967 the magnificent sKu-'bum chen-mo had fallen victim to aimless destruction, and the remaining priceless objects in the temple subject to following successive acts of vandalism and plundering; most objects were scattered irrevocably in all directions. In March 1989 a partial renovation of the local gTsug-lag-khang site finally was undertaken with the active assistance of a large number of local people, and the dedicated support of the 6th Gung-thang-tshang incarnate 'Jigs-med bstan-pa'i dbang-phyug (1926–2000). This restoration has not advanced beyond the ground-floor of the three-storied 'Du-khang chen-mo, including the chambers of the rNam-sras lha-khang, mGon-khang, and Byams-khang,[34] the remaining precinct having been swallowed up by the surrounding villages, in which it looks like a labyrinthine warren of buildings. It is most unlikely that the temple complex with its many chambers will ever be restored to its former glory. Without governmental support, the still largely destitute and neglected temple merely accommodates a total of eight monks.

The remaining monuments and buildings at Tshal and Gung-thang today stand as silent, almost forgotten witnesses to their past greatness, which spanned an eventful period of over 800 years, an epoch that had its beginnings in a vision on the beautiful Celestial Plain and the "Fold of the White Mare" that appeared to a Tibetan mystic ascetic named Bla-ma Zhang Rin-po-che. The ascetic's understanding was to a saintly ideal that encapsulates both temporal and ultimate happiness, which stands over against the Western medieval notion of imperishable fame (*gloria et nomen perpetuum*). Gung-thang, with the demise of the old order and the dawning of a new one, now ingloriously shares its fate with many other decrepit institutions in Tibet. Catapulted into the last and most sweeping phase in its history, to the present and beyond, the site now faces unforeseen political and urban changes. In the face of either deplorable oblivion or, even worse, total disappearance, the historical documentation of the site in this study should be seen as a modest contribution to reviving the memory of its former political importance by delineating its glorious and eventful past and the formative role it once played in making lHa-sa the heart and pulsebeat of the Tibetan nation.

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[33] See Yuthok 1990: 176 (photo), 241f., 281; *rGas po'i lo rgyus*, *passim*; for further pictures, see Goldstein 1989: 551.

[34] Cf. also sKal-bzang phun-tshogs 1997: 107–08.

PART I

The *Gung thang dkar chag*



A DESCRIPTIVE INVENTORY OF THE GLORIOUS GUNG-THANG TEMPLE INCLUDING ITS HISTORY OF ORIGIN, [ALSO CALLED] THE EXHORTATION OF JAGANNĀTHA [BLA-MA ZHANG], [RESEMBLING] A CURRENT OF AMBROSIA

Gung thang dpal gyi gtsug lag khang | byung rabs dang bcas pa'i
dkar chag 'Gro mgon zhal lung bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun | |

[Proemium]

Who with steady and devout application renounce mundane vices
and assume supramundane qualities,
Who with diligence and skilful in means [as to how] causality [operates]
and as to all aspects of the casual and resultant vehicles
[i.e. the Hina- and Mahāyāna and the Vajrayāna] exercise meditation
Who made their own nature assume the union of the two bodies
[of Dharmakāya and Rūpakāya], the treasury of all perfection and qualities
To the peerless Guide, the son of Śuddhodana [i.e. Śākyamuni], his sons
[i.e. Bodhisattvas] and disciples incessantly and devotionally, I bow down.

Marvellous lives, the manner of which the Jinas enjoyed
The hidden meaning, in conjunction with union and path
They have instructed, to the venerable Atiśa [Phul-byung] and
'Jam-dpal-snying [*Mañjuśrī-hṛdaya, i.e. bTsong-kha-pa]
Along with [their] disciples, to [these] until the Great Enlightenment [is attained],
from the core of [my] heart I make offerings.

To all leaders [i.e. Buddhas] too with compassion and impartiality
For the [Buddhist] Teaching and the living beings of the Snow-capped [Tibet],
a land of repose,
Wearing as ornament the mind of great kindness,
To the Holders of the White Lotus [i.e. Avalokiteśvara, i.e. the Dalai Lamas]
in succession, I bow down.

The river of the four currents of the precious bKa'-brgyud [Order]
Filled up the vase of his discriminating intellect
To the provider of coolness helpful to the [Buddhist] Teaching
and the living beings of the Snow-capped [Tibet]
To the Lord of the Siddhas, g.Yu-brag, Friend of Living Beings, I bow down.

Prophesied by Śākya[muni], the Teaching of [Buddha] Śākya[muni]
Having relied upon Jagannātha [i.e. Bla-ma Zhang],

the Successor of the lineage of Śākya[muni]
Eminent his deeds for the Teaching of Śākya[muni]
To Śākya ye-shes, the Lord of the Living beings, I bow down.

Through the rays of light emanating from the activities of the unity of
the two systems (*nīti*) [i.e. temporal and spiritual],
The field of merit and the supreme fields of the lower sentient beings
Leading into the town of prosperity and glory –
To the upholders of the precious tradition of the succession of disciples, I bow down.

The path of the two stages [of visualization and completion]
consisting in the ripening of the current of the four empowerments,
Observing the basis of the fully pure commitment and vow;
Cakrasaṃvara, the king of *tantra* of the most secret yoga, and
To the Ḍākinīs of the three spheres [i.e. inner, outer and secret]
I respectfully pay my respects.

To [those embodying] the illusory dance of the activities of precisely
this [active] compassion
Headed by Śrī Nātha [Mahākāla] and consorts (*dpal mgon lcam dral*),
the three commanders (*bka' sdod*) of the outer, inner [and secret ones] as well as
Kāmadhātu-īśvarī ('Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma) and entourage
Making offerings to the host of Protectors: Pray constantly protect me!

Of unstained mental defects born from improper selfishness,
The higher intention, on its mirroring surface of self and others
Reflections [thus] exhorted, this image
I rejoice at its display to fulfil the dual objectives [of self and others]!

Thus, after this [obligatory] proemical salutatory eulogy (*mchod par brjod pa*), including expression of benediction and auspiciousness, the author's composition pledge (*rtsom par dam bca' ba*) [the announcement of the subject matter (*brjod bya*) follows, viz. [**2b1–5**]]

The name of Zhang Tshal-pa:[1]

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[1] For a survey of the various biographical materials of Bla-ma Zhang as well as a detailed synoptic survey of his life a number of general and brief biographical sketches exist, e.g. the *'Gro mgon rin po che'i rnam thar bsdus pa dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 532f.; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris*; *Deb dmar* 126–129; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 181–199; *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 711–15); *Mig 'byed 'od stong* 68a5–70b3; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 806–809; *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 65a2–66a5; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 49b6f.; *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 520–21; *DL*5 IV (= Ahmad 1999: 185f.); *'Khrung rabs Deb ther nor bu'i phreng ba I* 191–194. See also *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 515–17.

He was considered a manifestation of O-rgyan Rin-po-che and Srong-btsan sgam-po (and hence of sPyan-ras-gzigs; ennobled later into the Dalai Lama lineage succession, see Sørensen 2005). According to *Blon po bka'i thang yig* 521.19–21, he was also considered a manifestation of the translator Cog-ro Klu'i rgyal-mtshan (below 4a). A later classification, invented in dGe-lugs circles, lists him as one of the "Three Jewels of Tibet" (*Bod nor bu rnam gsum*), the other two: Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po and Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang grags-pa (see BA Roerich 711; and Part II: App. I).

We possess in addition a large number of [auto-]biographical sketches embedded in his *bKa' 'bum* (contained in *bKa'*

From the viewpoint of his place of birth at Tsha-ba-gru, he was called Tsha-ba gru-pa.
His name as a youth was Dar-ma-grags.
He was called "Lord of the Living Beings" ['Gro-ba'i mgon-po, Jagannātha] in view of his convert [as seen] externally.
His name was g.Yu-brag[-pa] in accordance with his [favourite] site of solitary retreat [as seen] internally [i.e. spiritually].
He was called Bla-ma Zhang after his line of descent [as seen] secretly and
In accordance with his moral practice, he was called brTson-'grus grags-pa [*Vīryakīrti].[2]
[**3a1–2**]

Contents of the book:
An Inventory of the Glorious Gung-thang Temple, the support and its supported [i.e. the sanctuary including their statues of veneration] (*rten brten par bcas*) and the history of the secular rulers of the Tshal-pa reigning there. [**3a3–3a6**]

It encompasses five chapters:

CHAPTERS:
I. A Brief Introductory History of the Origin of the Buddhist Teaching generally and specifically [i.e. in India and in Tibet]
II. [The Biography of 'Gro-mgon [the Tshal-pa Founder], his Disciples and the Development of the Religious and Secular Hegemony of Tshal Gung-thang]
II.1 'Gro-mgon's Outer, Inner and Secret Biography and the successive Biographies of his Disciples
II.2 The History of the Secular Lords (*srid skyong* [and *khri dpon*]) of Tshal
III. A Detailed Survey and Inventory of the Temple Complex of Gung-thang: The Main Temple and its Branch Dependencies, the Distinct Colleges and Institutions
IV. A Description of the Images and Statues (*rten*) installed there
V. The [Virtuous] Benefit (*phan yon, anuśaṃsa*) accruing from Venerating and Making Prostration towards the Three Types of Religious Objects.

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thor bu) or in the *bKa' rgya ma* collections, the latter mainly related to his visionary, mystic-esoteric or spiritual exercises: *rNam thar rGyal blon ma* (the extended one compiled by rGyal-ba Lo-zhig), *Shes rab grub ma* (the intermediate one compiled by *dge slong* Shes-rab-grub; contained in *ZhK I* 8f. etc.) and the abbreviated *dGos 'dod re skong ma* (compiled by *dge slong* gTsang-pa Ya-so, compiled at g.Yu-ru Grva-thang): They make up his *phyi'i rnam thar*.

The *nang gi rnam thar* generally consists of three or four compilations: The Extensive one, compiled by 'Dul-ba-'od, The Intermediate one by gTsang-ston rnal-'byor and The Abbreviated one by Lo-zhig.

Cf. also the biography by Mar-sgom called *rNam thar phyi ma* (cf. e.g. *ZhK III* (KA) 223a1–244b6) and the *rNam thar mdor bsdus*. See also Sangs-rgyas ras-pa's informative *Zhang rnam thar zin bris*. In addition, we have eight or so smaller sketches making up the *gsang ba'i rnam thar*, etc. cf. *ZhK I* 182–189. See the redactional details in *DL5 Thob yig II* 88b6–99b2; further Jackson 1994: 58f. His rich biographical materials thus deserve a thorough study.

[2] In his autobiographical writings, Zhang called himself many names: sNa-nam *sprang ban* (Beggar Monk of the [Zhang] sNa-nam lineage), Tshal-sgang gi sKye-med Zhang sgom-pa (Hermit sKye-med Zhang (fn. 50) of Tshal-sgang [chos-spyil]), Zhang gi sprang-ban sgom-pa (Hermit and Beggar-monk from the Zhang [sNa-nam] lineage), sMyon-pa, Ngan-lam Si'i Zhang-ston/Zhang-sgom (= Master/Hermit Zhang [sNa-nam] of Si (= Sri) in Ngan-lam (fn. 12), Ngan-lam *sprang po* (Beggar of Ngan-lam) or *rtsad po* ("king") Bla[-ma] Zhang sNa-nam and still more. For the place-names Tsha-ba-gru and g.Yu-brag, see below fns. 12 and 62.

CHAPTER I

[A Brief Introductory History of Buddhism in Tibet]
[3b1–6a5]

[Content: A brief survey of the development of the Buddhist History in the Snowland of Tibet, its earlier and later dissemination (*snga dar* and *phyi dar*), the emergence of the bKa'-brgyud-pa and the subsequent development of the Buddhist Teaching during the time of bTsong-kha-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa]. [**3b1**–**5b6**]

[Following standard introductory phrases, the author offers a traditional, albeit very brief survey of] the origin of the Land of Snow: The authoritative prophecy of the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* as well as reference to non-specified *sūtra* and *tantra* [**4a1–4a4**]). It is asserted that, in the wake of a decrease or shrinking of a previously existing Great Ocean, forests emerged which thus paved the way for the arrival of creatures and animals (*'byung po* and *dud 'gro*), but no human beings. Considering the importance of human karmic activity, the union of a rock demoness and a [Bodhisattva] monkey, emanations of Lady Tārā and an emanation born from the magical compassion of Lokeśvara [i.e. Avalokiteśvara], took place. From these two, numerous ape offspring descended. They settled in Kong-yul sPre-sna Mi-yul gyi lding and gradually turned into human beings, eventually populating Tibet.[3] Socio-genesis of the four great clans (*rus chen bzhi*) and the division into numerous principalities. The progenitor of the Tibetan royal lineage *mnga' bdag* gNya'-khri btsan-po and the subsequent generations of the [Yar-lung] kings, foremost king lHa Tho-ri snyan-btsan, during whose reign [a casket containing a number of holy objects such as] *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, the *dBang skyong* [= *sPang skong*] *phyag* [*b*]*rgya pa*[*'i mdo*], and a Cintāmaṇi *dhāranī* etc. fell onto the roof of the *pho brang* of Yum-bu bla-sgang; this is considered the [mythical] beginning of Buddhism in Tibet; after five kings, the *Chos rgyal mnga' bdag* Srong-btsan sgam-po emerged, during whose reign Thon-mi Paṇḍita invented the Tibetan alphabet based upon the Indian letters; the translation activity of Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan by many translators and learned scholars (*lo* [*tsā ba*] *paṇ*[*ḍi ta*]). After [the erection of] the lHa-ldan sprul-pa'i gtsug-lag-khang [= Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang], the king married the princesses of the Chinese Emperor and the Nepalese King, Kong-jo and Khri-btsun respectively, and the two destined images, the Jo-bo Brother statues, were invited to Tibet. During the reign of the *mnga' bdag* Tshangs-pa lha'i me-tog [*Brahmā Devapuṣpa, i.e. Khri-srong lde-btsan], Ka [= sKa[-ba] dpal-brtsegs], Cog[-ro Klu'i rgyal-mtshan] and Bai[rotsana, Vairocana] translated numerous Buddhist *sūtra* and *tantra*. After *mKhan chen* Zhi-ba-'tsho [= *Mahopādhyāya* Śāntarakṣita] and Padmasambhava, the Second Buddha, were invited, and the tradition of monks such as the first seven ordained monks (*sad mi mi bdun*) [i.e. a convent] was introduced [at bSam-yas], [**5a**] The tradition of the *sūtra* and *mantra* of the precious Teaching of the Jina was thus successfully established, capable of being enjoyed by high and low. The continuation of the tradition of his predecessors was upheld during the reign of *mnga' bdag* Khri Ral[-pa-can] and his successors. This ends the phase of the early dissemination of the Buddhism in Tibet.[4]

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[3] It refers to Mi-yul sKyid-thing situated close to Bre-sna, the ancient center of Kong-po (cf. Karmay 1998; Ramble 1997; Hazod 2007). In the classical chronicles Nags-ma Bya tshogs-can (or Nags rMa-bya tshogs-can) in Kong-po is usually given as the place where the monkey-infants grew up. See most recently TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 224.

[4] The classical chronology of the dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet. Cf. e.g. TBH Sørensen 23.

The later dissemination (*phyi dar*): After the deterioration of the precious Teaching executed through perverse acts such as the destruction of temples and centers for ordained monks, and in the wake of the assassination of king Ral[-pa-can] by Glang-dar[-ma] and [his] ministers, who had been governed by perverse aspirations, the upholders of the tradition [transmitting] scriptural authority and spiritual realization (*lung, rtogs*, i.e. *āgama, adhigama*) again populated the Snow-capped Land [of Tibet] which became ornamented by the presence of monastic discipline established in dBus and gTsang and initiated by supreme personages [such as] dGongs-pa rab-gsal [892–975 A.D.?] [etc.].[5] Yet, due to low merit, to worldly affairs in general and the transmission of exegesis and realization (*bshad sgrub*) of the *sūtra* and *mantra*, both the old and the new [translations] and, in particular, of the roots of the Teachings, monastic discipline deteriorated through the [adverse Vajrayānic] practises of union and liberation (*sbyor sgrol*). Even the universal activities [i.e. domain of rule] of the Dharmarājas became fragmented. From one [regional] section of the triple division into Upper, Middle and Lower [i.e. western, central and eastern] Tibet [into which the country was divided] (*stod smad bar gsum*), namely the mNga'-ris region, the *chos rgyal* lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od [**5b**], Uncle and Nephew (*khu dbon*), the two, invited dPal lHa-gcig Di-paṃ kā-ra [i.e. Atiśa] [to Tibet, a scholar-saint] who by way of numerous teachings such as his *Bodhipathapradīpa* etc. eliminated all flaws of doubts, perverse conceptions and misunderstanding concerning the Buddhist Teaching.[6] Thereafter, the life of the Buddhist Teaching was safeguarded by the ideal life of numerous supreme personages, all representative of erudition, piousness, and goodness, the three (*mkhas btsun bzang gsum*). In particular, [the fame of] the life[-story] of 'Gro-mgon g.Yu-brag-pa, who constitutes the roots of the Teaching of bKa'-brgyud-pa as well as that of Tsong-kha-pa chen-po, the teacher of the living beings of the Three Spheres, [both] comparable to a white umbrella of the Teachings, covered the entire world. The successive lineage holders of [the Tshal-pa], master and disciples, suitably being manifestations of the supreme Ārya Lokeśvara, had at all times firmly vowed to generate their minds [towards Enlightenment] in order to spread and propagate the precious Teaching until this very point through the good karmic activity prevailing there. It provided the preconditions for the high status (*abhyudaya*) and definite goodness (*niḥśreyasa*)[7] for all religious practices spanning from Śrī Guhyasamāya until the protection against the transgression of [the vows as codified in] Pratimokṣa, etc. It is a common perception that this is due to the [active] compassion of these [rulers]. The details [of their feats] are repeatedly described in many writings, which should be consulted. This present version is only an abbreviated [**6a**] [delineation of these glorious feats].

[Summarizing intermediate stanzas (*antaraśloka, bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa*) [**6a1–6a5**]].

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[5] See Stoddard 2004; see also Part II: Table V.6 below.

[6] The *phyi dar* in mNga'-ris, Atiśa's invitation and his activities in Western and Central Tibet, cf. e.g. Eimer 1977; Vitali 1996; Karmay 1998: 3f.; Tsering Gyalbo 2006, *passim*.

[7] The high status signifies the three higher realms in *saṃsāra*, the short-term goal of worldly salvation strived for by living beings, and the ultimate goodness or *summum bonum* refers to the status consisting in the ultimate salvation or liberation from the selfsame cycle of migration; as such these two terms stand for temporary and ultimate happiness (*gnas skabs dang mthar thug gi bde ba*) or for thisworldly and otherworldly happiness.

CHAPTER II

[II.1] [Biography of the Tshal-pa Founder and his Disciples and the Split of the School into Bar-Tshal and sTod-Tshal] [**6a5–28b1**]

[II.1.1] [The Outer, Inner and Secret Biography of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che] [**6a5–12b1**]

[The chapter is divided into [A] an external, [B] an internal and [C] a secret biography of 'Gro-mgon,[8] and a devotional biographical description of the lineage of his disciples [Chapter II.1.2]. As an ancillary section, an abbreviated exposition is offered concerning the history of the *srid skyong*, i.e. secular rulers of Tshal [Chapter II.2]. The author commences the chapter with an exposition of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud, which is counted as the foremost and most eminent among the four bKa'-brgyud schools or among the four Dvags[-po bKa'-brgyud-pa] schools, which together with the school of Shangs[-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa], constitute the two bKa'-brgyud main systems.[9] Introductory Verse [**6b1**–**2**]].

[General eulogized, mythical origin of g.Yu-brag and the bKa'-brgyud-pa is given referring e.g. to [celebrated] prophecies proclaimed by Buddha Śākyamuni and gleaned from the *Mañjuśrīmūla-tantra*, *Mahāmegha-sūtra* and the *Vimaladevī*[*paripṛcchā*, ~ *vyākaraṇa-sūtra, lHa mo dri ma med pa*[*-mdo*]].[10] [**6b2**–**7a6**]

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[8] The threefold classification into an external (exoteric, *in casu* worldly and ordinary), an internal (spiritual, internalized, mystic) and a secret (esoteric, otherworldly and hence quintessentially indescribable, abolishing the difference of, or merging the former two) is commom in Tibetan hagiographical literature and is fundamentally intended to signal not only different levels of reality but also distinct modes of representation of reality and the life of a religious personage. Parallel and corresponding to this classification one often finds in the same literature the division into outer, inner and secret sites of meditative practice (see e.g. the example of the Mi-la rdzong-drug, below fn. 272).

[9] On the Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa, see most recently Kapstein 2005. The "four Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa" refer to the common classification of the *bka' brgyud che bzhi* or "Four Great Oral Instruction Lineages" which are linked to monastic seats and teaching centers in Central Tibet the founders of which were direct disciples of Dvags-po lha-rje bSod-nams rin-chen (1079–1153 A.D.) and his immediate successor at Dvags-lha sGam-po, his nephew Dvags-po sGom-tshul (1116–1169 A.D.), the latter known as one of Bla-ma Zhang's root-teacher (see below fn. 47; Introduction: fn. 15).

The Group of the *bka' brgyud che bzhi* includes the Phag-mo gru-pa bKa'-brgyud, the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud, the 'Ba'-rom bKa'-brgyud and the Kar-ma bKa'-brgyud.

A further sub-division speaks of the "eight minor bKa'-brgyud schools" (*bka' brgyud chung/ya brgyad)* which go back to foundations of direct disciples of Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po (1110–1170), the founder of the Phag-mo gru-pa bKa'-brgyud. The latter's main retreat in Ngam-shod developed to become the monastic centre of gDan-sa-mthil, the mother seat of numerous masters and founding figures and later the spiritial headquarter of the Phag-mo gru-pa rule (see now Czaja 2006). The *bka' brgyud chung/ya brgyad* usually include the 'Bri-gung-pa, sTag-lungs-pa, 'Brug-pa, g.Ya'-bzang-pa, Khro-phu-pa, Shug-gseb-pa, Yel-pa and the sMar-tshang-pa, See a.g. CFS Gyalbo *et al.* 41f., *Dung dkar tshig mdzo*d 158f. See also Introduction: Chap. 6.1.

[10] See e.g. TBH Sørensen 154.

[A] [The Outer Biography]

[**7b1**] [Bla-ma Zhang] descended from the [sNa-nam] Zhang clan,[11] and he was born in Tsha-ba-gru,[12]

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[11] Cf. also *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 806.4. In the esoteric writings, Zhang is also called sNa-nam sgom-pa Zhang ("the hermit Zhang of the sNa-nam [clan]"). The sNa-nam clan is counted among the chief aristocratic clans of the dynastic period and several protagonists of the *snga dar* period stemmed from sNa-nam (cf. e.g. *dBa' bzhed* P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000, s.v. index). Zhang ('maternal uncle') in sNa-nam Zhang indicates that a branch of the lineage functioned as queen-giver and heir-producer to the royal house. In fact, the sNa-nam represented one of the four heir-producing clans in the dynastic period ('Bro, Tshes-pong, mChims and sNa-nam) and one of the three *zhang blon* (maternal uncle minister) in the group of the *zhang gsum blon bzhi* (= *zhang blon* of the 'Bro, mChims and the sNa-nam clan respectively, together with the fourth sBa/dBa' minister; see Dotson 2004). Two most prominent figures of the Zhang sNa-nam-pa were [Zhang] sNa-nam Khri-bzungs Nya-bzang (also called Zhang Nya-bzang and sNa-nam Nya-bzang; cf. P. Wangdu and H. Diemberger 2000: 41) and later, in early post-dynastic times, Zhang sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug (*ca*. 976–1060 A.D.); he was from Nyams dGa'-mo (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 474.10; BA Roerich 87; others say from gTsang-rong; *gTer ston lo rgyus* 24b4–5) which is in sKyid-smad (in the area of Bur (= present-day Ra-stod), see Eimer 1979: 274; a [s]Nyams is also reistered for the neighbouring gNam district; below fn. 694; Part I: Fig. 68a,b). A main settlement of the clan in the imperial period was in lower sTod-lung (cf. the imperial *dbang ris* catalogue, where the area of Brang and Zhong (in sTod-lung-mda') are registered as sNa-nam territory; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 187.3). On the other hand, the sNa-nam is listed as the lineage of the commander (*ru* / *dmag dpon*) of Upper dBu-ru (see *lDe'u 2* 261.4–5); perhaps an even older connection is the presence of the lineage in Pa-snam (the name itself is derived from the Pa-tshab and sNa-nam clans) of gTsang. A branche is *inter alia* also registered for mDo-khams; cf. *gTer ston lo rgyus* 37b6–38a1. There is no concrete indication in the sources that the sNa-nam branch of Bla-ma Zhang's paternal family occupied any local aristocratic position in this area at the time in question (see also Martin 2000: 45), aside from the reference regarding Bla-ma Zhang's origin from a rJe'u (> *rje bo* or noble, lord) clan (*lHo rong chos 'byung* 181).*

* It is noteworthy that the sNa-nam clan was also involved in the history of the ruling family of 'Bri-gung, i.e. the sKyu-ra (cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 65). The ancestral mother was considered a lady of sNa-nam (from a branch in the gZho-rong valley of dBu-ru *stod*?, see above), who was embodied in the *chos skyong* A-phyi, the powerful 'Bri-gung lha-mo medium; cf. TPS Tucci 630; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 403–04; *Kun dga' rin chen rnam thar III* 47.2. Finally, the 5th Karma-pa De-bzhin gshegs-pa Chos kyi dpal-bzang-po (1384–1415 A.D.) too stemmed from the sNa-nam Zhang clan (a subline from rKong-po, evidently; cf. e.g. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 992; *DMB I* 481–83; *Mig 'byed 'od stong* 63a4–b5).

[12] Tsha-ba-gru, an ancient toponym, designates a small stretch of land located in Tshal Gung-thang, situated at the foot of Mt Tsan-dan-ri (see Map 1b.2). According to the locals, the birthplace – today marked by a white stone in a field close to lCags-grong village (cf. Fig. 31 of App. IV) – was more precisely the house of the mother, which seems to indicate a type of uxorilocal residence rule, according to which the parents lived in the paternal household of the mother. Bla-ma Zhang calls his birthplace bTsan-'bangs-sa'i Tsha-ba-gru (*rGyal blon ma*, in *ZhK* 214.4; in *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i lo rgyus* and in *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 534.4–5; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 2a1–2), which in this context would seem to mean: Tsha-ba-gru, the "place [i.e. meeting point] between the king and the people," in other words "a royal site" – either alluding to the presence of a royal residence formerly situated at this site or else understood as a prophecy. This text and the information in his *rNam thar mdor bsdus* (*ZhK III* (KA) 245b3–4) thus dovetail when it is maintained that Zhang is called a *brtsad po*, (a petty) "king" or stems from a *rje rigs*. Among the comparative sources *'Brug pa chos 'byung* 392.11 gives the form lHa-sa'i Tsha-ba-gru; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 181.15 has Ngan-lam Tsha-ba-gru (Tsha-ba-gru of the Ngan-lam region or district).* *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 65a3 has Gung-thang Tsha-ba-gru, and *Blon po bka'i thang yig* 521.19–21: dBu-ru Tsha-ba-gru. These are vacillating attempts which evidently bespeak different stages in the toponymic specification of the area.

Another reading of Tsha-ba-gru, reflecting an event prior to the birth of Bla-ma Zhang, is reported by Rva *lo tsā ba* (*rnam thar* 309.10–17), mentioning that a female manifestation of a Yum rDo-rje Ro-langs-ma (Vajravetālī) called 'Od-zer 'bum-me came from Tsha-ba-gru of sKyi-shod. The same place-name is also documented from the celebrated narrative in *bTsun mo bka' thang* (Chap. 9–10), which is related to the Vairocana exile story. Here it is recounted

located in sKyid-shod.[13] His father was [called] rDo-rje sems-[d]pa[']][14] and his mother Mang-skyid.[15] He was born in autumn, on the fourth day of the middle autumn month [= eighth lunar Hor

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how the king, Khri-srong lde-btsan, while pursuing the master, made a halt in Tsha-ba-gru, at a point where his horse became exhausted and "hot" (*ngal ga mug tsha*), hence the place was named Tsha-ba-gru, "the corner where [the horse] got hot." Evidently, this reflects an attempt at popular etymology of an original old place name. Still it cannot be excluded that Tsha-ba-gru served as a model for the Tsha-ba-rong, the place of exile in the Vairocana myth (see *Bai ro'i rnam thar*; *Padma bka' thang*, Chap. 83, etc.). This story underwent different adaptations throughout history, one version retaining the possibly original reading of Tsha-ba-gru, in the vicinity of lHa-sa and sKyid-chu (geographically making sense), whereas another version relegated the place of refuge to Eastern Tibet, a toponym transmitted especially in the rNying-ma tradition. The latter became the official version and [sKyid-shod] Tsha-ba-gru became obsolete.

* In the autobiographical writings, Bla-ma Zhang occasionally speaks of himself as the "beggar of Ngan-lam." The toponym Ngan-lam is well-known from dynastic times (cf. the royal residence Ngan-lam Ts[h]al-[g]sar-pa – "New Garden of Ngan-lam") – registered for the year 701 A.D. (*TDD* 236.17) and, in several post-dynastic sources, it indicates the area which generally stands for the later Tshal Gung-thang (cf. also Uebach 1988: 508–10). Today the name Ngan-lam [Ral-gsum] is neither traceable nor in use in the area and it appears that already by the 12th or early 13th century, the toponym had grown increasingly obsolete. Cf. e.g. Ngan-lam Ri-chu ring-mo; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 641. The toponym is to be found in relation with 'Phan-yul and it is reasonable to assume that this 'Phan-po Ngan-lam is the original toponym, at least suggested from the lHa-sa Zhol rdo-ring inscription (Richardson 1985: 22–23). The question as to when and how the toponym (also known as a clan name) was transferred to (or found a parallel in) sKyid-shod remains to be clarified. See App. IV: Chap. 3.2.2 for more details.

[13] sKyid-shod in this form is not reported in the Dunhuang materials, but *grosso modo* corresponds to the area which in the dynastic time was referred to as (upper and lower) [s]Kyi, an area – along both banks of the sKyi[d]-chu river – which stretched approximately from Mal-[']gro in the north to the gTsang-po river in the south (cf. Introduction: Map 1). The entire area is divided into Upper and Lower (*stod*, *smad*) sKyid-shod, of which Bla-ma Zhang eventually became ruler (*bdag po*); cf. e.g. *Deb dmar gsar* 59b (= Tucci 1972: 194). The area of lHa-sa is often described as the centre (*mthil*) of sKyid-shod (cf. *Ka khol ma* 201; *DL4* 23b3), a designation relating to the position of the lHa-sa Jo-khang as the heart of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone (the latter refers approximately to the section between lower sTod-lung and Ba-lam; see App. IV). This middle section of sKyid-shod was later the core territory of the sNe'u-pa (15th cent.) and especially of the sKyid-shod *sde pa* (from the mid-16th century) with its seat at (Ba-lam) bDe-chen-rtse *rdzong*, also called sKyid-shod *rdzong*. For a brief discussion of the history of this key district or region of Upper and Lower sKyi[d], where a large number of dynastic places are located, see Introduction: Chap. 4.

[14] *Deb sngon* 832.16 and *ZhK III* (KA) 245b: *sngags pa* [*rnying ma pa*]: rDo-rje sems-dpa', a Tantric lay-practitioner. On one point of Zhang's writings there is mention of his own *tsha bo* (nephew) brTson-grus seng-ge which refers to a son of one of his brothers and sisters. *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 2a4–b3, 31a1–2 speaks of an elder brother called Zhang sNag-po (*rNam thar mdor bsdus* (in *ZhK III* 246a5): Zhag-sgag) and a younger one, as well as a sister, Zhang lcam-spun by name.

[15] She was a former nun; together with an elder brother she taught him to read and write (BA Roerich 712; Martin 1992: 251; Martin 2000: 46). Mar-lung, in his biography (70a1), maintains that Zhang's mother was Shud-mo-bza' Mang-skyid, indicating that she evidently was of the Shud-phu clan, an imperial clan associated with the area of lHo-brag in southern Central Tibet. Cf. also *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 2a3–3a5. Conversely, *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 65a2–3 and *Mig 'byed 'od stong* 68a6 merely purport she was a Jo g.yag-[= gyog-]mo or a maid of a local lord. A genealogical account of the Shud-phu is offered in the *rnam thar* of the Tsong-kha-pa teacher Shud-phu Phyag-rdor-ba Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1326–1402) which starts with the story of the *chos blon* Shud-phu dPal gyi seng-ge (late 8th cent.). The orginal home of the Shud-phu (orig. spell. Shul-phul) appears to have been in Yar-'brog (where the ancestor described as the younger brother of gNya'-khri btsan-po arrived to become the Yar-'brog *dgra lha*), later gTam-shul (south-west of Yar-lung) became a main territory of the Shud-phu-pa where they won a reputation by disseminating specific esoteric tantric cycles. In the course of the *kheng log* clan rebellion of the 10th cent., the local rule or *rje'i dpon tshan* of gTam-shul was established by a member of the Shud-phu (cf. *lHo brag grub chen rnam thar* 648.1–5). As a place-name Shud[-phu/bu] appears among other things in the context of the foundation of the Grva-thang *vihāra*, where it is said that the temple was erected at the border of sNa and Shud (cf. BA Roerich 77, 96); in the period around 1045 A.D. a conflict

month] of the female Water-Rabbit year [1123 A.D.][16] accompanied by the unusual signs which follow the birth of an extraordinary personage. Birth name: Dar-ma-grags [* Dharmakīrti]. The *grub thob* Ma-jo dar-ma became his teacher; later the roles were turned around, when the latter requested teachings. So Ma-jo dar-ma was both teacher and disciple.[17] [Dar-ma-grags] displayed unusual faculties from earliest childhood, being capable of circumambulating receptacles, reading holy scriptures, being instantly knowledgeable about the Buddhist sciences as well as behaving compassionately towards [fellow] living beings. He e.g. erected a seat when playing with his comrades, from which he preached the *dharma.*[18] From the age of seven [i.e. *ca*. 1129–30 A.D.], he began his studies in the presence of the *bla ma* rNgog-pa[19] and Sam-bu *lo tsā ba* etc. [**8a**] and brought the studies of the Buddhist sciences*, Prajñāpāramitā* and *Pramāṇa* to perfection. In fact, he turned into a [true] Lion of Speech (*vādisiṁha*).[20]

Provoked by clashes with his relatives and urged by temporary circumstances, etc. he took recourse to exhort *mantra* as well as to sorcery, and he proved successful in applying subjugating direct action of black magic against [those] evil antagonists. [Having moved to] Khams,[21] he accepted

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raged between sNa and Shud. See *rNam thar rgyas pa* (Eimer 1979: 240); *Lam rim bla ma brgyud rnam thar* 184. sNa probably means here the land of the Zhang sNa-nam clan to whom allegedly the Grva country was conferred in dynastic times. The same is said of the Shud-phu clan too (see below fn. 423). The common appearance of the two clans (behind Zhang's parents) in Grva, an area which had (and still has) close ties with Tshal Gung-thang, suggests that there may have existed an earlier tradition of (affinal) relationships between the two lineages.

Although the sources are not entirely clear, according to *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 2a4–b3, 31a1–2, Zhang had both an elder and younger brother, the elder was called Zhang sNag-po (albeit *snag* generally alludes to a relative on his mother's side; a half-brother?) as well as a sister (see previous note).

[16] It corresponds to *ca*. 27. 08. 1123 A.D. of the Western calender. *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 65a3 has 1122.

[17] He belonged to the group of former colleagues of Zhang's mother (Martin, *op. cit.*). According to the *rNam thar mdor bsdus* (*ZhK III* 245b5–246a1), the "omniscient Ma-jo dar-ma" from Shol-pa'i-ri (?) advised the *btsun ma* Mang-skyid to marry; it would be of great merit. He is repeatedly mentioned by Zhang, also in the context of later events. In addition, rJe'u-ston (Bye'u ston-pa) and *slob dpon* gShen (= Ngam-shod gShen-pa rDo-rje seng-ge? below fn. 55) are listed among the earliest teachers of the young Zhang. See his biographical *Shes rab grub ma* (in *bKa' thor bu* 12); *Deb sngon* 833.6–7. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba*, *passim*, lists more than 30 teachers of Zhang in the period before his ordination in the late 1140's. See Part II: App. V, Table 4.

[18] Cf. also *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 3a3f. No doubt, an event intended to indicate that he would grow up to become a great religious leader and establish his own seat. We find this narrative element also in a number of other masters' hagiographies. See e.g. the story of the young g.Ya'-bzang-pa (later a disciple of Zhang), CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 68.

[19] Other sources claim that he had reached the age of 11 when he came to the teacher rNgog, i.e. rNgog mDo-sde, (one of his six root teachers, cf. fn. 56 below) from whom he heard the cycles of *Hevajra*, Gur (= *Gur mgon*, *Pañjara-mahākāla*) and *Mahāmāyā* etc. (*Deb sngon* 833.8; BA Roerich 712; cf. more detailed *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 6b3f.; *'Brug pa chos 'byung* 392; *bKa' 'thor bu* 219.6). On rNgog mDo-sde (1078–1154 / 1090–1166 A.D.), a son of rNgog-ston Chos-sku rdo-rje (1036–1102 A.D.) and sPa-mo Chos-smon (Pa-bza' Chos-'tsho, sBa-mo [i.e. lady of the sBa clan] Chos-brtson) and an incarnation of sBug Ye-rgyal (var. Yug Yo-rgyal) of La-stod, see *lHo rong chos 'byung* 53f.; *'Brug pa chos 'byung* 345.19f.; BA Roerich: 406–413, *et passim*; further *Ming mdzod* 468–69; concerning Zhang's teacher, *lHo rong chos 'byung* 183.16 gives *slob dpon* rNgog and adds the gloss: Jo-bo Thogs-med grags-pa (1120–1156 A.D.) who elsewhere is reported as the (second) son of mDo-sde (*lHo rong chos 'byung* 54, 55; BA Roerich 412–13). On fol. 42b *infra*, he is called rNgog-ston; in *bKa' thor bu* 428.4 the root teacher is called rNgog sTod-lungs-pa.

[20] He learned *Abhidharma*, *Nyāya* etc. (BA Roerich 712). More precisely, from bSam-bu *lo tsā ba* he learned the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and the *Nyāyabindu* (see *bKa' thor bu* 13; see also *ibid*. 222, 429; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 7b3–5).

[21] For Bla-ma Zhang's stint eastwards, following the demise of his parents, cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 184.4f. It

the vow [of upholding] the five kinds of perpetual disciplinary rules (*brtan* [= *gtan*] *khrims lnga*) from *ācārya* Blo-bstan [= brtan].[22] Age 24 [i.e. *ca*. 1146–47 A.D.] in a dream he experienced how blood profusely dripped from his nose, from which a long animal resembling a snake emerged, and which then moved towards the west. It declared that it would accompany him for a long time. When Bla-ma Zhang then, occasioned by the circumstance that a friend could not pay the price of a *mdzo*, experienced an intense feeling of renunciation, he destroyed the devices for black magic and removed the substance of blood. His disciples declared that he was insane and that he could not do such a thing.[23]

At the age of 26 [i.e. *ca*. 1148 A.D.], he developed an intense faith after having studied *mDo dKon* [*mchog*] *brtsegs* [*pa*] (*Ratnakūṭasūtra*) and he took his final ordination at the feet of *kalyāṇamitra* mKhar-sgo-ba,[24] with Grab-mkhar-ba[25] as *ācārya* and, as secret preceptor (*gsang ston*) functioned 'Jang-mdo-ba of gZu,[26] and he received the name brTson-'grus grags-pa [*Vīryakīrti].[27]

[**8b**] For one full year,[28] he made the vow of sitting up straight (*tsog bu*) in one continuous seat session. Except for the exchange of cloth, he kept sitting [motionless] in meditation, making confession his key focal point.[29] Thereafter he became the personal assistant of dPal rGva-lo chen-po[30] when the

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should evidently be seen in connection with the skirmishes (from *ca*. 1143 A.D.) with some of his relatives, who became his foes and against whom he eventually practised black magic; cf. BA Roerich 712. *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 9b1f. reports that he went to Khams in company of one *slob dpon* Ru-ston and that his family skirmishes were with Zhang sNag-po. The latter suggests that it was with his maternal nephews.

This childhood or juvenile experience carries some resemblance to – or indeed may have been adapted from – the story of rJe-btsun Mi-la. Incidentally, Mi-la possibly passed away in the very same year Bla-ma Zhang was born.

[22] Cf. *bKa' thor bu* 13–14, 225 has *slob dpon* Blang-ston (Rlang-ston in Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's account; Ahmad 1999: 186); he took the vow at the age of 23. *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 9b2–5; *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 540.3–4: age 33 (*sic*) he met Glang-ston; *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 65a5: Glang-ston.

[23] "The story of the nose." For more details, see *bKa' thor bu* 14.3f.; 225.5f; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 9b5–10a5.

[24] Cf. *bKa' thor bu* 17.5: rGya-ston mKhar-mgo-ba; 231.2: mKhar-'og-pa. So also *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 540.4–5; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 12b4).

[25] Cf. *bKa' thor bu* 17.6; 231.2: Drab [~ Dra-ba]-mkhar-pa; *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 65a6: Brab-mkhar-pa; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 184.10f.: Grags-mkhar-pa; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 12b5; so also *dGa' ldan chos 'byung* I 50a1. It may refer to a teacher from Grab-mkhar of Nags-shod.

[26] Cf. *bKa' thor bu* 17.6; 231.3: Zu [~Zur]-ljang mdo-ba; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 185.5: gZu-ldang mdo-pa; *Deb sngon*: gZung-ljang mDo-ba.

[27] The full monastic ordination took place in Khams (see also Jackson 1994: 58); the exact place is not mentioned, but see below fn. 31. The year *sa 'brug* 1148 is erreonously given as *me 'brug* 1136 in *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 540.4–6.

[28] The year following his ordination is given as [*sa*]*'brug* 1148. Cf. e.g. *bKa' thor bu* 18.1; 231.4; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 185.6.

[29] Cf. *bKa' thor bu* 18.2; 231.6f.; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 185.8. The "single seat/mat or session" (*stan* / *gdan gcig*, *aikāsantika*) of eating only once during one day maintains a rigorous Vinaya discipline and monastic principle; cf. e.g. Jackson 1994: 70.

[30] The translator *dpal* rG[v]a-lo Rin-po-che (dPal-chen rGva-lo, Mi-nyag rGva-lo, rGva *lo tsā ba* gZhon-nu-dpal; *Kumaraśrī; rGa or rG[v]a evidently toponymically reflects Xia) (1110/1114–1198/1202 A.D.), a native of Tsong-kha in mDo-smad (or rGa of mDo-khams = Xia or Tangut); he studied in India where he obtained initiations from Abhayākara-[gupta] and where he became the disciple of another native Xia colleague, the polylinguist [r]Tsa-mi *lo tsā ba* Sangs-rgyas grags-pa (himself of noble Tangut descent), an important figure in the transmission of the *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Kālacakra* as

latter went to Sog.[31] Requesting for authorisation to meditate, dPal-chen thought that he would attain the level of Heruka in this very life and he was given esoteric mantric precepts and in fact later he turned out like that, it was said. Using dust-powdered as well as painted *maṇḍala*, he received empowerment and contemplated deeply after having received numerous precepts related to the six-limbed yoga (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*) [of the Kālacakra tradition] and to psychic energy (*prāṇāyāma*). Being affected by attacks of headache etc., and asking dPal-chen the reason why, he was told that it was caused by an elemental disturbance in his body. And he was told it would be better not to eat anything after he had recovered.[32] Thereafter, taking recourse to these precepts, and remaining in meditative recluse in his own place, he experienced demonic magical tricks and hindrances, and since *rje btsun* rG[v]a-lo, being far away, could not be consulted, he dispatched a letter to Mal Yer-pa,[33] inquiring about the reason for these episodes. The latter wrote an instruction

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well as the *Māhakāla* teaching cycles (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 530; *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 541.4–543.3; BA Roerich 469, *et passim*; *'Khor lo sdom pa chos 'byung* 79–80; Sperling 1994: 801f., based on the *rGva lo rnam thar* (known as *Byang chub sems 'byong ma*) written by Bla-ma Zhang himself, conserved in *bKa' thor bu* 360.3–392.7). He was also counted among the chief disciples of Sa-skya chen-po Kun-dga' snying-po (1092–1158 A.D.). rGva-lo is mostly known for the dissemination of the *Māhakāla* cycles, among them foremost the Ye-shes mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa rGva-lo-lugs and the later Tshal-lugs kyi Ye-shes mgon-po phyag-bzhi-pa which he transmitted to Zhang (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 46 [according to *Rin 'byung* Vol. II, 245a–253b]; *Buddhist Iconography* 857; Willson and Brauen 2000: 342–44; *Dam can legs bshad I* 93f.). He was a teacher of Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po (1110–1170) and Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa (1110–1193); cf. BA Roerich, s.v. index. Se-mo-do and bKra-shis-[r]do at lake gNam-mtsho are given as his chief *sgrub gnas* sites where he stayed for seven years (Bellezza 1997: 221; BA Roerich 614). dPal rGva-lo was considered one of the nine great practitioner (*sgrub pa po che dgu*) during his time.

In artistic representations, rGva-lo always appears to the right of Bla-ma Zhang, which evidently attests to his pre-eminent position among Bla-ma Zhang's fundamental teachers. Tradition holds that rG[v]a-lo was blind – and Bla-ma Zhang gave him a *jñānacakṣuḥ*, the (third) "wisdom-eye." For this story, see e.g. Z*hang rnam thar zin bris* 34a2–5. His *thugs dam* image was Maitreya-nātha; cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung* I 632. A biographic *thangka* of rGva-lo is reported in *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 622. A Bla-ma dam-pa Shes-rab rdo-rje authored the *rJe bla ma rGva lo tsā ba'i gdung rabs dang rnam par thar pa'i gsol 'debs 'grel ba* (18 fols.); cf. *Drepung Catalogue* 017087.

[31] He met rG[v]a-lo in Sog[s]. BA Roerich 713; *'Brug pa chos 'byung* 393. It most probably refers to the Sog in Khams (in Nags-shod; Petech 1990a: 63; Gyurme Dorje 1998: 443, 454); the accounts in *Zhang bKa' 'bum* and *rGyal blon ma* (in *bKa' thor bu* 20ff, 241f.) and *lHo rong chos 'byung* 185 mention the places of lKog-ke'u dgon-pa (*var*. rKog-skye'u dgon-pa) in Sum-pa-shod, Nags-shod and Zung-mdzod-brag of Sog where Zhang stayed at the time in question and where he met Bla-ma [dPal-chen-po] (= rGva-lo). *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 14a2–20a3, the most detailed source, reports his sojourn in Khams, lasting in all seven years approx. between *ca*. 1145/46–1152/53), where he met one *bla ma* dKar-shod and proceeded to Nags-shod Grab-mkhar, subsequently to Zur-rdzong gi brag-phug of Sog, etc. On Nags-shod, see also below 57a and fn. 741.

[32] *Deb sngon* 834.16: "he should eat bones and meat."

[33] Mal Yer-pa (also Yer-pa-ba) sMon-lam-btsan (1105–1170 A.D.)* was a leading representative of the Mar-pa bKa'-brgyud teaching tradition which was transmitted to him by his principal teacher, the Mi-la disciple 'Bri-sgom ras-pa (also called Gling-kha [~ -ka]-ba after the Gling-kha monastery founded by him). Among his teachers are counted rDog (= rNgog) Mu-le (of the seat of Brag-ltag of 'Jad in gTsang; cf. App. II) and rGva-lo. Cf. *Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar*, *passim*; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 21b6–22a2, 30b3–32b2; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 159.8–15; *Chos kun gsal ba'i me long* 19a6–7.

Mal Yer-pa founded Yer-pa sPos-dga' (~ sPos-kha, sPos-dkar-dgon) (cf. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 154.12; *Zur chen rnam thar* 80b1–81a3; its *srung ma* is dPal-ldan lha-mo Dung-skyong-ma)** and later became one of the root teachers of Zhang. He stayed in Yer-pa sPos-dga' for over 30 years until 1170). See *Mal Yer pa ba rnam mthar* 9b3–4; and the biography written by Zhang called *bsKal pa dpag med ma* (*bKa' thor bu bu* 393.1–426.4; *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 543.3–544.4); see also *lHo rong chos 'byung* 159.16f.

how to eliminate these demonic obstacles,[34] adding that if these would prove inefficient, he should at the beginning of the [coming] month come to him.[35] Meeting him, he meditated on the precepts containing the skillful methods [once expounded by] Nāropa; that very night he personally experienced the inner heat, and he realized that he had [previously] contemplated by looking at the *dharma* in a reverse order, but at this junction, a sensation emerged that the nature of the mind had become settled [in him].

[**9a**] Practising asceticism, he for three years stayed in mountain retreat; meeting rG[v]a-lo again,[36] he requested for [and received] the additional set of precepts. Together with his disciple-intendant (*nye gnas*) Dar-ma gzhon-nu,[37] they dedicated themselves in retreat to spiritual realization in the caves of Brag-bla-nga of lNga-rong, sKo-ba brag-phug of rJe-mo, and in mKhar-chen-brag, etc. In particular they established at the foot of 'Bri-nag-brag their main seat of meditation.[38]

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* He must be distinguished from the even older Zhang-btsun Yer-pa-ba Ye-shes-'bar, pupil of Atiśa, cf. e.g. *bKa' gdams chos 'byung III* 94.20.

** Yer-pa sPos-dkar is situated in the Yer-pa valley (cf. *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 116–17), to differentiate from the sPos-dkar of Central 'Phan-yul (north of present-day 'Phan-po township; see fn. 835).

[34] Cf. also *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 22a2–3; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 163.9f.

[35] For details on the incidents taking place between the first meeting with rGva-lo and the first encounter with Mal Yer-pa (*rje* Yer-pa-ba) dated to *ca*. 1151 A.D., see *Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar* 6a7f.; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 22a3–25b6; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 185.10–187.19. During this period: return to dBus with sojourns in 'Gar-grong dgon-pa ('Gar [~ mGar]-rong dgon-pa) and the places of Bya[ng]-mkhar (see below) (where he had his "demonic experience" (of a veneral disease) and wherefrom he sought contact with Mal Yer-pa; cf. Ahmad 1999: 186). 'Gar-grong most probably refers to the site of the mGar-grong lha-khang located in gNam of sKyid-smad (see below fn. 694). Thereupon he came to lHa-lung (probably lHa-lung of sGrags, but there are also other candidates, e.g. lHa-lung in the lHa-sa valley; Chos-'phel 2004: 56), where he encountered three hungry wolves; lastly, in the hermitages of sTag-lung (~ rTag-lung Brag-nag [= Brag-rva?] in Yar-'brog – founded by rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab; BA Roerich 325, cf. fn. 85 below), g.Ya'-lung (BA Roerich 773; = g.Ya'-ma-lung? north of bSam-yas mChims-phu; *dBus gtsang gnas yig* 156; Dowman 1996: 217–218) and rDza-lung (or rDzong-lung; in Kong-po? BA Roerich 545). Cf. also *bKa' thor bu* 24, 29, 253–254.

[36] In 'Gor-rdzong[-brag] (*lHo rong chos 'byung* 189.7; *bKa' thor bu* 30.3, 244.1,261.1; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 33b4); from there he continued to Mal-gro – meeting *rje* Yer-pa-ba – and then he proceeded to Cha'i/Phya'i dgon (to meet rje 'Ol-k[h]a-ba; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 28a2–4; *lHo rong chos 'byung*, *op. cit.*; *bKa' thor bu* 258.3). Cha, the place of the Cha'i dgon, most probably refers to the Cha-phu Brag Sog-dgon, founded in the 11th century by the Klu-mes disciple Śākya dbang-phyug. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 155.8; *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 601.20; *HSLG* Vol. 1: 52. The district, which is listed as one of the *mi sde* units of the Tshal-pa *khri skor* (below fn. 402) is situated south-east of dGa'-ldan monastery (cf. e.g. *HSLG* Vol 1: 70).

[37] On Dar-ma gzhon-nu, see below fn. 357.

[38] mKhar-chen brag[-phug] (also Brag-phug Kha-chen) is an alternative name of the Guru Rinpoche cave of rDzong-khams-phug (*alias* rDzong sKu-'bum) in central sGrags (on this site, see Dowman 1996: 207, 213f.; Chos-'phel 2002: 17, 22); however, according to the present context, the mKhar-chen brag[-phug] of the Zhang biographies appears rather to be located in the Bya[ng]-mkhar area (note 40). See *rGyal blon ma* in *Zhang bKa''bum I* 246.5-6; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 21a3–6, 24a1–2, 27b4–3; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 187.14. lNga-rong refers to the lNga Valley in the central sGrags area. Finally, [s]Ko-ba-brag is a locale in sTod-lung (below fol. 23a). 'Bri-nag brag-phug, the "Cave of the Black 'Bri," seems to correspond to the hermitage of 'Be-nag gi brag-phug of Chu-len, also mentioned as Bya-mkhar 'Bhe-nag Brag-phug; see *rGyal blon ma* 247.3, 207.5; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 187.15; *ZhK II* 16.5: 'Bem-nag. According to the locals of Gung-thang, it represents one of a number of local *sgrub gnas* or *dben gnas ri khrod* in the mountainous area around Byang-mkhar, south of Gung-thang. From here paths lead to sGrags, where further *sgrub gnas* or hermitages of Bla-ma Zhang are situated, such as g.Yu-brag and bZang-yul Mon-gdong (fn. 62). *Deb sngon* 835.7: he (and his assistant) stayed in 'Brong-bu and other places. On 'Brong-bu, see below fns. 51, 62.

The [local] *gzhi bdag* of lHa-sa, Grib and of this very site [i.e. 'Bri-nag-brag] displayed magic, demonic attacks, [yet the two were able] to suppress and bind these by oath. Later, Jo-mo sMan-gcig-ma [adhering to the local *gzhi bdag* group of Bya-mkhar][39] handed over to him the *sgrub gnas* [site of] of Bya-mkhar [as a token of submission after having been subdued].[40] mGon-po Beng-dmar-can[41] manifested his body directly [in front of Zhang], and being urged to work extensively for the welfare of living beings, he promised to fulfill his committment, wherefore the place was called mGon-zhal-stengs.[42] Poisonous snakes displaying magic attacks emerged and fears of baneful halitosis [issuing from these creatures] were rampant. [They] made prayers to their *yi dam*, wherefore dPal rG[v]a-lo and other *bla ma* arrived in the sky above them and spoke the following words:[43]

> "Son! The nature of the mind is free from fixed foundation
> Generate persistently the ultimate meaning of non-arising (*skye med*)
> If one does not cut the concepts of ego-clinging (*atmagraha*)
> Even beholding the countenance of the Buddha of the three times
> Will not be beneficial to your mind."

They started to dance ecstatically. All the boulders were full of their foot-prints and after a particular intent was born in him, the upper and lower part of the cliffs were reverted. [**9b**] Due to the fact that the local *gzhi bdag* prayed that these foot-prints be kept as objects of worship [perpetually],[44] it was prophesied that this very site presently known as Zhabs-rjes 'Gro-don-ma,[45]

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[39] Jo-mo sMan-gcig-ma seems to be identical with the rDo-rje sMan-gcig-ma of the group of the four great *sman mo* deities (*sman mo chen mo bzhi*). They belong to the class of the bsTan-ma bcu-gnyis which is headed by rDo-rje g.Yu sgron-ma (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 31, 182, 192). The latter is worshipped as the local protectress and *yul lha* of Tshal (see App. IV). The bsTan-ma belongs to the circle of acolytes of the dPal-ldan lha-mo dMag-zor rgyal-mo, the "mother" of the Gung-thang lha-mo (below fn. 780; App. IV; see also bsTan-pa mkhyen-rab 1995: 47). A statue of the *gzhi bdag mo* of Byang-mkhar was kept in the rNam-thos-sras lha-khang of the Gung-thang temple; see below Chap. III. 4. G.

[40] Bya-mkhar (also regularly pronounced and hence occasionally spelled Byang-mkhar, both in the local tradition as well as in other sources) is the name of a mountain, situated between the [d]Kri (alt. spell. Sri) valley and Zhal valley, to the south-east of Gung-thang and it is the name of a hermitage or a complex of retreat sites, located on the upper south-eastern slopes of this mountain (Fig. 32, 33 of App. IV). The site is repeatedly mentioned in Zhang's autobiographical writings and appears to be one of the most important *sgrub gnas*. It later became a branch settlement of Tshal dBus-gling (cf. 50a below); it is obviously the [d]Kri'i Bya-dgar (= dkar/mkhar) 'Bur-mgo listed in *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 156.21 (in *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 602.3 the site is associated with g.Yu-brag, however). Also called Tshal Bya-dkar 'dus-sde. Recently, a new Byang-mkhar *ri khrod*, inhabited by nuns, was erected in Zhal village.

[41] The Red mGon-pa with the *beng* club, one of the forms of Māhakāla worshipped in Tshal Gung-thang (cf. also below fols. 47b and 61b). A mGon-po with a *beng* club or stick (*daṇḍa*) also belongs to the group of acolytes of the aforementioned mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa rGva-lo'i lugs (fn. 30). Cf. Dagyab 1991: 196; Willson and Brauen 2000: 349.

[42] Possibly this refers to Zhal village, i.e. "The Countenance of Mahākāla" mentioned above (fn. 40), Cf. also *Dam can legs bshad I* 109.

[43] The *locus classicus* for this verse is currently unidentified. Compare however *bKa' rgya ma I* 171-73; *ZhK I* 41-42, 55; *Mar lung rnam thar* 86b3–87b3.

[44] Cf. *bKa' rgya ma I* (from *Ngar phug ma*) 101.4–5.

[45] I.e. "The foot-print working for the welfare of living beings." See *bKa'rgya ma I* (*Ngar phug ma*) 104.3–6. Cf. fn. 156 below. Further, *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 32a1–3.

would again be found by a [Tshal-pa] lineage-holder in the future. It was [in fact] discovered by the 10th throne-holder Byang-chub dpal-bzang-po (see *infra*), yet there is also a tradition saying that its discovery was made by the 11th throne-holder.[46]

At the age of 33 [i.e. 1155–56 A.D.], Zhang met the *slob dpon rin po che* sGom-pa Tshul-khrims snying-po [1116–1169 A.D.],[47] and requesting his precepts, [Zhang] received the Mahāmudrā cycle of *lHan cig skyes sbyor*.[48] Due to a karman-connection from previous lives [this meeting prompted] that his knowledge [and understanding] overflowed from within to become infinite with the meaning of the Buddha's *pravacana*, and his meditative and analytic [i.e. noetic] knowledge powers were born. Requesting the teacher [sGom-tshul] for further progress in his practice, he

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[46] In the present version Byang-chub dpal-bzang-po is reckoned as the 11th *gdan sa ba* (below 18a).

[47] The meeting with Dvags-sgom, sGam-po-pa's nephew (and subsequently with Yer-pa-ba) took place in lHa-lung. Cf. *rGyal blon ma* 270.4f.; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 38b5f.; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 190-91. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 549.1f.: lHa-lung Brag-ral (= 'Tshur lHa-lung Brag-ral; *Tshal rnam* 23a1). lHa-lung here refers to the lHa-lung monastery of mTshur in sTod-lung* founded by Dvags-sgom in the year following sGam-po-pa's death (1153) after having been invited by *gnas brtan* Shes-rab-grags; cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 178.13; BA Roerich 464; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 801.15; *mTshur phu dkar chag* 670–71. sGom-tshul had been born in gNyal into the clan of sNyi-ba (the dominant lineage of Dvags-lha sgam-po; see Sørensen 2007b). According to an entry *Deb sngon* (657f.; BA Roerich 558), it was perhaps not the first meeting with his later root teacher. It is reported that in the early 1150's, shortly before the death of sGam-po-pa, one *dge bshes* Zhang along with Phag-mo gru-pa came to Dvags-lha sgam-po, the leadership of which at that time was already transferred to sGom-tshul. The meeting with sGam-po-pa was intended to clear up certain controversies concerning Zhang. However, the latter is here rather to identify with Zhang Sum-thog-pa (see Introduction: Chap. 6.1, fn. 16). After the founding of lHa-lung, sGom-tshul arrived in lHa-sa, where he took upon himself the responsibility for the restoration of the dilapidated Jo-khang, in around late 1160's. He simultaneously served as mediator in the on-going quarrels which prevailed between the adherents and patrons of the four communities (*tsho*, *sde ba*) which vied for supremacy in dBus at that time, i.e. of the Klu-mes, rBa, 'Bring and Rag-shi factions (*mKhas pa' dga' ston* 448, 801; *sGam po pa'i rnam thar I* 267.5f.; Dung-dkar 1991: 33f.; *HSLG* Vol. 6: 184–85). To this end, he evidently worked closely together with the Kha-rag gNyos clan, which at that time was highly influential in the lower sKyid-shod region, foremost with gNyos Grags-pa-dpal, who at that time had risen to become *bdag po* of 'Bring mtsho [~-tsho] stod-smad, i.e. lord and patron of the upper and lower 'Bring *tsho* communities; cf. *Kha rag gNyos kyi gdung rabs* 24–25 (cf. App. II: Chap. 1 and Table V.7). Dvags-sgom later entrusted Zhang Rin-po-che with the care of lHa-sa; cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 448.16–19; 801.15–20; *Bla ma Dvags po sgom pa'i rnam thar* (in *ZhK I* 352.4–360.3 = *II* 35a5–38a5 (= *III* KA 71a4–76a2); *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 549.4. See also Dung-dkar's notes in *Deb dmar* 400. Chapel (1982: 19) purports that the renovation, following the *sde bzhi* warring conflict of the lHa-sa *vihāra*, was completed in 1167 (uncertain upon which source this is based). From sGom-tshul, Bla-ma Zhang mainly received *Mahāmudrā* and *Na ro chos drug*. A personally blessed (*phyag nas ma*) *li ma* statue of sGom-tshul allegedly was raised by Bla-ma Zhang called Khri-gnon lha-rje and installed in the Dvags-lha sgam-po hermitage; cf. *Dvags lha sgom po'i gnas yig* 38a4.

This circumstance served as a precursor for the immediately following foundations of Tshal and Gung-thang – (as ritual support for the lHa-ldan Jo-bo gnyis). See also Introduction and Part II: App. II. Dvags-sgom himself later left lHa-sa, in order to serve as mediator and peacemaker, most regularly in Yar-'brog. He was finally active for one year in mGar-phug [in 'Ol-kha], before he went into retreat at Dvags-lha sgam-po where he finally passed away (1169 A.D.); cf. BA Roerich 465. On his life, see also *lHo rong chos 'byung* 177.11–180.12. Dvags-sgom was considered a manifestation of the dynastic saint gNyags-ban Kumāra; *Blon po bka'i thang yig* 522.8–10; Sørensen 2007b.

* lHa-lung (lHa-lung-nang; geogr. location 29°46'N 90°39'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 98a) loc. in present-day sNa-mkhar *xiang*.

[48] The celebrated *Mahāmudrā* text cycle *lHan cig skyes sbyor* is one of the key cycles of the bKa'-brgyud-pa. It was composed by sGam-po-pa and known as Dvags-po's realization teachings (*rtogs chos*). It is found in sGam-po-pa's *Collected Writings* (Vol. 1: 219–224).

was advised to focus one-pointedly on the conceptualizing mind as his object of attention and he should meditate persistently, whereupon an insight would be born in him in which the ultimate reality of all entities [was understood to be] bereft of [the threefold process of] arising, duration and cessation (*utpāda, sthiti, bhaṅga/nirodha*); and that *saṃsāra*, *nirvāṇa*, the [ten] stages and the [five] paths, [in fact] all activities were decidedly empty of any foundation.[49] [He felt] that time had come for him to teach others his *dharma*, which brought a sense of intense joy to him, and [helplessly he had] to beat his hand drum (*te te yang* [= *te'u cang*] *brdungs*). [Puzzled], he asked the Teacher sGom-pa the reason for this, and he was told that it was prompted by the [specific] blessing power in the bKa'-brgyud tradition. "It just comes like that (*de tsug 'ong ba yin*)!" [sGom-pa] responded. Being liberated from the [tangled] mass of conceptualization, he realized directly the ultimate nature of non-arising (*skye med, ajāta, *anutpāda*), wherefore he [henceforth] was known as sKye-med Zhang.[50] He had many similar experiences of progress in his spiritual realization. He met *bla ma* 'Ol-kha-ba[51] and an unfeigned *bodhicitta* was born in him.

[**10a**] In accordance with the prophecies uttered by *bla ma* rG[v]a-lo etc. that he in the future would work for the welfare of the Buddhist Teaching and for the living beings, and that he would render [various forms of] ritual services to the statues of the lHa-ldan Jo[-bo] [Brothers, set up in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and Ra-mo-che], [Zhang and his disciple then] intended to erect Gung-thang dPal gyi gtsug-lag-khang.[52] His assistant Dar-ma gzhon-nu rode a white mare (*rta rgod ma dkar*

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[49] See also *lHo rong chos 'byung* 191; for the three aspects of any entity or norm of existence (*dharma*, *saṃskṛta*), and the theory of emptiness, see e.g. Nāgārjuna's basic treatise *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* Chap. VII, *et passim*.

[50] I.e. Zhang "[endowed with the insight that all entities or concepts are] unoriginated." For Bla-ma Zhang's experience of the unborn [state of phenomena] or non-origination, see *bKa' thor bu* 41–43; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 36–41; *'Brug pa'i chos 'byung* 394. A namesake is registered called Zhang sKye-med (also sKye-med Jo-gdan – not identical with Bla-ma Zhang) was representative of a disciple lineage that arguably settled in Lung-nag, a valley to the south-west of Shel-dkar, headed by the *Zhi byed* practisioner sKam Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan; cf. *Myang chos 'byung* 65.

[51] I.e. the yogin 'Ol-kha-ba Grol-sgom Chos-g.yung (1103–1199 A.D.), pupil of Ba-ri *lo tsā ba* (1040–1111), sGam-po-pa and rGva-lo. BA Roerich 468–469, 461–462. rGva-lo and 'Ol-kha-ba were among the first yogins, who practised on Se-mo-do (Srin-mo-do), the island and heart-land of gNam-mtsho (Bellezza 1997: 159f.). Zhang met 'Ol-kha-ba in Cha'i dgon (above fn. 36). *Deb sngon* speaks of Phya-yul (BA Roerich 469; *Mar lung rnam thar* 72b5: Phya'i dgon). *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 544.4–545.6 reads 'Ol-dga' Rin-brtson (= Rin-chen brtson-'grus). The relevant chronology in *lHo rong chos 'byung* 191.17–192.17: From the age of 36 (i.e. post 1158 A.D.), Zhang visited and meditated at the following locations: lHa-lung, 'Brong-bu lKug-pa, Ngar-phug, bZang-yul [Mon-gdong], sPos-dkar (i.e. Yer-pa sPos-dga' [est. by Mal Yer-pa, *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 154; below fol. 51b]), lHa-sa (meeting with rJe sGom[-tshul], and subsequently with 'Bhe'-ro (= Be-ro-ba)?; cf. *rGyal blon ma* 284.1-2), ['Brong-bu] sPyi (~ Phyi)-khungs (Zhang consecrated here a *mchod rten* and a *mgon khang*; below fn. 62), [Thul gyi] Brag-sngon (= bSam-yas Brag-sngon? see *bKa' thor bu* 601.1) (where he composed his "Great Seal Instructions" and the *lHan cig skyes pa don gyi [b]stod pa*; cf. *rGyal blon ma* 284.6–7; and also Martin 1992: 254, 304); foundation of the g.Yu-brag gi ri-khrod (in sGrags), again practice in sPos-dkar and g.Yu-brag (where he founded a *sgom grva*); after a sojourn in Ngar-phug (in sGrags) he founded Tshal Yang-dgon. See also *rGyal blon ma* 274–290; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 45f.

[52] Tradition holds that Zhang's temple on the "Celestial Plain" (Gung-thang)* was erected to serve as a supportive monastery rendering ritual and cultic service to the main temple of Ra-sa situated across sKyid-chu river (cf. *lHa ldan dkar chag* 34); *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 46b3f., 53b2–3; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 808.19–21 states that the prophecy for building the temple came from rJe [Dvags-po] sGom-tshul who had previously pronounced the advice to erect the Yang-dgon monastery in Tshal (below 14b). The local people maintain – evidently referring to a so-called popular etymology story – that the name was given (or rather inspired) by Mi-la ras-pa, who himself was known as Gung-thang-

mo) and crossing the territory [searching for a suitable site], thought to himself that while they were entertaining great designs for establishing this site they did not have any provisions at all [for its completion]. At that moment the mare galloped [the distance covering] half a day's ride, which was setting an auspicious omen [for its erection]. They erected an [portrait] image (*'dra 'bag*) [i.e. simulacrum] of Zhang himself at Bya-mkhar, the *sgrub gnas* [i.e. which had been previously tendered to him by Jo-mo sMan-gcig-ma] as a substitute. Later it spoke spontaneously three times. The image [or effigy-mask] was considered indistinguishable [in terms of resemblance] from [the real] 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che.[53]

Furthermore, 'Gro-mgon *rin po che* had six root teachers such as *bla ma* Bai-ro[54] and Ngam-shod smad-pa,[55]

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pa, referring to Gung-thang of Mang-yul.** The original name of the [lHa-sa] Gung-thang is said to have been [lHa-sa] 'Bum-thang (allegedly diff. from sKu-'bum-thang in lHa-sa; cf. e.g. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 235–6); lHa-sa Bum-thang as toponym e.g. corroborated in Bon sources; cf. Don-grub lHa-rgyal 2000: 434) and the story goes that during a ritual, in the course of which a vase filled with relics was buried, Bla-ma Zhang placed his cloth as relic too, one tiny fragment (Tib. *tshal*) of which was carried by the wind and brought to the later Tshal, hence the name. A slightly different version of the latter popular story is retained in *DL12* 650; cf. also Chos-'phel 2004c: 78; App. IV: Chap. 3.2.1.

* In the Dunhuang materials Gung-dang as epithet is repeatedly registered (cf. PT 1038, 1260, 1287; Macdonald 1971: 343–44) carrying the meaning "Celestial Plain," a kenning for "godly abode" or lHa-yul, as opposed to M[y]i-yul, the land of humans.

** According to the *Gung thang rgyal rabs*, the Mang-yul etymology is said to derive from "Plain of Midday," because the ancestor of the Mang-yul Gung-thang kings, Nyi-sras nam-mkha' arrived here at noon (*nyi ma gung*). Cf. Everding 2000: 44-45; Ehrhard 2003: 361.

[53] The white mare of the attendant seems to be a manifestation of one of the female protectors of the future monastery and temple of Tshal Gung-thang. The divine animal is *inter alia* known by name as the mount of rDo-rje dPal-mo-che *alias* rDo-rje Bod-khams-skyong, the leader of the four great sMan-mo to which also sMan-gcig-ma belongs (fn. 39). They count among the followers of the Tshal protectress rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma who for her part appears as an acolyte in the entourage of dPal-ldan lha-mo dMag-zor-ma. The latter is also worshipped in Tshal Yang-dgon and is considered the mother of the Gung-thang lha-mo 'Dod-khams dBang-phyug-ma (see below fols. 61a, 66a, 69a; fn. 780; App. IV).

[54] I.e. dNgul-chu Be-ro-ba, the Indian yogi Vairocana-vartula/°-rakṣita/°-vajra, a pupil of Surapāla (cf. BA Roerich 844-47). Zhang met him in the early 1160's (perhaps already as early as late 1150's) where he requested Cakrasaṃvara initiations and precepts related to the Virūpa-related *dohās* (*rGyal blon ma* 284.1–2; *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 546.1–6; Martin 1992: 254). According to Martin's calculation, shortly afterwards Zhang composed in Thul gyi Brag-sngon (above fn. 51) his celebrated Great Seal *Summa* or Instructions, "Path of Ultimate Profundity" (Martin, *op. cit.*, *ibd*.). He descended from Dakṣiṇa Kośala (Orissa). His biography (called *Bla ma rnal 'byor pa*) was written by Bla-ma Zhang. A study of this biography of the ascetic-cum-alchemist (> mercury, *pārada*, *dngul chu*) has recently been conducted by K. Schaeffer 2000, where questions as to the length of his sojourn and other chronological irregularities of his life are addressed. Cf. also Jackson, 1994: 58–59.

[55] I.e. Ngam-shod gShen-pa rDo-rje seng-ge of 'On, a student of Sa-skya chen-po Kun-dga' snying-po (1092–1158 A.D.); cf. *Deb dmar* 242–43. He is classified in the sources as the root *bla ma* through whom Zhang received all textual traditions. *Deb dmar* 127.16; Jackson 1994: 59. He seems to be identical with gShen-dgon (~ -sgom) dkar-ba (i.e. *slob dpon* gShen? above fn. 17) who is listed among the disciples of Phag-mo gru-pa. His short biography written by Zhang is called *Gang zhig nyi ma ma*. Cf. also *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 546.6; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 321.12; *Deb sngon* 664.3. It says he was of the gShen clan and named rDo-rje dbang-phyug. He founded the monastery of Tsa'i-nang, whereupon he became known as Ngam-shod smad-pa (the one of Lower Ngam-shod; on this toponym, see below fn. 597). It is also reported that he held the see of Phug-mo-che and erected the Grong-chung sKang-kha'i lha khang. He had numerous disciples, among them Zhang mTshal-pa; cf. *Deb sngon* 665.14-16. He is evidently also identical with the Bla-ma gShen who elsewhere in the *Deb sngon* is mentioned as a holder of *Zhi byed* precepts (in the tradition of sKam Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, Kollmar-Paulenz 1993, s.v. index) which he taught to sKye-med Zhang (= Zhang Tshal-pa, above fol. 9b); cf. BA Roerich 900.

etc., and 32 [general or] contemporary teachers.[56] From the six [root] teachers such as rG[v]a-lo etc. he received precepts and a broad range of learning of the basic treatises [of the bKa'-brgyud-pa, as well as] experienced direct realization [in his spiritual training]. The transmission from these [six teachers] constitutes the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud, and the sources and origin of this tradition will briefly be presented below.

[B] [The Inner Biography][57]

At the point when the foundations were being laid for the erection of Gung-thang dPal gyi gtsug-lag-khang, innumerable *bla ma* of the transmission lineage such as Nāgārjuna, father and son, surrounded by the Dharmakāya Samantabhadra with consort [Father and Mother], and four other classes, father and mother, tendered prophecies about the dissemination of the Teaching concerning the Transmission of Accomplishment and offered blessings upon the site. When, as main basis of realization, the Mahābodhi receptacle was erected, [**10b**] the Seven successive Sugata Buddhas [of this aeon] such as Vipaśyin etc., the Medicine Sugata along with his retinue strewed flowers and made prophecies that in the future the holder of the Transmission lineage of Accomplishment and holders of the Teaching of the pure moral discipline would come here. Materials for [the construction of] the temple and statues were provided without limit by the [local] *lha*, *klu*, *gnod sbyin* etc., yet having foremost in mind the welfare of others, [provident] treasuries were hidden, an inexhaustible resource of merits for other converts [in the future]. Without shunning defamation etc. from others, by multifarious peaceful and wrathful means he assembled materials [for its erection].[58] Later 'Gro-mgon swore that in whatever way others look at [the unusual belligerent behaviour] of his, still if [this amassing of riches] should prove to be for his own sake only, they could kill him, he assured.

In brief, although his actions were in conformity with the view of converts of low merit [i.e. outwardly utterly mundane], still they were intrinsically beyond the [human] sphere of definition

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[56] Elsewhere the total number of his teachers amounts to figures spanning from 36 until 45; cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 807; *Deb dmar* 127; *brGyud pa sna tshogs kyi tho byang* and *rTsa ba'i bla ma drug gi gsol 'debs*, in *bKa' thor bu* 426–433, 445–447). In the list of the six *rtsa ba'i bla ma* given on fol. 59a below Ngam-shod is not included. Here the six are: *rje btsun* rGva lo ba, Dvags-[b]sgom Tshul-khrims snying-po, Mal Yer-pa-ba, Bla-ma rNgog-pa, Bla-ma 'Ol-kha-ba and Bla-ma Bai-ro-ba. In *Deb dmar* 127.9–16 (Jackson 1994: 59) and *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba passim* the six are:

1. rGva-lo (the disciple of rTsa-mi *lo tsā ba* and Abhyakāra[gupta], cf. above fn. 30, he is classified as the one by whom Zhang was directly instructed);

2. Mal Yer-pa (through whom the demonic obstacles were removed, see above), disciple of Gling-kha-pa.

3. 'Ol-kha-ba, the disciple of Ba-ri *lo tsā ba* (through whom the relative *bodhicitta* was enhanced),

4. Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims (through whom Zhang realized the ultimate *bodhicitta*),

5. *Grub thob* Be-ro-tsa-na, the Zu-ra pāla disciple and

6. Ngam-shod gShen-pa [rDo-rje]; cf. also *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 807; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 151.

The list in *bKa' thor bu* (*op. cit*.) includes also bSam[-bu] *lo* [*tsā ba*] and rJe-btsun Phug-po-che-ba (= Phug-pa-ba? BA Roerich 442). For a full list of Zhang teachers, see Part II: App. V, Table 4 below.

[57] *lHo rong chos 'byung* 194.1–196.1

[58] The peaceful and wrathful means, i.e. pacification (*zhi ba*, *śānti*), and forcefulness (*drag po*, *abhicāra*) are two of the four enlightened activities.

[i.e. comprehension] by [common] people. Committing these with pure morality and an infallible practise, the signs of the super knowledge that knows the mind of others, his contemplation and miraculous magic powers were to be relegated to [the sphere of the inconceivably and inexplicably] ultimate nature of coincidence. For example, when Zhang was young, a self-manifested Yoginī (*rang byung gi rnal 'byor ma*) [once] prophesied his manifestation in an emanation form; in addition, endless prophecies were made foretelling [**11a**] the accomplishment of the welfare of others, in form of the establishment of the current temple and its [artistic] inventory and the establishment of the lineage of disciples, and, while sojourning in his different *sgrub gnas* [sites], whether related to his external, internal or secret [activities], foremost at g.Yu-brag of sGrags,[59] he was blessed by Indrabodhi, by *ācārya* Nāgārjuna, and by people manifesting themselves in his visions, whether as Ḍākinīs and *bla ma*.[60]

At that very place [i.e. g.Yu-brag] assemblages of *lha* and *mkha' 'gro*[*-ma*] of the outer, inner and secret *maṇḍala*, the three, with one voice uttered prophecies, and also praised the seven secret biographies [i.e. ideal lives],[61] the seven secret names (*gsang ba'i mtshan bdun*), and the seven sites for spiritual retreat (*sgrub pa'i gnas bdun*) [of Zhang][62] as well as his wondrous life-story, etc.

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[59] See below fn. 62.

[60] Bla-ma Zhang's violent approach, or his "aggressive enlightened behaviour" (*drag po'i 'phrin las*) was often related to the practice and propitiation of Heruka, cf. *bKa' rgya ma I*, 14.5, *passim*; *bKa' thor bu* 291f. In addition to the justification given above for his recourse to military means, see e.g. also *Deb sngon* 836.4–18 (which quotes the *Jo bo lHa btsun la gdams*, i.e. "[Zhang's] Instruction to [the bSam-yas ruler] Jo-bo lHa-btsun," one of Zhang's combatants; below fn. 357), and the 5th Dalai Lama *rnam thar* by Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (Ahmad 1999: 187). The period of fighting which apparently amounted to four "battles" (*lHo rong chos 'byung* chronicles *inter alia* g.Yu-ru and 'Ol-kha as the battlefield)* occurs between the founding of Tshal Yang-dgon (1175) and the building of the Gung-thang temple (1187); cf. e.g. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 192.17–19). We still possess no further details as to his special art of warfare, but it surely included part esoteric-mystic means, part assumed physical forms, i.e. by way of lance, archery, and stones. Nor do we know the exact sort of material spoils secured by Bla-ma Zhang during the battles. On the advice of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa, he finally gave up fighting in around 1189 A.D. Cf. *Karma sku phreng 1* 18a5–b1; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 233; BA Roerich 479, 480; see also Jackson 1994: 61f.; Martin 2001.

* His esoteric writings e.g. also maintain that gDol and Yar-sna of bZang-yul (= gZad of Chu-shur district? Mon-gdong bZang-yul?) were battle-fields; see also Part II: App. 4.

[61] *gSang ba'i rnam thar bdun*; they refer to biographical accounts or lives named after Zhang's chief *sgrub gnas* (see following note), which normally include the mainly brief sketches of his esoteric and mystic experiences in these locations such as the *bSam yas ma*, *Ngar phug ma*, *g.Ya' lung ma*, *sPyi khungs ma*, *lHa sa ma*, *Bya*[*ng*] *mkhar Bhe nag brag ma* (in *bKa' thor bu* 89f., 94f., 102f., 103f., 204f.), the *bZang yul Mon gdong bka' rgya ma*, *g.Yu brag 'khrul 'khor ma* (cf. *bKa' rgya ma I* 64.4f.; 79f.); *Gung thang gzims chung ma*. Most of these were put to writing in 1196 by Dar-ma gzhon-nu and 'Dul-ba-'od but also by others (see *bKa' 'babs lo rgyus*). They are repeatedly and variously listed in the written esoteric materials and their individual history should be thoroughly studied. For a survey, cf. *DL5 Thob yig II* 88b6–99b2.

[62] Cf. also *bKa' rgya ma I* 11–12; 213–216; *II* 55 *et passim*; *Mig 'byed 'od stong* 70b2–3; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 198.17: The seven celebrated *sgrub gnas*, sites of spiritual realization or hermitages associated with different secret names of Zhang can be listed as:

1. **Bya**[**ng**]**-mkhar** ['Brong-bu] (name: Padma-badzra; *Padmavajra). *lHo rong chos 'byung* 198.18 in a gloss identifies it with g.Ya'[-ma?]-lung, but according to the locals it corresponds to the aforementioned Byang-mkhar retreat due south of Gung-thang also known as the Byang-mkhar mountain hermitage complex. The 'Bri/Bhe-nag-brag retreat (above, fn. 38) also belongs to this hermitic area. In addition, the locals speak of the Zhang places of Chu-bzang, *Gongdang (spell. dGongs-thang/ldang?), gNam-sgo (cf. below 40b), sTag-tshang, Ding gi dPal-khungs, Brag-rtse which all are situated in

the mountain region of Bya[ng]-mkhar, replete with numerous cloisters and hermitages. On the summit of Bya-mkhar, Zhang erected a meditation hut or *spyil po*; cf. *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 46a1–2. Later, Byang-mkhar became a branch monastery of the dBus-gling college and monastery in Tshal. A care-taker from this institution resided in the hermitage. The hermitage complex is often mentioned in tandem with 'Brong-bu, so e.g. in the biography of the 13th-cent. ascetic Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom zhig-po who visited Gung-thang in around 1211 A.D. where he also stayed in Byang-dkar 'Brongs-bu (Yontan Dargye and Sørensen 2001: 9). The 'Brug-pa master, 1st bDe-chen Chos-'khor *zhabs drung* Chos kyi mgon-po (1501–82) visited Byang-kha 'Brong-phu in the mid-16th cent. Zur-chen in 1655 sojourned in Bya-dkar 'Brong-po where he conducted rituals and consecrations of statues kept in the hermitage; see *Zur chen rnam thar* 386.3–387.1. The place is also denoted Byang-dkar 'Brang-bu and as such is depicted on the *srin mo gan rkyal* painting where it is inserted due east of Tshal Gung-thang (cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, App. I: Fig 97; see also above fn. 40 and below Part I: Fig. 3). A *mkhan po* Bya/Bye-dkar-pa (= Bya[ng]-mkhar-pa of Tshal?) is registered for the 13th cent.; see *sGam po khri rabs* 28aff.

2. **bSam-yas mChims-phu** (name: bDe-chen (~ bDe-ba'i) rdo-rje, *[Mahā]sukhavajra). A well-known toponym documented already from dynastic times and similarly replete with hermitages. It counts among the celebrated Eight Sacred Places of Padmasambhava. For details, see e.g. *dBus gtsang gnas yig* 152–56; Dowman 1997: 208–09; Ricard 1994: 272–73; dGe-'dun chos-'phel 1998: 74–80.

3. **bZang[s]-yul Mon-gdong** (name: mTsho-skyes rdo-rje, *Saroruhavajra); see below, the chapter on his Secret Biography. According to the locals, it is situated in the vicinity of Ngar-phug of Upper sGrags. The texts also speak of a bZang-yul lung-pa, [b]Zangs-lung dGe-'phang; cf. *bKa' thor bu* 287; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 193, which presumably refers to the same location. It is reported that bZang-yul [Yar-rna] was one of the battle-fields of Bla-ma Zhang, where he also composed some of his esoteric writings (e.g. his *gNad kyi man ngag*). The gTsang-pa rGyal-po or 4th *sde srid* gTsang-pa ruler, Karma Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal (?1597–1621 A.D.) (below fns. 428, 694), who posed the greatest threat to the impending dGe-ldan hegemony in the early 1600's, allegedly died from smallpox in his camp set up at Zangs-yul Mon-gdong; cf. *Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar* [A] 520.4–5; Chab-spel 1990: 549.

* *'Bri gung gling pa rnam thar* 20a2–3 refers to a Zangs-lung seat which holds a light-emitting (*'od zer ma*) *sku 'bag* statue.

4. **'Brong-bu sPyi-khung[s]** (~ sPyi-skung, Phyi[s]-khung[s]) (name: Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, *Akṣobhyavajra). The identification of this *sgrub gnas* has not been entirely clarified. According to informants from Tshal Gung-thang, the place is located in the vicinity of g.Ya'-ma-lung (north of bSam-yas mChims-phu). A 'Brong-bu associated with gYa'[-ma]-lung is repeatedly mentioned in Zhang's autobiograhical writings (*bKa' thor bu* 31.1, 31.6, 94.4, 96.6; *bKa' rgya ma I* 96.2; *Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar* 12a1). In sPyi-khungs, the 11th *gdan sa ba* is said to have discovered the foot-prints of Zhang (i.e. the Zhabs-rjes 'Gro-don-ma; below 18a); the foot-prints, however, were created during Zhang and Dar-ma gzhon-nu's sojourn in Bya[ng]-mkhar (see above 9a) and elsewhere it is also called Bya[ng]-mkhar zhabs-rjes (*bKa' rgya ma I* 104). *bKa' thor bu* 284.2–3 reports that at sPyid-khungs Zhang consecrated a *mchod rten* and a *mgon khang*. Below 22b our text speaks of a hermitage called "Byang-phyi 'Brong-bu sPyi-khungs" which appears to be located in Chos-lung (also known as Byang-phyi Chos-lung), to the west of Ba-lam. It is the place of the Za-lung monastery erected around an old *mgon khang* of Bla-ma Zhang (see below fn. 253). The theory of Vitali (1996: 433) that it is located in Byang of Western Tibet is untenable. 'Brong-bu appears also in compound with another Zhang retreat, namely 'Brong-bu lKug-pa (*bKa' rgya ma I* 33.3, 1–2.2; *bKa' thor bu* 31.6, 47.2, 277.3 and *passim*; *Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar* 12a10; above fn. 51).

5. [**m**]**Tshal-sgang Chos-spyil** (name: Zhe-sdang rdo-rje, *Dveṣavajra). It refers to the gZims-chung Chos-spyil (e.g. mentioned in *bKa' rgya ma I* 85.5), the original meditation cell or dharma-hut of Bla-ma Zhang, located behind Yang-dgon, see Graph 5 below. Also called bKra-shis Tshal-sgang in Zhang's *Writings*, where also Tshal-sgang gi Yang-dgon gsar-pa is mentioned. Today no more extant. mTshal-sgang as name was also the designation of a teaching center of Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po (cf. BA Roerich 559, 560) as well as a site in 'On (*lHo rong chos 'byung* 314; *Phag gru rnam thar I* 29.1).

6. **g.Yu-brag** (name: dGa'-ba'i rdo-rje, *Prītivajra). Zhang is also called g.Yu-brag-pa, i.e. the One from the Turquoise Cliff Hermitage; said to be located in the vicinity of Ngar-phug of Upper sGrags (also spelled as sGregs). According to informants from Gung-thang, an alternative name of g.Yu-brag is lHa-lung brag-phug (rock-cave of lHa-

[C] [The Secret Biography]

In particular, as it is said [autobiographically] in *bZang yul Mon gdong gi bka' rgya* [*ma*]:[63]

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lung). It thus seems to correspond to the dynastic place of sGrags kyi lHa-lung, known as the birthplace of *btsan po* Dus-srong mang-po-rje (cf. e.g. *lDe'u Jo sras chos 'byung* 119. 3–4; TBH Sørensen 348). g.Yu-brag is first mentioned in the late 1160's, where Zhang here founded a *ri khrod* and later a *sgom grva* (above fn. 51). *bKa' rgya ma* (I 74.3, 74.6; II 96.2, *et passim*) has g.Yu-brag lHa'i spyil-po and g.Yu-brag 'Brong-bu (see above). It does suggest that a number of his hermitages were clustered together within a narrow area, similar to Yer-pa. 'Bri-gung Chos kyi grags-pa (1595–1659) in the early 1600's at g.Yu-brag, beheld how a statue of Bla-ma Zhang delivered Mahāmudrā songs; cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 262. An U-rgyan-phug is mentioned of Brag-g.yu [= g.Yu-brag] where a g.Yu-brag rdo-rje was active (purportedly pupil of Bla-ma Zhang; yet this site seems to read as g.Yu-gong-brag of gNyal of lHo-brag; cf. *Las 'phro gling rnam thar* 134a6–b1). g.Yu-brag was later a favourite hermitage where e.g. the 32nd throne-holder of Se-ra Byes Byang-rtse, Tshul-khrims chos-'phel (1561–1623 A.D.) sojourned to cure himself of his *sa nad* illness; cf. *Se ra chos 'byung* 397. See also *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 75b2–3 for 1598.

7. [lHa-sa] **'Phrul-snang** (name: Rol-pa'i rdo-rje, *Lalitavajra). See here the biographical account of the *rNam thar lHa sa ma* (in *bKa' thor bu* 103.3f.). The Chos-rgyal Srong-btsan sgam-po chamber in the gTsug-lag-khang is also called Bla-ma Zhang's *sgrub khang* or Zhang *gzims khang*; cf. *lHa ldan dkar chag* 28; Taring (first floor) no. 73; *Shakabpa Guide* 61; *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 359.6–7; BST von Schroeder 420–25.

The seven *sgrub gnas* (Graph 1) are probably part of Zhang's hegemonic-altruistic formulation of the "sealing" of the territory (*ri rgya klung rgya lam rgya*); cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 808.8–11. As indicated below (fol. 42b), in accordance with Zhang's identification with lHa dPal-'bar dBang-phyug (Maheśvara/ Śiva), he became "Master of the Seven Sites." These visions and embodiments inspired the 8th Zhva-nag Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, cf. his '*Gro mgon 'phros gsang gtam*.

In his his writings Zhang mentions a number of (partly unidentified) places in connection with his religious activities which are not known from the present text or other comparative Tshal-pa sources. These sites include *inter alia*:

- Grib kyi Lug-ge (Lug-ru; in Grib, south of lHa-sa)
- Yon-tan Ngom-(= Dom?) pa'i Le'u Mig-chung dgon-pa
- Ngan-lam sa'i sbrang (Ngan-lam, The Juice of the Earth; it refers to the Ngan-lam of sKyid-shod; see fn. 12)
- Gong-dkar-mo'i brag-phug (in the Gong-dkar district)
- Re'u-rtsa'i gtsug-lag-khang (perhaps identical with Re'u-chung-dgon; see next entry)
- Zhal gyi Re'u-chung-gdong (in Zhal, probably identical with Ri-chung, see below 20b; fn. 217)
- lHa-sa sde bzhi'i Dor-te sgo-phu'i 'Chor-nag (i.e. Chor-nag Dog-sde sGo-phu of lHa-sa sde-bzhi; on lHa-sa sde-bzhi which appears here as a place name, see App. II; Dog-sde sGo-phu is the northern cardinal area of the lHa-sa valley)
- Bla-sgro Mon-pa-gdong (= bZangs-yul Mon-gdon? above no. 3)
- Chu-shul Gru-gu-sgang (in the Chu-shul district of sKyid-smad; see below fn. 431)
- sTon ri-khrod (= retreat in sTod[-lung?])
- Phya'o-lung, or Phya-bo-lung gi dgon-pa (= Cha, see above fn. 36)
- sGrags kyi Khu-'brug *rdzong* (in the sGrags valley)
- sPang-po Thul gyi brag-sngon (see above fn. 51, 54)
- Yar-sna of bZang-yul (see above no. 3; it is mentioned in the context of one of his local belligerent activities)
- rGad-po-brag of Chos-phu (in sGrags)
- Khu-'brug/Khum-phug-rdzong (in sGrags)

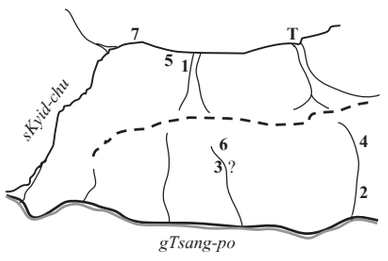
[63] See *bKa' rgya ma I* 23–28; identical with *rNam thar Mo* [= *Mon*] *gdong ma* in *bKa' thor bu* 74.4–82.6. The texts are slightly at variance. Same mystic vision also briefly retold in *lHo rong chos 'byung* 194–95; *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 65b1–6. The text is named after the *sgrub gnas* of the same name, see fn. 62. The experience of Bla-ma Zhang inspired Mi-bskyod rdo-rje to compose his *'Gro mgon gsung cho 'phrul* which reports about the dream of his root teacher *grub thob* Sangs-rgyas gnyan-pa who in a dragon year at the age of 28 (a play on the dragon year of Bla-ma Zhang) had a similar experience. Among his major disciples, one was called *gnas brtan* dGe-sing of bZang-yul (Part II: App. V, Table 5).

"In a Dragon year, during the night of the eighth day of the first summer month [i.e. fourth lunar (Hor) month],[64] miraculous events such as musical sounds emerged from the sky above etc., but when [I] looked up [I] could see nothing and [I] thought that it was an auspicious sign of the channels and energies [of yogic exercises] (*rtsa rlung gi rten 'brel*), whereafter [I] fell asleep. At dawn, when [I] made prayers to the *bla ma*, [I] saw in the sky above the countenance of the venerable Tārā endowed with one face and two hands and with all her limbs being ornamented with the letter *ta*. Conducting the rituals of inspection, [I] found confidence in that [she] was [my] *iṣṭadevatā* and hence paid [my] respect in form of contemplation and prayers, whereupon the venerable Tārā spoke: "Son of [good] family! If you proceed to the land of Oḍḍiyāna Vajrā[sana] (U-rgyan rDo-rje[-gdan]) in the west, you will obtain the *dharma* of the tenth *bhūmi*[65] from your *iṣṭadevatā,*" whereupon she disappeared. During the night of the ninth day, [I] clung to a sun-beam and [arrived] at the [divine] abode of the Trāyastriṁśa wherefrom [I] proceeded in a westerly direction in order to search for the Land of Oḍḍiyāna, but I could not find it. Remaining behind, [I] met the [four-armed] Caturbhuja Mahākāla (mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa), and paying [my] respects, was granted precepts on how to annihilate [one's foes]. In that moment, [I] transformed into the three-eyed Heruka who said that [I] was now in control of half the abodes of [the sphere of the celestial] Brahmā (Tshangs-pa). The twenty-eight goddesses of the lunar constellations (*nakṣatra*) descended to earth. [**11b**] The nine *khye'u chung* wearing white silk caps [appeared] and offered "the Nine Heart Syllables" (*snying po yi ge dgu*). During the night of the 10th day, [in my dream] the 16 spiritual consorts (*rig ma*) with retinue in space above, endowed with the five bone-ornaments and the display of their magic was so tremendous that it was as if the earth trembled. Thereafter [I] arrived in the [Land of Oḍḍiyāna] and saw Vajrāsana [i.e. the Indestructible Seat] just as it really is. At that point, the Four Lokapālas offered many *udumbara*-flowers. It was a grand spectacle [for me to behold] and I uttered that I would offer many special types of presents and donations generated from [my] own mind. Then, at the distance of one arrow-shot in a western direction from the Land of Oḍḍiyāna, I found a red light resembling burning tongues of fire. Without hesitation, I went there. [I] found the *iṣṭadevatā* Vajravārāhī [rDo-rje phag-mo] resting on a swirling *svastika* seat, pig-headed but without ornaments. [My] body involuntarily turned into the letter *hūm*, and proceeding upwards from her womb (*bhaga*), [I] arrived at the [mystic] *maṇḍala* center of her body, where [I] beheld all the locations of the six classes [of beings in *saṃsāra*] just like reflections in a mirror. [I] briefly had a vision of [myself] being dead. At that moment innumerable sorts of super knowledge (*abhijñā*) appeared [enabling me to see and recollect things and events throughout all three times]: 1008 *bla ma* of the remote past, 31 *bla ma* of [my] present [existence],[66] and [to be] built by [myself] in the future, a temple, with *lha khang*, a *mchod rten*, on the third *parisaṇḍa* of the latter, I beheld how [my own] body burned, and how the *lha*, *klu*, *dri za*, the *mi* and *mi ma yin* of the sphere of upper, intermediate and the underworld were lamenting, and how the *ḍākinī* and the *dharmapāla* without remaining at rest [even for a moment] were busy and distracted.

[64] It perhaps refers to *lcags 'brug* 1160 A.D., the first dragon year after Bla-ma Zhang's meeting with the yogic root master dPal rGva-lo in the 1150's.

[65] It is uncertain whether or not this alludes to [*mDo sde*] *Sa bcu pa = Daśabhūmika-sūtra.*

[66] Usually 32 teachers of his are listed.



T = present-day sTag-rtse Township
1 = Byang-mkhar [of Zhal]
2 = bSam-yas mChims-phu
3 = bZang-yul Mon-gdong
4 = 'Brong-bu sPyi-khungs (of g.Ya'-ma-lung?)
5 = Tshal-sgang Chos-spyil [in Tshal]
6 = g.Yu-brag of Upper sGrags
7 = 'Phrul-snang [of lHa-sa]

Graph 1: The Seven Sites of Spiritual Retreat of Bla-ma Zhang g.Yu-brag-pa

Thereafter I reached the heart [of the visualized body of Vajravārāhī]. [**12a**] [I] beheld 100 million Jambudvīpa, 100 million Vajrāsana, 100 million *iṣṭadevatā* and [I] beheld 100 million *bla ma* Zhang praying and requesting precepts. [I] then reached the throat, where [I] saw Buddha-fields where innumerable Buddhas were teaching the *dharma*. [I myself] turned into Vairocana and [I] thought of explaining the *dharma* to [my] convertees.[67] [I] then reached the head, an awareness ocurred like a rising sensation similar to the break of dawn [that shed light in the darkness]; thereafter [I] beheld the western direction the Land of Oḍḍiyāna just like it is, inside its mansion made from *padma ra ga*, [I] vividly beheld the *maṇḍala* of the seven god[desse]s of Vārāhī. At that moment from the heart of the main figure, the Five [Jina] and *devī* [appeared] expressing their benediction and offering the vase empowerment. Thereafter, [I] again went to the throat, the heart and the secret place [i.e. genitals] where [I] received the four kinds of empowerment and gained insight when being shown the womb of the Mother [i.e. Vajravārāhī], [the center that] encompasses the visible world of phenomena.

[I then] turned into Heruka with one face and two arms, receiving the secret name mTsho-skyes rdo-rje. Countless gods made offerings. The *iṣṭadevatā* [Vajra]vārāhī expressed prophecies and eulogized the activities of the three times [of mTsho-skyes rdo-rje]:

[Verse [**12a5**]]. At the end of the melodious song, she turned into a red flower and disappeared. Thereafter [I] thought that all three realms were permeated by the sound of water; then [I] woke up from [my] dream [and assumed my ordinary body again]."

[67] For the sheer infinite multiplicity, see e.g. also parallel *bKa' rgya ma II* 45–52; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 61a1–b3. This echoes the cosmological vision of Vairocana, cf. TBH Sørensen: 494–96. Cf. also his *lHa sa ma mthong snang sna tshogs* in *ZhK* 370–2.

[II. 1.2] [The Successive Lords of the [Main] See (*gdan sa*) of Tshal Yang-dgon and its Affiliates Bar-Tshal and sTod-Tshal] [**12b1–28b1**]

[II.1.2.1] [The Successive Lords of Tshal Yang-dgon] [**12b1–20a6**]

After [parts of] the inner, outer and secret biography [of Zhang] have been described – the utmost secret biography being beyond the range of words and [intrinsically] inconceivable – we now come to the history of his spiritual sons (*thugs gyi sras*) [and hence Lords of the religious see of Tshal-pa. We begin, after a brief digression, with the election to the seat of mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes].

After six years had elapsed, the construction of the [Great *Stūpa*] sKu-'bum chen-po which at that point had reached the third socle (*parisaṇḍa*) continued. At that point, having reached the age of 72, in the Water-female-Ox year [1193 A.D.] [Bla-ma Zhang] passed away. Different explanations circulate as to the Buddha emanation of this holy [personage]. It must be explained by considering [this question] in accordance with the outer, inner and secret biographies: as said previously, earlier sources, concurring with the majority of savants, maintain that he is the upholder of all karmic activities and commitments of the supreme Noble Padmapāṇi [= Avalokiteśvara] and of the Jinas of the Three Times. In particular, in the Snow-capped Country [of Tibet] his former activities have now manifested themselves in those of the successive lineage[-holders] of the All-knowing One [i.e. the Dalai Lama].[68] This is also the main and enduring reason for the eulogy of the succession of rulers of this seat. [**13a**] Particularly, the rGyal-mchog lNga-pa chen-po [1617–1682 A.D.], Zur-chen *chos kyi rgyal po* dPal-'byor 'phrin-las rab-rgyas [i.e. Chos-dbyings rang-grol, 1604–1669 A.D.], the [50th dGa'-ldan] Khri-chen dGe-'dun phun-tshogs [1648–1724 A.D.], sKyabs-mgon bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho rin-po-che [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama, 1708–1757 A.D.], as well as the latter's *zhabs drung*, the *rten pa* Dar-han-mkhan Rin-po-che [i.e. bsKal-bzang yon-tan], master and disciples (*dpon slob*) all displayed respect and esteem [towards Bla-ma Zhang and his legacy] having understood that his activities are manifestations of this supreme Ārya [Padmapāṇi]. These points will be delineated below.

According to what this holy saint has himself said, among the holy *kalyāṇamitra*, he had six root *bla ma*, among which four [as such are] definitely [identified as important] (*yin nges bzhi*), being like wish-granting jewels. One of these resembling a wish-granting jewel is Dvags-[b]sgoms Tshul-khrims snying-po, i.e. the son of the elder brother of sGam-po [i.e. nephew] of sGam-po Zla-'od gzhon-nu [*alias* Dvags-po lha-rje, 1079–1153 A.D.][69] from whom he received a complete set of precepts of rJe sGam-po-pa upon which he meditated. His vase-like mind became filled with the ambrosia of spiritual experience and realization and hence [Zhang] received the complete and perfect [set of teachings] stemming from sGam-po-pa. The seeds of spiritual experience and realization being born in him, he was considered to be peerless in this regard.

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[68] This is also confirmed by the 5th Dalai Lama, see CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 150–51. See also 'Gyur-med rdo-rje's *Nor bu'i chun po* 132–152.

[69] The name of sGam-po-pa's elder brother was rGya[s]-pa Se-re, a native of Bong-snyi of gNyal/dMyal district (present-day in lHun-rtse *xian*); cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 177.12; BA Roerich 463. For the generation of students of sGam-po-pa, see e.g. BA Roerich 462. On the life of sGam-po-pa, see e.g. Steward 1995; see also Sørensen 2007b.

To explain this briefly: This system is the bKa'-brgyud tradition, but its precepts have now penetrated other school systems. In this tradition, there are many personages who upheld the Teaching. The system of bKa'-brgyud is mainly based upon the system of Mi-la [ras-pa] [1040–1123 A.D.].[70] Many people have spread the teaching in the upper and lower areas of Tibet and in Great Tibet. [**13b**] The source of the [bKa'-brgyud-pa] precepts was [the translator and Nāropa disciple] rje lHo-brag-pa [i.e. Mar-pa Chos kyi blo-gros, 1012–1097/99 A.D.].[71] The latter had four disciples:[72] [A four-strophic song (*rmi lam brda sprod kyi mgur*)[73] follows, dedicated to] Mi-la who established the pillar in the north, depicting him as a vulture perching on a rock and eventually producing a peerless disciple sGam-po-pa [13b1–13b3]. [The second verse, a two-and-a-half-strophic song is dedicated to] sGam-po-pa and his site in Dvags-po, etc. [13b4–13b5] Aside from [Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims], [Zhang] also received the precept tradition of Mar-pa's personal disciples rNgog [Chos-sku rdo-rje], Me[s-ston bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan] and Tshur[-ston dBang gi rdo-rje] (*rngog me tshul* [= *tshur*]) etc.[74] [**14a**] Nowadays, the Upper, Middle and Lower 'Brug-pa [bKa'-brgyud traditions][75] put emphasis on the aspects of view and contemplation (lta sgom) of this system. The basis of this system is 'Gro-mgon [gTsang-pa] rgya-ras [Ye-shes rdo-rje, 1161–1211 A.D.]. There are two *bla ma* to whom rGya-ras was greatly indebted, viz. Zhang Rin-po-che, and *grub chen* Gling [ras-pa Padma-rdo-rje] [1128–1188 A.D.].[76] Further, gTsang-pa rGya-ras initially had a mere karmic connection to the 'Bri-khung-pa [i.e. 'Jig-rten mgon-po, 1147–1217 A.D.],[77] whereupon he went into the presence of Zhang Rin-po-che. Urged by Zhang, he was ordained and took his final ordination, during which Zhang functioned as *upādhyāya*.[78]

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[70] On his life, see e.g. Lhalungpa 1982. See also Zhang's presentation of the early bKa'-brgyud tradition in his *dKar brgyud rnam thar* (see *bKa' thor bu* 309f.).

[71] On Mar-pa, see the biography written by Tsang Nyön Heruka (transl. by *Nālandā Transl. Committee* 1990).

[72] I.e. the Four Pillars: Mi-la ras–pa (of Gung-thang dist., Pillar of the North (1040–1123 A.D.), rNgog-ston Chos-sku rdo-rje (of gZhung dist., Pillar of the South [1036–1102]), Mes-ston Tshon-po bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (of gTsang-rong, Myang-stod sTag-tshal (below Map 9), Pillar of the West) and ['/m]Tshur-ston dBang gi rdo-rje (of Dol dist., Pillar of the East). See *The Life of Marpa* (Nalanda Transl. Comm. 1990) 185–187 (*Mar pa lo tsā'i rnam thar* 173–175); *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 405f.); *lHo rong chos 'byung* 65ff.

[73] The verses are part of a set of songs dedicated to the four principal disciples of Mar-pa as referred to the previous footnote. Cf. *Mi la ras pa'i rnam mgur* 109–113 (ed. Dharamsala 1994) .

[74] I.e. rNgog Chos-sku rdo-rje (1036–1102 A.D.) and Mes-ston bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan; *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 404f.); *'Brug pa chos 'byung* 343ff.

[75] The three main 'Brug-pa branches go back to three disciples that issued from gTsang-pa rGya-ras: From rJe rGod-tshang-pa (1189–1258) and his line of transmission issued the Upper 'Brug; from dBon-ras Dar-ma seng-ge (1177–1237 A.D.) and his transmissional line issued the Middle 'Brug and from Lo Ras-pa Grags-pa dbang-phyug (1187–1250) and his lineage issued the Lower 'Brug. See Aris 1979: 173.

[76] On the Phag-mo gru-pa disciple Gling-ras-pa, *alias* sNa-phu-ba, also a one-time fellow-combatant of Zhang, cf. *Gling chen ras pa rnam thar II*; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 629–645; *Myang chos 'byung* 88–9; BA Roerich 659–664; Blythe Miller 2005. See also below fns. 428, 429, 741.

[77] sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal, the founder of 'Bri-gung Byang-chub-gling. For his life, see e.g. the different biographies of his such as *Rin po che 'bar pa* and *Phyogs bcu dus gsum ma*; BA Roerich 596–601; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 403f. He was ordained in 1177 in the presence of Bla-ma Zhang, rTsi-lung-pa and gNyal 'Dul -'dzin. He erected in 1179/80 the 'Bri-gung main seat. See also Table V.11.1 below.

[78] Jagannātha or Dharmasvāmin ('Gro-mgon, Chos-rje) Ye-shes rdo-rje, the founder of the 'Brug-pa school, was ordained 1193 A.D. at Tshal in the presence of Bla-ma Zhang – just prior to the latter's passing – with bZad-pa acting as *upādhyāya* and Ma-la-ba (*sic* = Mal Yer-pa?) as *ācārya*; this is uniformly rendered in most biographies, cf. e.g. *gTsang*

Having been given instructive precepts, he showed good progress in his spiritual development. At that moment, Zhang Rin-po-che thought that rGya-ras was an excellent personage [i.e. saint] and that [his] future lineage of disciples would benefit from the pure system of his. Immediately after rGya-ras had become ordained through Zhang Rin-po-che, [he] rode a white mare, purporting that aside from him nobody else in Tibet was [able] to cut the hair-tuft of the Indian master Nāropa, whereupon the horse gallopped along, etc.[79] At the point when rGya-ras was about to put on the hat given him by 'Bri-gung-pa, Zhang Rin-po-che thought [to himself] whether rGya-ras [was able to] wear his [i.e. Zhang's] hat which resembles a bird soaring in the sky, and laughingly he teased him by inquiring whether rGya-ras [actually] could wear it, etc.[80] Such biographical narratives exist. Gling-chen ras-pa, the *bla ma* [of] rGya-ras, was also a pupil of Zhang; but [their common] root teacher was Phag[-mo] gru[-pa] [rDo-rje rgyal-po] [1110–1170 A.D.].[81]

[**14b**] 'Gro-mgon thus pursued numerous methods of precepts transmitted down from his [various] root *bla ma*, and similarly the methods transmitted through the disciples are diverse and numerous, only here [in this book] we shall not elaborate further. If one wants to know more, one must consult [the distinct] authoritative history books.

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pa rgya ras pa'i rnam thar I 92.5-95.6; II 34b3–36b7 and *III* 10b4; *Rva lung bka' brgyud gser 'phreng* (containing his early biography by 'Bras-mo-pa) 400.6–402.7; *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 68b2–69a3; *bKa' brgyud gser 'phreng chen mo* 430–32; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 653; *Deb sngon* 784.5–11 (BA Roerich 668–69).

At the beginning of the following Tiger year 1194 A.D., Ye-shes rdo-rje preached the *dharma* at Tshal Gung-thang – the songs composed at that occasion is preserved (cf. his *gSung mgur gyi rim pa* 34b1–35a4). As reported in most of these Ye-shes rdo-rje biographies – such as the early one by 'Bras-mo-pa, but also by Padma dkar-po – rGya-ras appropriated (and hence founded) the monastery of Klong-rdol, located in b/gZad-phu (i.e. Upper gZad, identical with the present-day Se-phu (in *Bod-Map* [Verhufen, s.v. index] spelled as Sras-phu) situated east of Chu-shur; on gZad, see also fn. 92, 192, 225 and App. II).* It followed a prophecy stemming from Bla-ma Zhang. rGya-ras in fact took possession of Klong-rdol, probably in form of receiving a stretch of land as monastic estate (*dgon gzhi*), after he had been entreated by a local king (*brtsad po*, *jo bo*) named Rig-sngags – to whom rGya-ras addresses a number of songs in *gSung mgur gyi rim pa* (17b3–18b4) – yet these activities which took place during the very last years of Bla-ma Zhang's life, reflect the role played by the latter was not small. In fact, many parallels between Bla-ma Zhang and gTsang-pa rGya-ras, both founders of their respective sub-schools, can be noticed, so e.g. at 'Brug monastery a *Byang chub chen po'i sku 'bum*, a type similar to the one at 'Bri-gung-mthil, was erected. *Deb sngon* reports that Zhang sent his disciple sPa-ri-ba with gTsang-pa rGya-ras after the latter's ordination at Tshal. sPa-ri-ba (also [s]Pa-ri-ba of 'Brug [in sKyid-smad?]) later founded the sPa-ri Byang-chub-gling monastery. Cf. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 564.2–3; *Deb sngon* 785.17f. (BA Roerich 670); *Deb dmar* 128, *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 70a7–b1. G. Smith in his introduction to Padma dkar-po's works (2001: 81) mentions that the gNam-'Brug Se-ba Byang-chub chos-gling (alt. Byang-chub Shing gi nags-khrod; or gNam-phu 'Brug-dgon) was founded by rGya-ras in 1189. Duojie Caidan 1995: 452 gives 1205 as the founding date of 'Brug-dgon. Cf. also *HSLG* Vol. 8: 38 and below fn. 420.

* The Klong-rdol is not identical with the Klong-rdol of Upper Ra-stod (also known as Klong-rdol of sBur-bu, the latter is the ancient Kyi Bur). Akester, personal communication.

[79] Cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 653.10–11. gTsang-pa rGya-ras is considered an incarnation of Nāropa which obviously is alluded to in this story. On the white mare in this connection, see the remarks in App IV: Chap. 4.2.

[80] Somewhat differently rendered in the traditional *gTsang pa rgya ras rnam thar*; cf. also *Myang chos 'byung* 26–27 and *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 847 for a slightly other version.

[81] On his life, see more generally *lHo rong chos 'byung* 306–320; *Deb sngon* 651–663 (BA Roerich 552–563); *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 174–184. *Deb sngon* 657f. mentions a meeting with Zhang, but this apparently concerns a different Zhang, i.e. Zang Sum-thog-pa. See Introduction: Chap. 6 and above fn. 47; see also fn. 813 *infra*.

Wishing here to explicate briefly how the physical legacies (*phyag rjes*) [left behind by Bla-ma Zhang] came into existence, [erected and instituted] for the sake of the Teaching and for the sake of living beings, [this will be done] by way of [explicating] the successive lineage of disciples occupying the see (*gdan rabs*) that stemmed from 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che as well as [explicating the principles behind] the dual system of religious and secular rule (*chos srid lugs gnyis*).

The history of how the monastic [complexes] emerged as part of the activities of Zhang Rin-po-che: Thus as to the Yang-dgon [monastery]: as said earlier, following the command of Dvags-sgom [Tshul-khrims snying-po] it is known that 'Gro-mgon founded [the Yang-dgon monastery of] Tshal in a female Wood-Sheep year [1175 A.D.][82] and, in a female Fire-Sheep year [1187 A.D.] of the third sexagenary cycle (*prabhava*), the Gung-thang *gtsug lag khang* [was erected] as support for the ritual service [to be rendered to] the lHa-ldan sprul-pa'i gtsug-lag-khang [= Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang].[83] It appears to be certain that the throne and the temple complex [must be treated] as distinct and that mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes was elected [as successor] to the see as prophesied in *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*, etc. [where] he worked for the maturation and liberation of [the sentient beings] in accordance with the personal instructions of 'Gro-mgon.

[1] mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes[84]

Place of birth: rTag [~ sTag]-lung gi dgon-pa dkar-po of Yar-'brog[85]

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[82] Cf. *rGyal blon ma*, in *bKa' thor bu* 290.7f. He had been requested by all the teachers of dBu-ru to erect the site. For the political and religious activities of Dvags-sgom in lHa-sa, prior to the transference of the responsibility of the site to Zhang, see above fn. 47 and App. II below. Before the erection of Tshal, Zhang founded a *sgom grva* in g.Yu-brag where he gathered many students. Our text mentions that already before 1175, ordination took place in Tshal (see below 20b); it may refer to the Zhang retreat of Tshal-sgang Chos-spyil situated close to Yang-dgon (fn. 62). *rGyal blon ma* 150.6 speaks of a philosophical seminary of *dge bshes* gZad-pa which existed in Tshal prior to the Yang-dgon foundation. On the chronology of the events preceeding the founding of Tshal Yang-dgon, see also note 51 above and App. IV: Chap. 4.1.

[83] Above, fn. 52; on the founding story of the monastery and temple, see below Chap. III. Mar-lung in his biography (81b1–3) interestingly adds, aside from the two dates, that the statue of Thub-chen, the basis of the Tshal-pa teaching, was finished in 1189 A.D. Another text suggests that the casting of the Jo bo Śākya was made in 1193 (*glang lo*); cf. *rNam thar phyi ma* (*ZhK III* (KA) 223b2–25a4).

[84] According to the listing in *Gung thang dkar chag*, Zhang himself is not included in the list of throne-holders and mNyam-med or "the Peerless" Śākya ye-shes is counted as the first *gdan sa ba* of Tshal Yang-dgon (see below fol. 58b1). On the following *gdan sa ba* list (i.e. the *mkhan rabs* list), cf. *Deb dmar* 129.12f.; *Deb sngon* 838.1f. (= BA Roerich 716f.); *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 809.3f.; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 152.23f.; Lange 1976: 51–69; Part II: Table V.1 in this volume. He compiled among others the *gSung sgros rin po che* of Bla-ma Zhang's writings.

According to *Deb dmar* 129, the first throne-holder was the youngest of three children. The eldest being *slob dpon* Jo-btsun, and the intermediate was his sister *lcam mo* Shes-rab-'bum.

[85] The clan of Śākya ye-shes allegedly was sGrad (var. sGad = sPrad/sPras? tentatively but most unlikely so; the last is a toponym in 'Phan-yul; below fn. 405, or alternatively *sBrad = Srad, see below?); this needs further confirmation.

The toponym sTag-lung (Tiger Valley; more recently denoted lHo sTag-lung (or traditionally Yar-'brog sTag-lung or sTag-lung sNa-dkar), in contrast to the widely more famous Byang sTag-lung monastic mother seat north of lHa-sa), is situated south-west of Yar-'brog g.yu-mtsho lake, today a rural township or *xiang* in sNa-dkar-rtse *rdzong* or county, located at 28°48'N 90°26'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 171. Cf. e.g. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 656; see also Dung-dkar, *Deb dmar* 451, n. 617. In medieval sources, it is registered to be located in the heart of Zham-mda' area.

An early settlement area, in Yar-'brog sTag-lung, the early *phyi dar* temple of Srad-thang-gnas was founded in the

Father: the *sngags rnying ma* Grub-thob Nam-mkha'.
Mother: Bu-mo 'Od-ldan-ma.
Date of birth: Rabbit year [i.e. 1147 A.D.].[86]
Lay name: Śākya rdo-rje.

Having learned to write and read, he met Zhang who blessed him and prophesied that he would be an upholder of his Teachings. From that point [i.e. *ca.* 1158 A.D.], he safeguarded him like a son of a noble Family (*kulaputra*), turning him into a master of precepts. At the age of 19, when [r]Tsis-pa gZhon[-nu] seng[-ge] acted as preceptor (*upādhyāya*), Slangs-pa Jo-btsun as *ācārya* and gTsang-gsar-skos[87] functioned as secret preceptor etc., he took his final ordination [**15a**]. Receiving the *tantra* from [his elder brother] gCen *slob dpon* Jo-btsun, as well as many precepts related to the *sūtra* teachings and many bKa'-gdams cycles from *dge bshes* rGyal-ba and from other *bla ma*, he thus perfected his studies. In the presence of Zhang Rin-po-che, he [served his apprenticeship] acting as assistant preceptor (*las slob, karmācārya*), thus perfecting his responsibility for the guidance and safeguarding of the disciples [of Zhang]. Reaching the age of 40 [*ca.*1186–87], he arrived at the seat of the see.[88] After six years Zhang Rin-po-che passed into *nirvāṇa* [1193 A.D.].

11th cent. by Nya-ston Khams-gsum (or Nyang-ston Khams-'bum); cf. e.g. MTP Uebach 141. Rva-lo reports a visit in the 11–12th cent.; *Rva lo rnam thar* 236. Site of activity for many Kalācakra transmitters. Here also gTsang-pa rGya-ras and Lo-ras-pa were active as reported in their biographies; the former was invited by one sGom-mtsho. Cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 656, 686; *Lo ras pa'i rnam thar* 25a5. Bla-ma Zhang also practised asceticism here, cf. e.g. *ZhK I* 29.4, 254.4.

South of sTag-lung is located sTag-lung Brag-rva (or Brag-nag?) dgon-pa – its full name being Brag-rva bSam-gtan chos-gling (its later *sprul sku* line registered in *Bla sprul deb gzhung*), initiated in the late 17th cent. (see Chos-'phel 2002: 137–39). In 1620–22, as infant the 5th Dalai Lama stayed here as well as in sNa-dkar-rtse proper; cf. *DL5 I* 26a2f. A number of murals has been preserved in the Sa-skya affiliated monastery. A *rdzong* had been erected in the 14th cent., a *sde pa* seat where a local *nang so* reigned, so e.g. reported for 1472 A.D.; cf. *Ratna gling pa'i rnam thar* 514.2. A *Yar 'brog stag lung gnas kyi mdo byang* was written by Padma Ye-shes rdo-rje. Associated with the area was a patron and pupil of the 5th Dalai Lama, *sngags 'chang* mThu-stobs grags-pa, *alias* Zil-gnon dBang-rgyal rdo-rje (d. 1674) – he received in 1662 as *mchod gzhis*, the gSang-sngags chos-'khor from the government, a Yar-'brog *khri dpon* (cf. *DL5 IV* = Ahmad 1999: 271, *rNying ma'i gsung 'bum* 331–32). It was this site, registered as rDo-rje-brag (seat of the Byang-gter tradition) that was known as Yar-'brog sTag-lung gSang-sngags chos-'khor of the sTag-lung rTse-sprul rin-po-che.

Some details have been preserved on the important local rulers *sde pa* Zil-gnon-pa for 1565 and *sde pa* bsTan-'dzin (for 1587) as well as *rin po che* or *sa skyong* Byang-bdag Chos-rgyal dPal bKra-shis stobs-rgyas dbang-po'i sde (1524/50–1602 A.D.) of sTag-lung in the 16th century. The latter stemmed from the La-stod Byang house, originally of the rTsa-mi line of the Mi-nyag / Xixia dynasty; cf. *rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog rnam thar* 296; *mDo sngags 'byung gnas rnam thar* 147.4ff., *et passim*; he served as active patron for the famous Tāranātha and played a key role in the transmission of numerous esoteric cycles; *Tāranātha rnam thar*, *passim*; *Jo nang chos 'byung* 83; *Thugs sras rnam thar* 21–22ff; *Thob yig IV* 130a7–138b2. See also Padma gling-pa's *rnam thar* 421–425. Politically and spiritually influential, this charismatic ruler was a major biographer and promoter of the Padmasambhava cult.

In the early 1800's, sKal-ldan 'Jam-dbyangs rnam-rgyal was recognized as the 7th dGa'-ldan ri-khrod *sprul sku* line, born into the family of the estate-holders of the Yar-'brog sTag-lung. A sTag-lung Thar-gling dgon-pa (a Sa-skya dependency following the Tshar *lugs* tradition) was located here (where e.g. sTag-tshang *lo tsā ba* Shes-rab rin-chen was born [1405 A.D.]).

The environs of sTag-lung were dramatically damaged during an earth-quake on 28.8.1909 A.D. (Richter scale 6.75), its epicenter at 28°8'N 90°5'E; see *Sa yom* 67–71, 456 and also Chos-'phel 2002: 139–140.

[86] I.e. *me mo yos* 1147 BA Roerich 716; *Ming mdzod* 688–689.

[87] This is probably gTsang-pa [g]Sar-spos from the teaching tradition of rMa *lo tsā ba* (1044–89 A.D.) and Ma-gcig Zha-ma (b. 1062); cf. BA Roerich 236, 519.

[88] *Deb sngo*n and *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma 1*12b6, more feasibly, purports that he came to the throne age 48, in

In the fashion of a patron-priest [relationship], the personal intendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu [prompted] that the work [with the execution of a] commemorative service (*sku 'dab*[*s*])[89] and the erection of a sKu-'bum chen-mo [of the deceased 'Gro-mgon] was continued, and that the *gdung khang* bKra-shis 'od-'bar,[90] the Protector-chapel (mGon-khang), the lower courtyard of the *lha khang*, the *thig khang*, the pitched chinese roof (*rgya phubs*), the gilded [cone-shaped] roof-top (*gser 'phru*), as well as the inner walls were erected, etc., thus carrying out the larger part of the [deceased lord's] physical imprints (*sku rjes*) [i.e. legacies].[91] Beyond that, Śākya ye-shes safeguarded the throne for 15 years. He even had numerous disciples who all displayed mastery of scripture and spiritual realization (*āgama, adhigama*), students like rGya Pho-ba lung-pa,[92] etc.

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the year 1194; so also *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 601–03. The age of his ascent to the see mentioned in our text 40 (mistake for 48) +15 = 54 is thus faulty. *Mar lung pa rnam thar* mentions that the disciple lHa-phyug mkhar-pa acted as *mkhan po* in around 1190 A.D. In the same text, Dar-ma gzhon-nu (the later *bdag po* of Gung-thang, below fn. 357) is entitled Tshal *mkhan po*.

[89] The relatively rare lexical term *sku 'dabs* or, as repeated later in our text, merely *'dab*[*s*] poses a number of problems. In its present context, it mainly occurs in medieval texts. The term surfaces in forms such as *sku 'dabs* and *gdung 'dabs*, in connection with the cremation of the physical remnants of a deceased and its immediate aftermath. On the one side, as architectural term *'dabs* usually alludes to some sort of eave or ornamental winged or petalled (both *'dabs*) cornice,* yet in the present context it appears to allude to something different. The phrase repeatedly used in the present text [*sku*] *'dabs bzhengs* would suggest that it alludes to the erection or the setting up of a physical entity or an arrangement in connection with an ossuary. From the numerous references gleaned from different contexts the term clearly refers to an often day-long ceremony, a grandiose funeral or mourning arrangement or indeed a commemorative funeral rite that followed in the wake of the actual cremation on the pyre (*spur sbyangs*) and took place before – or in order to prepare – the bodily remains to be inserted into an ossuary or sepulchre reliquary,** a ceremony attracting rows or assemblages of guests. Later the term became obsolete. The latter interpretation is corroborated by Dung-dkar (cf. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 232) who defines *sku 'dab* as the honorific of *dgongs rdzogs kyi 'das mchod* or a commemorative funeral and prayer service.

* Often being part of or related to a hipped parapet, or a moulding on the roof-top (*'dabs* ? contraction of *mda' yab*) or to a railing or socle (like a *stengs bu*, *lan kan* or *vedikā*). Its use may also be documented in general expressions like *nye 'dabs*, *gangs 'dabs*, etc. Cognate technical terms *bya 'dabs* and *gser 'dabs* are often in use, as "bird-winged" eaves or as a gilded cornice on a roof; see ill. Jackson 1996: 325. Again, mouldings in Rva-sgreng, such as those known as Bya-'dab shar-ma and -nub-ma, were erected as *thugs dam rten*; cf. *Rva sgreng dgon pa'i dkar chag* 132–33.

** Based upon texts like *Tshal rnam* 53a4: *sku 'dab gshegs rdrongs*; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 228, 253, 330, 350, 390, 478, 500, 579, 604; *Mangga la śrī'i rnam thar* 387.2; *rGyal rtse chos rgyal rnam thar* 45.16–17, etc. with phrases like *sku 'dabs chen mo'i skabs*; *gdung 'dab bzang po* [~ *chen mo*] *btang* [~ *bsgrubs*, ~ *byas*, ~ *mdzad*]; *sku 'dab chen mo'i gral dbur* [~ *tshogs 'dur*] *phebs*, etc. The translation in Everding 2000, *passim* as "Nachsorge" is incorrect.

[90] See below, Chapter III.

[91] One of the first persons to observe most of the then completed temple complex at Gung-thang was Chos-rje Lo ras-pa dBang-phyug brtson-'grus (1187–1250 A.D.) who in 1200–01 visited Tshal Gung-thang, a visit evoking in the young Lo-ras-pa a faith so strong that he immediately wanted to become ordained; cf. *Chos rje Lo ras pa'i rnam thar* 5b3–4; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 668–89. A similar strong devotion was generated by another noted figure who visited Tshal Gung-thang during the reign of Śākya ye-shes, namely Khro-phu *lo tsā ba* (1173–1225/36 A.D.) in 1207; cf. *dPag bsam 'khri shing* 48a3–b1. For a visiting guest, the monastic complex must once have held awesome dimensions.

[92] Also called Bla-ma Rin-po-che rGya Pho-ba lung-pa Yon-tan bzang-po or Yon-tan grags-pa (secret name: Rol-pa'i rdo-rje), see *bKa' rgya ma I* 207. 5; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston I* 871.4; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 154.18–159.7; BA Roerich 449–51, 1065. According to his biography, he stemmed from the rGya clan through his mother, his father being one 'Jig-rten rdo-rje. From Zhang *rin po che*, he in particular learnt the Dohā cycle. He was foremost remembered as a personal pupil of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa. For the spread of the rGya clan in southern Tibet, see Vitali 2004.

As chronicled e.g. in *Chos rje sPyil dkar rnam thar I* 12a3–4, through this master the cycle known as *Tshe ring skor gsum* or "Life-Prolongation Trilogy Cycle" was transmitted. For further transmissions and cycles associated with rGya

At the age of 61 in a [Fire] Rabbit year [[*me*] *yos* 1207 A.D.], on the third day of the 12th month (*rgyal, pauṣa*) he passed away.[93]

[**2**] **Byang-chub ye-shes**

Father: *slob dpon* Shes-rab ye-shes, a paternal relative of Śākya ye-shes.

His election [and abbacy] to the throne did not last more than three years [1208–1210 A.D.].[94] It was then transferred to *rin po che* lHa-phyug mkhar-pa after [the former's] precepts [i.e. vows] had been infringed (*bslab pa babs*).[95]

[**3**] **lHa-phyug mkhar-pa**

Clan: gZi[96]

Place of birth: Zhur-na-lung of Dol in Lo-ro[97]

Father: Sangs-rgya[s]-skyabs. [**15b**]

The latter had four brothers and sisters, of whom [lHa-phyug mkhar-pa] [1145–1215] was the youngest. During his youth, he relied upon three teachers: rNgog mDo-sde [1078–1154/1090–1166 A.D],[98] Gan-pa Da[r]-re[99] and Lo-ro Ras-pa [i.e. Ras-chung rDo-rje-grags 1085–1161 A.D.].[100] He thereafter met Zhang *rin po che*.[101] The assistant preceptor (*las slob, karmācārya*) of Zhang, the

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Pho-ba lung-pa, such as the *Guhyasāmaja tantra* of Mar-pa, see *Bu ston gsan yig* 56a6–57a5; *gSang 'dus chos 'byung* 27a2–4; BA Roerich, s.v. index and Nishioka 1992: 66.

He arguably erected a temple 'Pho-ba-lung of bZang = gZad, a key district of and abutting Chu-shur in sKyid-smad (cf. *gNyos rabs* 60.1–2; App. II); see *bKa' brgyud rnam thar chen po* 436.2. *Deb sngon* however gives his place as Ru-mtshams Pho-ba-lung, where Ru-mtshams – a name related to the old boundary between g.Yas-ru and dBu-ru (Hazod, *forthcoming b*) – refers to the highland between upper gZhu (of sNye-mo) and sTod-lung mTshur (Akester, pers. communication; Inroduction: Map 1); but the name also appears to designate more generally the border region of dBus-gTsang which is the area of Kha-rag and sNye-mo gZhu (cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 432.13 where Ru-mtshams gZhu sNye[-mo] is given as the territory of the mountain god Kha-rag Khyung-bstun; cf. also the form Ru-mtshams Jo-mo Kha-rag; Nebeseky-Wojkowitz 1975: 184). Perhaps bZang refers to bZang-ri-grong north of sNye-mo *rdzong;* see Chos-'phel, *op. cit*., 148.

[93] It corresponds to *ca*. 22.12.1207 of the Western calendar. On his funeral pyre, a right-twisted conch manifested itself.

[94] Tenancy: [*sa*] *'brug* 1208 until *lcags po rta* 1210 A.D. *Deb dmar* 131.8–10; BA Roerich 716. gTsang-pa rGya-ras prior to his passing in 1211, evidently 1210 again arrived at Tshal, where he consecrated the *gdung rten* of the deceased *gdan sa ba* (a gloss incorrectly identifies him with Sangs-rgyas-'bum, the fourth throne-holder, whereas the first or second incumbent would be a better candidate); cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 659. During his tenancy, the dGe-'dun Tshal-pa, the Tshal monk-community, rendered service to Kha-che Paṇ-chen Śākyaśrī; cf. Jackson 1990: 67.

[95] This infringement obviously refers to Byang-chub ye-shes' later marriage. His son is mentioned below (17a) as the father of the 10th throne-holder of Yang-dgon.

[96] Perhaps the clan name is related to one of the gZi places located in eastern Mal-gro, such as the *'brog pa* area of gZi-can-thang or the valley of gZi-sbug (cf. Hazod 2003).

[97] *Deb dmar* 134.9: Dol. Lo-ro is the valley situated south-west of Bya-yul; Lo-ro Dol is mentioned as Ras-chung-pa's seat in Lo-ro (Chan 1994: 253).

[98] Cf. *'Brug pa chos 'byung* 346.16–18, BA Roerich 408 and *Rva lo rnam thar* 244–45 where rNgog mDo-sde (fn. 19) is mentioned as teacher of Mal Yer-pa, mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes and lHa-phyug mkhar-pa. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 546.6f. lists him also as one of the teachers of Ngam-shod gShen-pa [rDo-rje seng-ge].

[99] Cf. BA Roerich 307.

[100] On his life, see *Ras chung ba'i rnam thar*.

[101] *Deb dmar* 134.9: dPal-ldan lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa; also called *Rin po che* lHa-phyug-pa, [lHa-phyug-pa] Nyi-zla-'od; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 199.12f. (see also *Ming mdzod* 1851–52). A biography of him is titled *dPal ldan lHa phyug mkhar pa'i rnam par thar pa*, written by one *dge slong* Kīrtibodhi (i.e. Grags-pa byang-chub); *Drepung Catalogue* 016945.

Vinayadhara Sha-mi [sMon-lam-'bar] [1084–1171 A.D.][102] functioned as *upādhyāya* and in lHa-sa he took his final ordination. Ordination-name: Nyi-zla-'od. He studied with 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che for 21 years and received the complete set of cycles of *sūtra* and *mantra*, received blessings and perfected fully all spiritual realizations. During his stay at mTha'-brag of Ba-lam,[103] he was invited by [the *yon bdag*? or the local people of] [']Phrang-gtsangs,[104] and established the 'Ju-bu [monastery][105] in a Sheep year [i.e. 1187 A.D.?], where he stayed for three years. Thereafter he returned to mTha'-brag and in an Ox year [i.e. 1193 A.D.], he established the lHa-Phyug-mkhar [monastery],[106] which he safeguarded for 18 years, wherefore he was [also] called *Rin po che* lHa-

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He was engaged in the fightings in gDos; cf. *dPon dar ma gzhon nu'i zhus lan* in *ZhK II* 39.4–5. *Chos legs rnam thar* 9b specifies lHa-phyug-pa Nyi-zla-'od to be one of Bla-ma Zhang's great sons called the 'Od-gsum (the three with the *'od* element in their name), without mentioning the other two. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* speaks of the *bu chen 'od bzhi* (a classification which we find also with Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa's chief disciples, cf. BA Roerich 517; Part II: App. V: Table 5); *Yon tan 'brug sgra* 9b2–3; *Mar lung rnam thar* 82b3–4 speaks of the three *'od* pupils being better than the father [Zhang]. The group of four pupils includes

1. lHa-ri-pa Nam-mkha'-'od (*alias* lHa-ri-pa chen-po; *Deb dmar* 135.16f.; i.e. Gra-'Jed-pa (~'Jad-pa). Nam-mkha'-'od, the founder of lHa-ri sPang-gshong (lHa-ri-kha) monastery; cf. also *bKa' rgya ma I* 164.6–7 in the year 1168 A.D.; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 199–200; *Deb sngon* 837.4–5; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 809.12–15: Here at lHa-ri-kha (in lHa-ri county; see below note 267) many holy personages arrived. For the branch settlements in Kong-po, cf. below 23a and fn. 267. He may or may not be identical with the pupil of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa; cf. e.g. *Karma sku phreng 1* 24b5; *Mi sna* 253–54, although [Zhva-dmar] Nam-mkha'-'od (1133–99), who similarly received teachings from Bla-ma Zhang, allegedly was born in the vicinity of Ru-mtshams.

2. lHa-phyug-pa Nyi-zla-'od; Nyi-zla-'od = Nyi-ma-'od? if so, he also served as abbot of the Zhang foundation of sKam-dgon, see *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 156.17–18.

3. Kha-rag-pa 'Dul-ba-'od (the founder of Kha-rag-dgon, below 21a) and

4. 'Drir-pa (= Dri-ra-pa, ~ 'Bri-ra-ba) Śākya-'od, who founded a monastery in Byang (?) (possibly he is identical with the Zhang disciple Nyag 'Bri-ra-ba of the sTod-tshal mentioned below 26b), cf. *Mar lung rnam thar* 82b3–4: Dri-med-'od. See *mKhas pa'i dga' sto*n 809.12–810.4; cf. also *lHo rong chos 'byung* 199.19f.; *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 66a1–5; *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma* 112b1f.; BA Roerich 715; *'Brug pa chos 'byung* 395.8–9; Part II: Table V. 4.

[102] Sha-mi *'dul 'dzin* also called *sgom* sMon (the hermit sMon[-lam-'bar]; sMon-lam 'od[-zer]) counts among the chief disciples of rGya *'dul 'dzin* dBang-phyug Tshul-khrims-'bar (1047–1131 A.D.) and Jo-gdan nag-po Dar-tshul of the Vinaya school of Klu-mes (rGya *'dul 'dzin*'s chief residence was the Pa-rnam sGa-gdong / dGa'-ba-gdong in gTsang (BA Roerich 78f.; *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung I* 31–2; *II* 89a3–90a5), often confounded with dGa'-ba-gdong of lower sTod-lung (found. in 1169; see App. V: Table 8).* Sha-mi was also a student of So-chung-ba (1062–1128) and of sKor Ni-rū-pa (b. 1062). One of the places associated with Sha-mi is rGyas-sman which is listed as one of the Tshal-pa *mi sde* (below fn. 425). Cf. BA Roerich 79, 879–883; CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 69, 108. On Sha-mi's presence in Tshal, see also fn. 200.

* Pa-rnam dGa'-gdong later became a rNying-ma-pa seat (mid-20th century, accomodating *ca*. 350 monks).

[103] The location refers to the area of Ba-lam of sTag-rtse county (below fn. 410).

[104] *Deb dmar* 134.16 has Phrad-tsam which is probably the better reading (see following note).

[105] *Deb dmar*: 'Ju-phu. According to the context it is located in Phrad-tsam. Yet Phrad is arguably sPras of 'Phan-yul which is also given as sPrad. Jo btsun sPrad-pa *alias* Sras-pa of the sTod Tshal was a disciple of Sangs-rgyas-'bum and probably also of lHa-phyug-mkhar-ba. The 'Ju-bu monastery may correspond to the place 'Jub ('Ju-ba of sPras, known as the birthplace of sBa-sgom bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan/snying-po, an important transmitter of the so-called A-ro precepts (i.e. from A-ro Ye-shes 'byung-gnas), pupil of Atiśa, as well as a household priest of Po-to-ba's father (cf. Sørensen 2002: 243; BA Roerich 1000–05; *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 200). sPras is listed as an estate or *mi sde* of the Tshal-pa myriarchy. See below fn. 405. Less likely option: 'Ju of Dol, registered in *Ras chung rnam thar* 286. A student of the 9th Tshal *dpon* sMon-lam rdo-rje was 'Ju-phu-ba Shes-rab-'phel.

[106] *Deb dmar* 134.17–18; BA Roerich 715, etc. lHa-phyug-mkhar was one of the most important branch monasteries

phyug mkhar-pa. In a Horse year [1210 A.D.], he came to the see of [Tshal] Yang-dgon, which he occupied for five years.[107] In a Dog year [1214 A.D.], he elected his assistant Sang[s-rgyas]-'bum [as new throne-holder]. At the age of 72, in a Pig year [1215 A.D.], he passed away at lHa-Phyug-mkhar.[108] His spiritual sons were *bla ma spyan mnga' ba* bSam-gtan shes-rab, Rin-ston,[109] *bla ma* Ba-lam-pa, *rtogs ldan* Brag-po che-ba, Ru-thog-pa, sNang-sgom zhig-po, etc.[110]

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of the early Tshal-pa in Central Tibet and formed, aside from Tshal Gung-thang, the mother seat for the sTod-Tshal school which issued from the rTa-sga branch monastery (below Chapter II.1.2.3.1; cf. also Vitali 1996: 398, fn. 648). The crucial question as to its exact location is still not satisfactorily clarified. Seen in the context of the founding story, a location in sKyid-shod is evident, more precisely in the area of Ba-lam mTha'-brag. *lHo rong chos 'byung* chronicles that Nyi-zla-'od est. the monastery of lHa-phyug in Ba-lam Shar (199.12). Dung-dkar Rin-po-che in *Deb dmar* 451 (fn. 613) speaks of lHa-phyug-mkhar gyi *ri khrod*. Ba-lam Shar refers to the eastern section of the two valleys which form the Ba-lam district (east of sTag-rtse township). The location of lHa-phyug-mkhar in this section of the middle sKyid-chu area is attested by the *Tsong kha pa rnam thar* 315 where lHa-phyug is listed as one of the sKyid-shod holdings of the Phag-mo gru-pa governors of Brag-dkar (early 15th cent.; see below). The toponym, however, in this district remains unknown. Obviously lHa-phyug-mkhar must be counted among the Tshal-pa monasteries which later were not incorporated into the dGe-lugs-pa establishment, possibly because this monastery and institution at an early point had already lost political and religious importance. One also observes that several of the early Tshal-pa branches (as well as other pre-dGe-lugs institutions) of Central Tibet turned into nunneries in the time of the 5th Dalai Lama. Here a possible candidate for the identification of the old lHa/La-phyug-mkhar are the ruins of a nunnery in the lDan valley due east of the present-day Ba-lam district (see fn. 409). Corroborating its relative location as listed in bTsong-kha-pa's biography, *Si tu bka' chems* 124.13–14 = *Rlangs* 219.15–16 too mentions lHa-phyug dgon-pa in the 1350 A.D. skirmishes with 'Bri-gung, where it was destroyed. It appears not to recover after this blow. Here it was located close to the hermitage of Ba-lam Seng-ge-sgang. *Deb sngon* speaks of a mTshal-pa Phyug-po [monastery] (i.e. Tshal-pa [lHa]-phyug-po/pa?), seat of one 'Gro mgon Rin-chen-mdzes in early 14th century (BA Roerich 719).

[107] *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 716): one year; *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 601.3: four years.

[108] Cf. fn. 93 above.

[109] *Deb dmar* 135.1: Rin-po-che sTon-nam.

[110] On Ru-thog-pa, see below 238; sNang-sgom zhig-po is the rTa-sga-ba sNang-sgom zhig-po *alias* Tshang 'Dur-ba chen-po (cf. below 284). The first three disciples are listed as abbots in *Deb dmar* in the context of being abbots of lHa-phyug-mkhar. Thus, it is maintained that following the demise of

[no. **1**] lHa-phyug[-mkhar]-pa in 1215 A.D.,

[no. **2**] Bla-ma sPyan-snga-ba arrived at the seat [of lHa-phyug-mkhar] (ruled seven years). He was followed by

[no. **3**] Rin-po-che sTon-nam (rl. three years), In [*shing*] *sprel*, i.e. 1224 the *gdan sa* was vacant.

[no. **4**] Bla-ma Ba-lam-pa sojourned in the East in the country of Mi-nyag (see also van der Kuijp 1991: 296); he might also be identified with Sangs-rgyas Ba-lam-pa, a Hayagrīva ascetic and pupil of lCe-sgom (*ca*. 1140–1220; see Sørensen 1999: 192; but 1124–1204 A.D. acc. to van der Kuijp 2001).

[no. **5**] Sangs-rgyas Jo-sras (most probably not to be identified with Jo-sras (listed in our text below (23b) who led a group of monks from lHa-phyug-mkhar and who went to rTa-sga monastery towards the West; below fn. 274); he again was followed by

[no. **6**] Sangs-rgyas sTon-pa (see BA Roerich 991) and he again was followed by

[no. **7**] Bla-ma Za-lung-pa bSod-nams dbang-phyug. He took over the *gdan sa* in *ca*. 1257 A.D. (below 23a),

[no. **8**] Za-lung-pa Bla-ma mJos-pa bzang-po,

[no. **9**] Ru-thog-pa Śākya rgyal-mtshan (*Tshal rnam* 46b3–4) and

[no. **10**] Bla-ma 'Ju-phu-ba Shes-rab-'phel (*Deb dmar* 135.7–14).

lHo rong chos byung 199.17–18 mentions Ru-thog[s]-pa Śākya-rgyal (= no. **9**) and Khams-pa Byang-chub-dpal as the disciples of Nyi-zla-'od.

[**4**] ***Rin po che*** **Sangs-rgyas-'bum**

Place of birth: lHo-grangs of Gr[v]a[111]

Clan: rJe

Birth name: rDo-rje-'bum.

After lHa-phyug mkhar-pa, *Rin po che* Sangs-rgyas-'bum in a Dog year [1214 A.D.] came to the see of Yang-dgon. Father: lHa Rad-ma.[112] Age five, when Zhang Rin-po-che arrived at Gr[v]a-phu [Upper Gr[v]a], the father brought him [to Zhang], from whom he received the [initiation] *Sems bskyed chen mo* and later at sGrags-mda' [Lower sGrags)], he received *dBang chen* empowerments. In Gung-thang he became a renunciate (*pravrajyā*) in the presence of Zhang and received his ordination name: Sangs-rgyas-'bum. Requesting instruction, a particular insight was born in him. At the age of 23, he took his final ordination. [**16a**] Furthermore, he relied on many other *bla ma*, like *slob dpon* mGon-[b]zhi. In the latter part of his life, he became a student of lHa-phyug mkhar-pa, whereby he turned into a fit vessel for all kinds of precepts and he sharpened his mind through experience and realization. In the male Wood-Dog year [1214 A.D.], he arrived at the see of Yang-dgon, which he protected for five years [i.e. until 1219 A.D.].[113] In the Water-Tiger year [1242 A.D.],[114] he established the [monastic residence and meditation center of] sGom-sde [gZims-khang shar-ma] at Gung-thang.[115] He erected a [Cakra-]Saṃvara *maṇḍala* and offered it to the dBu-rtse [of Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang]. He repaired the dikes (*rags*) of lHa-sa [along the sKyid-chu river][116]

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[111] *Deb dmar* 133.5: dGra'i lHo-srongs. This local toponym within the well-known district of Grva (see fn. 423) still remains unidentfied.

[112] *Deb dmar* 133.6: lHo Rad-ma.

[113] So also *Deb dmar* 133: *lo lnga* (mistake for *lo bco lnga* ? = 1230/31); *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich: 716); *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 819 and *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 716) maintain more convincingly that he held the chair for 18 years until 1230–31 A.D.; *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 601.4: 17 years. See also Jackson 1994: 72.

[114] After his return from a year-long banishment (see below 22a and fns. 232, 233).

[115] *Deb dmar* 133.15: dGon-sde (and sGom-sde, 135.6). As maintained in our text below (45b), there was – contrary to Tshal – in Gung-thang until that point no monastic residence (*gzhis grva*) wherefore Sangs-rgyas-'bum, who had returned from exile (see below and fns. 232, 233) and the 5th *dbon sa b*a Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan conjointly (by way of a yon *mchod* union) erected a sGom-sde. The founding year 1242 A.D. mentioned in the sources, is in contradiction to the dates of Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan, who was born in 1233. Age 23 (*ca*. 1254/55 A.D.), he took over the secular seat in Tshal (below 31a). After his return from China (1261 A.D), he initiated the erection of new buildings in Gung-thang, among others the said [sGom-sde] gZims-khang shar-ma (~-ba) (31b; cf. also *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 151.24, 154.10). *Chu stag* or 1242 A.D. may possibly be erroneous for *chu pha*g or 1263 A.D. On the other hand, in 1263 Sangs-rgyas-'bum had already passed away (fn. 118). Pehaps a better reading: in 1242 the former Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba* laid the foundation of the sGom-sde which was later completed by the *yon bdag* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan. Sangs-rgyas-'bum who in his position as the first abbot of sGom-sde, held the title of *gdan sa ba sprul sku* is mentioned elsewhere in the *Deb sngon* as the "abbot Sangs-rgyas-'bum-me of the sGom-sde" and is listed among the holders of the teaching tradition of Mar-pa's disciple Mes-tshon-po / Mes-ston (*me lugs*) (BA Roerich 406). *Chos 'byung btsan pa'i nyi ma* (113a) lists a Sangs-rgyas 'bum-mo who became the successor of the 6th Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba* Sangs-rgyas snying-po in around 1242 (fn. 130 below). This entry seems to confound the two thrones of Yang-dgon and sGom-sde. The sGom-sde formed a separate monastic complex and school and represented the leading religious throne of Gung-thang (see Chapter III. 3). Its name is derived from its location east of the Gung-thang Temple wherefore it was also denoted gZims-khang shar-ma (Eastern Residence). Today, it is no longer extant.

[116] *Deb dmar* 133.16. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 199.7–9 mentions that after his restoration work of lHa-sa he became the master (*bdag po*) of the lHa-sa *sde bzhi*, i.e. the Four Communities of lHa-sa. The reference to the building of *chu rags* dikes more properly refers to the activities of dGe-ba-'bum. On "lHa-sa *sde bzhi"* and the *chu rags pa*, see App. II.

and he was active as mediator in the war between the ’Bri[-khung-pa] and the sTag[-lung-pa] etc.[117] His physical legacies left behind were numerous. He passed away at the age of 75.[118]

His countless pupils include: lHa-rje dGe-ba-’bum,[119] Ba-lam-pa, sPyan-mnga’-ba, *rtogs ldan* ’Dag-sbyar (~ char)-pa, sPos-kha-pa, etc.[120] During the tenure of this [throne-holder], all the monastic communities (*dgon sde*) developed and expanded extraordinarily. Despite an oral command (*bka’ rgya*) of Bla-ma [Zhang] [bespoke] that one was not allowed to occupy the see beyond three years, still he prolonged his tenure in all to five years. In a Rabbit year [i.e. 1219 A.D./1231 A.D. see *supra*] strife broke out over the see and [he] was set aside [i.e. ousted from the chair].[121] In the meantime Ti-shri ras-pa nominally (*mtshon tsam*) became *gral dpon*.[122]

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[117] *Deb dmar* 133.16. Conflicts between the sTag-lung-pa and ’Bri-gung-pa are registered in the sources in connection with the procuring of materials (mainly wood from the area of Nags-shod) for the construction of the great *vihāra* of sTag-lung in 1224 A.D. (tenure of the 2nd sTag-lung throne-holder Rin-chen mgon-po *alias* sKu-yal Rin-po-che); cf. *sTag lung chos ’byung I* 258; BA Roerich 625. Albeit sharing common ecclesiastic roots, down through history the seats were regularly enmeshed in territorial disputes. Periods of harmony initiated between the 15th ’Bri-gung and the 14th sTag-lung throne-holders and should be strengthened since then, cf. Part I: App. II.

[118] Reaching the age of 75, it may thus tentatively be suggested for the dates of Sangs-rgyas-’bum (*ca*. 1170–1245).

[119] lHa-rje dGe-ba-’bum was a key figure in the remedial and cultic history of lHa-sa and it is most deplorable that we have access neither to a lengthy biography nor to a testament. He was born in sKyid-smad into a wealthy household family. He is mainly associated with the dissemination of the physical as well as written legacy of the Avalokiteśvara cult. The dates proposed (?1123–1182) would appear to dovetail with his patronage of sGam-po-pa, but appear to be quite spurious when we consider that his root-teacher (*sic*), most confusingly, is registered as *chos rje* Lo-ras (1187–1250) and that he was also registered as pupil of Sang-rgyas-’bum (who held the see of Yang-dgon between 1214–1219/1231). Zur-chen confirms that at the point when dGe-ba-’bum rendered service to Ra-sa, Zur-chen had manifested himself as Sangs-rgyas-’bum (accounting for the *sprul sku* line of the latter, see below). For more details on him, see Part II: App.II.

Sources: *’Khrung rabs* 9a1–4 = 593.1–4 (vol. Ba) of 5th Dalai Lama’s *gSung ’bum*; *DL5 IV* (= Ahmad 1999: 190–92); *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 359.3–368.3; BA Roerich 1006; *lHa ldan dkar chag*, *passim*; *Sog bzlog bgyis tshul gyi lo rgyus* 229–230; *Zur chen rnam thar* 14.2–5; see also *HSLG* Vol. 6: 94–96; *Nang rig* 272; Byams-pa phrin-las 2000: 169–70; Prats 1982: 31–32.

[120] On Ba-lam-pa, see above fn. 110. sPyan-mnga’-ba is probably the Bla-ma *spyan mnga’ ba* bSam-gtan shes-rab, the 2nd abbot of lHa-phyug-mkhar (fn. 110). In addition, *Deb dmar* 133.17–20 mentions Jo-btsun Sras-pa (= Jo-btsun sPrad-pa [= sGrad-pa?; sBrad-pa?] of the sTod-tshal, below 26b), Grva-pa dge-slong, *slob dpon* Ngar-phug-pa, (i.e. Ngar-phug-pa dGe-’dun seng-ge, cf. *Mar lung rnam thar* 83b.2–3; Part II: Table V. 4), ’Bri-ra-ba (the Zhang disciple ’Bri-ra-ba Śākya-’od ?, above fn. 101), *rtogs ldan* Byang-phyi-ba, lHa-spyil-pa, Zhang-sgom and Bla-ma Do-pa. On Bla-ma Do-pa, see BA Roerich 473, 991.

[121] *Deb sngon* states that after 18 years, in 1231 A.D., he was expelled by *sgom pa* Ye-shes-ldan (BA Roerich 716), who in the *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 152.24 is listed as the succeeding religious lord. The reasons for the abbatial demotion or removal chronicled in the present text does not ring plausible, inasmuch as the two preceeding abbots held longer tenures. The dispute most probably was linked to the contemporary regulation of the succession of the Tshal-pa rule. 1231 is also the year that saw the transition of the secular rule from the line of Dar-ma gzhon-nu to that of mGar (i.e. from no. 3 to No. 4 of the *dbon sa*) (below Chapter II.2). See also below 22a and fns 231, 232.

[122] The title *gral dpon* usually refers to an assistant who surpervises the master’s retinue, cf. e.g. parallel *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 440).

[5] Ti-shri Ras-pa[123]

[123] Ti-shri ras-pa (the Cotton-clad *dishi*, or Imperial Preceptor) (1164–1236 A.D.) *alias* Sangs-rgyas Ras-chen, had an eventful and turbulent life in the easternmost borderlands of Tibet as well as in the Tangut state of Xixia or Mi-nyag (< Mi-niah, Tangut's own ethnonym). He indeed spent a total of 31 years in these borderlands. Aside from Bla-ma Zhang, as well as the 'Bri-gung and sTag-lung founders, he foremost was registered as a close student of 'Ba'-[dB]rom Dar-ma dbang-phyug (1127–1199 A.D.), and despite his eclectic training, he is generally considered a leading representative of the latter Ba'-rom, following him to the 'Ba'-rom main seat in Khams. He eventually rose to become chaplain to the Mi-nyag Emperor.

The "interim" candidate as tenant in Tshal ('Phags-pa 'Gro-mgon) Ti-shri Ras-pa adhered to the rJe'u clan (one source indicates his clan to be the proto lDong clan) – which probably only means that he was of noble origin rather than that he stemmed from the same clan as the clan of the 4th *gdan sa ba* Sangs-rgyas-'bum.* He was born 1164 A.D. at Ra-phrom of 'Dam-shod (other sources: Yar-stod Bar-thang), his father being Dar khra-bo and mother Ka-tsha-bza' Klu-lcam. Early, he met 'Ba'-rom, Zhang Rin-po-che and Sangs-rgyas sgom-pa, etc. As said, he also became a student of 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten mgon-po (BA Roerich 601; *Bri gung gdan rabs III* 105). At the age of 25 (1189 A.D.), he was ordained and received the name Shes-rab seng-ge. Age 34 (1195 A.D.), he finally took his full ordination. In the subsequent years, he visited Khams, took possession of several temples as well as founded one himself, and at one point he was, as said, invited by the Mi-nyag emperor through the mediation of Yar-lung-pa (fn. 378 below) some time after 1200 A.D. and arrived at Kam-chu (= Ganzhou, i.e. present-day Zhangye) and later at Ling-chu (i.e. Lingzhou) where he was appointed *guoshi*. 1209–10, at a point the Mongols for the third time besieged Mi-nyag, during the final years of the empire, his biography maintains that this ascetic arguably was able to help averting the assault. Under the Mi-nyag emperor rGyal-rgod (Shenzong, i.e. Weiming Zunxu (1162?–1226; *rg*. 1211–23), he was then appointed *dishi*. Again he was able, his biography purports, to protect Xixia against military attacks, being assisted in this matter by gTsang-po-pa / gTsang-so-pa. In all, he stayed in Mi-nyag and in the eastern borderland between 1196 and 1226 A.D. He may have been briefly in Central Tibet in around 1219, where he ordained Sangs-rgyas ston-pa brTson-'grus seng-ge (1207–78 A.D.); cf. BA Roerich 744. Fearing the impending and, as it turned out, final attack from the Mongols, he succeeded in fleeing the capital of Xia. He again returned to Central Tibet where he e.g. acted as precentor at Yer-pa and later, in a similar way and in different capacities at lHa-sa and Tshal Gung-thang, where he served (or replaced) the tenuring *gdan sa ba* (name?) in the sense of a *locum tenens*. He apparently mended the skirmishes at the see (1230–31 A.D.) and these activities could also be alluded to in our text which mentions that he functioned as *gral dpon*, meaning that he acted as an interim figure. Anyway, in 1231 or 1232, he again headed for Khams where he e.g. consecrated the dByig-ne lha-khang. His main disciple was Ras-pa dkar-po *alias* Shes-rab byang-chub (1198–1262 A.D.), who descended from gSang.

The eventful life of this 'Ba'-rom and Tshal master deserves an in-depth study. His *iṣṭadevatā* is reported to have been a statue of Vajrayoginī. Sources: *lHo rong chos 'byung* 213–220, 273, 434, 443; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* [A] 1472; [B] 244; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 802.23–803.1, 810.12–14; *Mig 'byed 'od stong* 28b6–29a3; *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 328–29; *Tshal rnam* 24a4; see also *Khams stod lo rgyus* 26–38; *'Ba' rom bka' brgyud chos 'byung* 197–218 further Sperling 1987b: 33–34; 1994: 804; and the discussion in van der Kuijp 1991: 295–296; Dunnell 1992: 97–98; Dunnell 1996, XIX; Gene Smith 2001: 43; Pema Kunsang and Binder Schmidt 2005: 10–24. These papers also refer to other minor biographies of Ti-shri ras-pa.

Ti-shri ras-pa is only registered in *Deb dmar* and *Gung thang dkar chag*, whereas *Deb sngon* and *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* here introduce the 6th throne-holder. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* has sGom-pa Ye-shes-ldan as the successor of Sangs-rgyas 'bum-pa, who was responsible for the latter's banishment (see above). See also *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma* 113a2f.: its *Tshal Gung thang pa'i bla rabs* has sGom Ye-shes-ldan as the 5th *gdan sa ba* who ruled for seven years. Clearly different lists of the throne-holder successors have prevailed in Tibet, and Sangs-rgyas snying-po (our 6th *gdan sa ba*) appears to be identical with Ye-shes-ldan of other lists. In sum, it is thus not conclusively clear whether Ti-shi ras-pa, if only very briefly, in 1231 held the abbacy at Tshal.

* Bla-ma Zhang too is said (*lHo rong chos 'byung* 181) to be of rJe'u descent, which probably only means that he descended from a ruling or noble family (*rje'u* = *rje bo*).

He [earlier] met Zhang Rin-po-che when the latter fought against the gDos-pa[124] ordering him that he should throw stones against the enemies. Twice stones were thrown [against the enemies of Zhang]. The third time, he thought that it was not appropriate to kill people after he had [now] arrived for the sake of *dharma*. He thus did not throw any [more] stones and therefore the auspicious circumstances [between the two] proved faulty. Because of this, [initial belligerent behavior of Ti-shri ras-pa] the Mongol Hor army later attacked the Mi-nyag twice, [yet both times the Mi-nyag resisted the attacks] but the third time [they] were unable to revert [the intruding Hor].[125] He requested from Bla-ma [Zhang] Rin-po-che the *Mahāmudrā* and [when he received it] he meditated by involving his body posture, and he was told that what he actually needed to do for practising the *Mahāmudrā* [**16b**] was "to bend the bow and pull the arrow numerous times" [i.e. to make use of a warfare approach in order to comprehend fully the system]. The distortion (*'khrul ba, bhrānti*) accruing from the subject-object (*grāhya-grāhaka*) dichotomy of Ti-shri ras-pa's mind was dissolved and the mental equipoise and its post-meditative maintenance (*mnyam* [*bzhag*] *rjes* [*thob*], *samāhita*, *prṣṭhalabdha*) became intermingled. Later, whatever empowerment fees he had gathered were handed over to Zhang Rin-po-che. In a Dragon year [i.e. [1220/] 1232 A.D.] *Rin po che* Sangs-rgyas snying-po came to the see as new incumbent.

[**6**] ***Rin po che*** **Sangs-rgyas snying-po**

Place of birth: Nyang-stod of gTsang

Father: *slob dpon* Tshul-khrims snying-po

Mother: bKra-shis-'od; He was the eldest among six [truly] peerless sons.

At the age of 19, he arrived in dBus. In the presence of *mahopādhyāya* bZad-pa[126] and mNyam-

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[124] *Verbatim* from *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 564.4–565.4. According to the biographical sketch in *lHo rong chos 'byung* 213–14, he met Zhang in 1174 (*Khams stod lo rgyus* 27: 1178) and again 1189 A.D. *Chos kun gsal ba'i me long* 20a1f. cites another biography where Dharma gzhon-nu was involved during Zhang's fightings against the bsDos.

The toponym gDos (and the gDos-pa) are listed among the geomantic places of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala (i.e. the "gDos-pa'i brag of the East"; see *Ka khol ma* 213.9) where it appears to refer to a place in Ba-lam or western Mal-'gro area (cf. also TBH Sørensen 258). Conversely, a Dos-po is registered (during the dGa'-ldan *gzhung* period) as part of the former Tshal-sde estate of present-day sTod-lung bDe-chen *rdzong*; cf. *HSLG* Vol. 3: 11. Further, one may also consider that gDos-pa mistakenly stands for [g]Dol-pa, i.e. Dol of present-day Gong-dkar county which is mentioned as one of the places where Zhang waged war; fol. 21b *infra.*

[125] Alluding to the two stone attacks previously perpetrated by Ti-shri on Bla-ma Zhang's behest. By way of analogy, the third stone attack by Ti-shri ras-pa was not executed, wherefore the third Hor attack on Mi-nyag proved successful, namely the invasion and subsequent destruction of the state of Xia/Mi-nyag in 1227 A.D. Thus indirectly, a magic relation between Zhang's local warfare and the attack on Mi-nyag by the Mongols is drawn here. And it was due to Zhang that, posthumously, the two first military raids against Xia for the Mongols were doomed to fail. Tradition holds that the 'Bri-gung founder too, in a slightly different way, assisted the Mi-nyag king in avoiding the first waves of Mongol attacks; cf. *Phyogs bcu dus gsum ma* 165.

[126] Often also called sNying-po Sangs-rgyas. He is listed among Zhang's disciples. Cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 197.20; Part II: Table V. 5; also mentioned in the context of the ordination of gTsang-pa rGya-ras (fn. 78) and Ro-skam-pa (below 20b). In *bKa' brgyud rnam thar chen mo* 434.2–3 one *mkhan po* Yul-zad-pa [sic] (we have a bZang/bZad-yul-ba connected to Thag-ma lha-khang, s.v.) is mentioned (identical?), whose religious name was Sangs-rgyas ye-shes. He acted, as in the present case too, as *upādhyāya* together with the first throne-holder of Yang-dgon *ācārya* Śākya ye-shes, when in 1198 (?) one Seng-ge ye-shes (b. 1181 A.D.) was ordained, a religious figure whose life is detailed in the latter biography *op. cit*., 427f. Yul-[b?]zad-pa at some point also acted as *mkhan po* – here abbot – of 'Bri-gung for one year during a one-year vacancy at this site. Hence, *mkhan po* bZad-pa is apparently neither identical with the *dge*

med Śākya ye-shes he became a renunciate and took his final ordination. In a Dragon year [i.e. [*chu*] *'brug*, 1232 A.D.], he came to the see of Yang-dgon.[127] In the upper courtyard, he erected the ossuary (*gdung rten*) for mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes. His karmic activities [in magnitude] and [the number of] convertees [that gathered around him] resemble space. He occupied the see for seven years. In an [[Earth-]Dog year [*sa*] *khyi*, i.e. 1238 A.D.], he passed away.[128]

[7] *Rin po che* Sangs-rgyas gzhon-nu

Thereafter the latter's [i.e. Sangs-rgyas snying-po] brother arrived at the see. With the age of 12 he arrived in dBus; he received the name Sangs-rgyas ras-pa and he [eventually] knew the complete cycles of the Tshal-pa [tradition]. Age 23 he became a renunciate and took his full ordination (*upasaṃpadā*) in the presence of *dge bshes* Jo-sras acting as *upādhyāya* and Brag-tshab-pa as *ācārya*, the two. He established in M/Nyang-stod, the Glang-lung monastery.[129] In a Dog year [i.e. [*sa*] *khyi* 1238 A.D.], he arrived at the see of Yang-dgon. He erected an inner support for *Rin po che* Sangs-rgyas snying-po. He held the see for 23 years, yet in some [writings] it is also maintained that he [only] remained 21 years on the seat. His karmic activities as well as [the number of] convertees [indeed] resemble space. In a [Iron-]Monkey year [[*lcags*] *spre'u,* 1260 A.D.], he passed away.[130]

After him arrived at the see his own brother, *Rin po che* Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan.

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bshes gZad-pa of Tshal mentioned above (fn. 82) nor with *dge bshes* bZad-pa/gZad-pa Dar-ma-'od or Don-grub, the 11th abbot of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog (3rd or 4th abbot of Gling-smad). As said, more likely he may be linked to bZad-yul-ba. See Jackson 1994: 66; Onoda 1989: 209; 1990: 1057.

[127] *Ming mdzod* 1738 mentions that he came to the see of Tshal Gung-thang in 1231 A.D. *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma* has instead of Sangs-rgyas snying-po, Ye-shes-ldan (see above). Since both figures enjoyed a tenure of seven years, we shall tentatively assume that they are identical personages.

Chos kun gsal ba'i me long 29b7 confirms that he was throne-holder during the reign of mNyam-med *rin po che*.

[128] According to *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 716): *me bya* 1237 A.D.

[129] The exact location of this monastery in the rGyal-rtse district is unknown. It is not reported in the informative *Myang chos 'byung*.

[130] According to *Deb sngon* his tenure is situated between 1238–1260 A.D.; *Ming mdzod* 1742. *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma* 113a2–3 chronicles five years for his tenancy. In the list given in the latter text, this throne-holder is followed by Sangs-rgyas 'bum-mo (i.e. the Sangs-rgyas-'bum the founder of the sGom-sde? above fn. 115; 45a below).

During his tenure, Zhang dKon-mchog-dpal (1240/50–1307/17 A.D.), a Sa-skya *lam 'bras* master and a pupil of 'Phags-pa Bla-ma (1235–1280 A.D.) was born at Ra-sa mTshal Gung[-thang], cf. *Zhang dkon mchog rnam thar* 181b3–4; Mang-thos, *bsTan rtsis* 167. His biography asserts that his family was Zhang-pa (himself called Bla-ma Zhang-pa; *sic* = of the sNa-nam Zhang clan?) and that almost all *pha tshan* and *cho 'brang* of this family-line had expired except that of Bla-ma Zhang's, which in the mid-13th century apparently still existed. Here, however, the latter may indeed refer to Zhang-ston dKon-mchog-dpal himself, and not to Bla-ma Zhang brTson-'grus grags-pa. Another clue is offered in the survey of the myriarchies of Central Tibet of *bShad mdzod,* where the ruler of Tshal-mo Gung-thang is identified as dKon-mchog [*sic*]; might this refer to dKon-mchog-dpal?

Similarly, his tenure also saw the visit of the great rGyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa (1213–1258 A.D.), considered a manifestation of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang. In 1252 A.D., Yang-dgon-pa arrived at Gung-thang Glo-'bur nub-ma (the western annex temple of the Gung-thang gtsug-lag-khang) to offer prayer in front of the image of Bla-ma Zhang; cf. *rGyal ba Yang dgon pa'i rnam thar* 85–87. Culled *verbatim* from *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 561.5f; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 707. The latter's biography stresses the unique teacher-pupil bond that spiritually prevailed between the founder sKye-med Zhang and Yang-dgon-pa.

[**8**] *Rin po che* Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan[131]

[**17a**] At the age of ten, he was invited to dBus by the Great Ones [i.e. *dpon po* Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub and his son],[132] where in the presence of Chos-rin who acted as *upādhyāya* and Rin-chen-grub acting as *ācārya*, he became a renunciate and took his final ordination. Age 21 he occupied the seat. He erected an inner support and outer support for Rin-po-che Sangs-rgyas gzhon-nu. He established the lHa-sdings monastery.[133] Above the Nine-pillared [Hall] [Ka-dgu-ma][134] in Yang-dgon [in Tshal] he constructed a *gser khang*, wherefore he became known as gSer-khang steng-pa. He occupied the seat for 33 years.[135] His glorious karmic activities [in magnitude] as well as [the number of] converts [and living beings] resemble space. He then handed over the see to his own nephew (*dbon*) Sangs-rgyas rin-chen. For 11 years after retirement, he practiced in retreat. He passed away at the age of 63.[136]

[**9**] Sangs-rgyas rin-chen

Father: Śākya-'od, who was a paternal relative of gSer-khang-pa [*alias* Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan]: At the age of 16, he arrived in dBus, where he in the presence of *Rin po che* gSer-khang steng-pa and Rin-chen-dpal[137] acting as *upādhyāya* became a renunciate and took his final ordination. Age 45, he came to the see. His [enlightened] activities for the converts too were extensive. He reigned for ten years and passed away age 55.[138] He was followed on the throne by *sprul sku* Śākya-'bum.

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[131] Thus according to *Deb dmar* / *Gung thang dkar chag,* he was born in *ca.* 1228 A.D., 1248 he occupied the abbacy and his tenure lasted until [*lcags*] *'brug* 1280 (*Deb dmar* 131.21), when he retired, only to pass away in 1290/91, born in *chu mo lug* 1223 according to *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 716); *Ming mdzod* 50–51: thus giving his dates 1223–92. He may be identified with mkhan chen gSer-khang-pa who in 1282 A.D. ordained the talented dPang Blo-gros brtan-pa (1276–1342), the latter again was teacher to the 12th throne-holder (see below). *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 7a5–6, 33a2.

[132] It appears to have been a rule that the (future) Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba* always used to come on the official and formal invitation of the *dpon chen*; cf. e.g. the case of the 10th *gdan sa ba*.

[133] *Deb dmar* 131.19: lHa-gdengs. A lHa-sdings is associated with rGyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa; cf. the *rGyal ba Yang dgon pa'i rnam thar* 85–87. Now, it may also allude to lHa-sa-sdeng temple of rDzam in Dvags-po, said to be erected, however, by another pupil of Zhang, Ye-shes blo-gros (cf. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 75b1–2; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 202). From a lHa-sdings *dbu mdzad slob dpon* gZhon-nu dbang-phyug, sMon-lam rdo-rje received teachings; *Tshal rnam* 39b4–5.

We have a gSer-khang steng-shod gTsug-lag-khang erected *ca*. 1284 by the 6th throne-holder of sKyor-mo-lung, Rin-chen 'byung-gnas (1234–1290); cf. *sKyor lung chos 'byung* 23b. It may also refer to the lHa-sdings of sTod-lung Ram-pa (erected in the 12th cent. by the 5th Ne'u-thog gSang-phu abbot gNam-'phar/'bar-pa; cf. *Yar lung chos 'byung* 124.11–13), or to the lHa-sdings of Zhogs (below fn. 493). Otherwise currently unidentified.

[134] For activities in this (currently no more extant) room or chapel, cf. *dPon Dar ma gzhon nu'i zhus lan* (e.g. in *Zhang bka' 'bum I*) 30.2–3. In one corner (*sbug*) of this chapel in 1647 A.D., Zur-chen executed and consecrated a wall-painting of bDe-mgon and entourage; *Zur chen rnam thar* 157b6–158a1 (= 314.6–315.1).

[135] *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 601.5 purports that he held the abbacy for 38 or 39 years.

[136] See note 131. Dates different in *Deb sngon*.

[137] It appears to be U-rgyan-pa Seng-ge-dpal (alt. name Rin-chen-dpal) 1229/30–1309/21.

[138] According to *Gung thang dkar chag*, he was born 1235/36 A.D., arrived in dBus 1251 A.D., tenure from 1280 until 1290 A.D. when he passed away. His dates in *Deb sngon* one *lo skor* later: 1247–1301 A.D.; *Ming mdzod* 1745.

Chos kun gsal ba'i me long 20b7–21a3 after listing the throne-holders from the sixth until the ninth incumbent, mentions a transmission line through *chos rje* sMon-lam rgyal-mtshan, *kun spangs* dGe-sbyong, etc. The latter, not recorded in this form in *Gung thang dkar chag*, appears to refer to the 12th *dpon chen* (see below), e.g. reported in *lHo rong chos 'byung* 570, being active in the later 1370's when he in 1378 invited sTag-lung *chos rje* bKra-shis dpal-brtsegs (1359–1424/25) to mTshal.

[10] *sPrul sku* Śākya-'bum

Date of birth: Ox year [i.e. 1253 A.D.].[139]

Father: Ye-shes, who was a son of *slob* [*dpon*] Byang[-chub] ye[-she]s, who had [previously] faulted in [his lay] precepts [i.e. vows] ([*b*]*slab pa skyon byung ba*).[140]

Having taken his full ordination as a renunciate (*pravrajyā*), he arrived in dBus and Śākya-'bum was elected to the see at the age of 38 [i.e. 1290 A.D.] [**17b**]. Being in possession of unobstructed super knowledge (*abhijñā*) and magical faculties such as [being able to directly] behold the countenance of his *iṣṭadevatā*, he occupied the see for nine[teen?] years and passed away in a Dog year [1298 = 1310 A.D.].[141] Thereafter *chos rje* Byang-chub bzang-po followed on the throne.

[11] *Chos rje* Byang-chub bzang-po

From the 'Bre, a lineage that [indeed] included many holy *kalyāṇamitra* such as 'Bre Shes-rab-bar and gTsang-pa 'Bre-sku,[142] etc.

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[139] I.e. Water-Ox year; *shing mo glang* 1265 A.D. Cf. BA Roerich 717.

[140] See the 2nd throne-holder above.

[141] According to the chronology in *Deb sngon*: he came to the chair age 37 (1301 A.D.) and passed away in Iron-Dog, 1310; BA Roerich 717; *Ming mdzod* 1720. He therefore ruled for nineteen (not nine) years. The dates given in *Deb sngon* are here to be preferred also because it is confirmed in *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* [= *Tshal rnam*] 2a2 which mentions that he inaugurated sMon-lam rdo-rje as new *dpon sa* in 1303.

In 1337, a *phyi rten* for Śākya-'bum, a *gser 'bum* was erected at Tshal Yang-dgon by the 9th *dpon chen* sMon-lam rdo-rje; cf. *Tshal rnam* 20a6–7. The nephew of Śākya-'bum was one dBon-she, the *dbu mdzad* of the *sgom chen spyi* of bSam-sdings monastery; cf. *Tshal rnam* 46a6–b1.

[142] 'Bre was an influential clan active in the Myang district of gTsang (below Map 9), yet its fame eventually spread all over Tibet in the 11–12th century. Key figures included the mid- and late 11th- and early 12th-century 'Bre [chen-po] Shes-rab-'bar (also called Shes-rab bla-ma), one of the four principal disciples of rNgog *lo tsā ba* Blo-ldan shes-rab (1057/59–1109 A.D.) and a temporary antagonist of Rva *lo tsā ba* (b. 1016). He was ordained in the presence of Atiśa's pupil Yol Chos kyi dbang-phyug (the Yol clan, too, held large stretches of the Myang district, including the abbotship of the early [sKyegs] gNas-rnying seat); other texts: in the presence of sNe-po Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan).

In the presence of 'Bre, on the other hand, the pioneer of Vinaya Bya *'dul 'dzin* brTson-'grus-'bar (1091–1166 A.D.) was ordained. In the late 10th century, a 'Bre'i lha-khang is registered, a late *snga dar* period temple was erected in the eastern part of the 'Dus-chung valley of Myang (present-day in Pa-rnam *rdzong*), where one of the pupils of Lo-ston rDo-rje dbang-phyug, by the name mGo-ba Ye-shes g.yung-drung, took hold of the seat.

For an informative biographical sketch (of Shes-rab-'bar, unfortunately no dates) and of the subsequent throne-holders of his see as well as his flourishing lineages in La-stod, see Mang-thos' *bsTan rtsis* 120–126). In fact, the 'Bre clan in tandem with the Khyung clan (cf. e.g. also Jackson 1984: 110–114) were the all-dominant occupants of the Myang-stod district (today a *xiang*; loc. 28°54'N 89°39'E). The area of conversion of the 'Bre clan and the *dharmacakra* activity of 'Bre chen-po was the district of Bye-mda' of Upper Myang. It was also at the 11–12th cent., seat of Myang-stod 'Chad-mang, est. by 'Be [= 'Bre?] g.Yo-rong-btsun (*mkhan bu* of Grva-pa mNgon-shes) and at the famous gNas-rnying seat that 'Bre chen-po taught extensively and where he est. a *bshad grva*. He had many students such as *sngags 'chang* Rin-chen 'byung-gnas, Khyung Rin-chen-grags and the influential La-stod-pa (or gNas-rnying-pa) dKon-mchog mkhar-ba* – the latter was his most prominent student who eventually took over the seat of gNas-rnying. Cf. *Myang chos 'byung* 36f., 64, 75–83.

A famous medical pioneer in Tibet, g.Yu-thog mgon-po (*gsar ma*) (1126–1202 A.D.) stemmed from the 'Bre clan (other sources, however, maintain that he stemmed from the neighbouring Khyung-po clan, similar to his elder relative ('Dre *rje* ? = 'Bre *rje* g.Yu-thog mgon-po rnying-ma; the latter's line, however, is also assoc. with sTod-lung.). We have reports of a local (9th-cent. king? of Myang-stod in the *snga dar* period) *btsad po* 'Bre chen-po rGyal-ba'i blo-gros who is registered as a translator and transmitter (a contemp. of sNubs Nam-mkha'i snying-po), esp. of the Single Fire and Single Skull (*me gcig thod gcig*) esoteric cycle.

Father: *sngags 'chang slob dpon* Yon-tan rgya-mtsho.
Mother: Rin-chen-'bum, the niece (*dbon mo*) of Yang-dgon-pa [i.e. the last throne-holder?].
Date of birth: Earth-Dog year [1298 A.D.].[143] Youth [i.e. birth] name: Śākya mTha'-yas.

Age ten he took the novice vows in the presence of lHa-[g]dong Shes-[rab] rin[-chen] who functioned as *upādhyāya* and the sNar-thang *upādhyāya* Grags-[pa] she[s]-ba[144] acting as *ācārya*. His name was changed into the ordination name: Byang-chub bzang-po.[145] From *mkhan po* [lHa-[g]dong Shes-rin-pa?] he [received and heard] many [teachings] such as on the Generation of the Thought [of Enlightenment] (*thugs bskyed, cittotpāda*) and precepts on the mind training (*blo sbyong*) etc. From the *bla ma* of Shar-rkan, Grags-'byor, he requested [and received] empowerment and all the precepts such as the reading transmission of the tradition of Me [i.e. Mes-ston] and the tradition of Tshal[-pa bKa'-brgyud] (*me*[*s*] *lugs tshal lugs*).[146] Age 13, in an Iron Dog year [1310 A.D.], he was invited to dBus by *chen po* dGa'-bde[-dpal], father and son[s]. In that very year, on the third day of the fifth month,[147] he was enthroned on the great see. In the subsequent year the Hevajra (*brTag gnyis*) was preached. Age 20, he took his full ordination in the presence of Sang-rin-pa[148] who acted as *karmācārya*, bSod-nams-dpal[149] acting as *upādhyāya*, and Bla-ma Sha-rkan-pa, who acted as secret preceptor. From the preceptor he heard the basic Teaching of the *Vinayasūtra* (*'Dul ba mdo rtsa*), and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and he successfully requested for and received all relevant reading

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Sources: *lDe'u*-2 324–26; *Deb dmar* 67; *Rva lo rnam thar* 257–58, 265, 315; *Yar lung chos 'byung* [A] 131.12–16; *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung I* 46; *Myang chos 'byung* 7, 14, 37–38, 41, 47, 64–65, 78–90, 105, *et passim*; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 734; *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 357.17–23; *rNgog lo bstan bskyangs* 454; *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 145b5; *Shes bya spyi'i khog dbubs* 313; *g.Yu thog gsar rnying rnam thar* 313; *Nor bu 'i do shal* 108–10; see also *bShad mdzod* 190; BA Roerich 330, *passim*; *Ming mdzod* 1239, 1583–85.

gTsang-pa 'Bre-sku (also gTsang-pa 'Bre-sgur/-dgur/-rgur/-snur) was one of the pupils (in fact considered the most erudite) of the great Madhyamaka master Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags (b. 1055). He transmitted the teachings stemming from 'Bre Shes-rab-'bar in the area of Pa-rnam sGa-gdong (i.e. dGa'-gdong of Pa-rnam county; location; 29°12'N 89°10'E, cf. *Dimingzhi I* 500; dGra-lha 2000; on the name Pa-r/snam, see above fn. 11) and at Bya-rog-tshang both of gTsang (in central M/Nyang, the homeland of the 'Bre clan; for Bya-rog see fn. 450 below); cf. e.g. *Yar lung chos 'byung* 131.15; *rGya bod yig tshang* 485; *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed* 116, 119.

* The importance and role of dKon-mchog mkhar-pa (mid-11th cent.) who later est. the gNas-gsar seat (also known as gNas-gog) in gTsang was substantial (see here Vitali 2004b). His ossuary was located in the small gNas-gsar temple. He was teacher of Phag-gru rDo-rje rgyal-po and 'Ba'-rom Dar-ma dbang-phyug.

[143] *Deb sngon*: he lived from *lcags sbrul* 1281–*me pho spre'u* 1356; cf. also *Ming mdzod* 1104–05. The identification of Tshal Byang–chub bzang-po in Pal (2001: 142) is uncertain.

[144] This is probably Grags-pa shes-rab who is registered as abbot of sNar-thang for the years *ca*. 1306–1318 (BA Roerich 283). The famous bKa'-gdams-pa monastery and seat of the sNar-thang school was founded in 1153 by gTum-ston Blo-gros grags-pa (1106–1166), a disciple of Shar-ba-pa. Cf. BA Roerich 282f.; Ferrari 61–62, 146. It is situated close to Chu-mig in gTsang (cf. e.g. Chan 1994: 833, 834).

During the tenure of Byang-chub bzang-po at Tshal Yang-dgon, the *dbu mdzad* was *lha btsun* Śākya bsod-nams.

[145] Also Byang-chub dpal-bzang-po; below 36a. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 50a4: Byang-chub-dpal.

[146] The Me[s] *lugs* refers to the tradition of the Mar-pa disciple Mes-tshon bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, well-known mainly for the transmission of cycles pertinent to the *Hevajra tantra* that paved the way for the distinct Mes-tshon bKa'-brgyud tradition; cf. e.g. *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 405-6). The Tshal *lugs* usually refers to the transmission at Tshal Gung-thang of the cult of the four-armed Ye-shes mgon-po or Mahākāla transmitted by rGva-lo (above fn. 30).

[147] It corresponds to *ca*. 02. 06. 1310 A.D. of the Western calender. See also *Tshal rnam* 58a1–2.

[148] I.e. Don-zhags-pa Sangs-rgyas rin-chen also known as as the *upādhyāya* of Kun-dga' rdo-rje; below 37a.

[149] He is mentioned in *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 153.11–12 as one of the early abbots of dBus-gling monastery.

permissions and ritual practises. From the bSam-sding-pa *bla ma* mKhas-grub chos-rje gZhon-nu,[150] he requested for and received the cycle of Ri-gong-pa (*ri gong pa'i chos skor*).[151] [**18a**] From *rje btsun* Ri-po-ba Rin-chen bzang-po [1243–1319], he requested for and received all the cycles of rNgog-pa.[152] From *rtogs ldan* Don-grub ye-shes, he requested for and received the many *bKa' rgya* [*ma*] [i.e. Sealed Biographical Books] cycles of [Bla-ma] Zhang. And by way of instructions and precepts as well as by way of reading authorization and hermeneutics etc. of the Hevajra [cycle] according to the Me[s-ston] tradition and the Collected Works of 'Gro-mgon rin-po-che etc., he worked extensively for the well being of sentient beings. He erected the mountain retreat (*ri khrod*) of Yer-pa dGa'-ldan-gling.[153] [In Gung-thang] he erected the Temple of the Dharma-Throne [Chos-khri lha-khang][154] and he renewed [both] the external and the internal [section of] the Bla-ye [Prayer Square].[155] In accordance with the prophecy in *bKa' rgya* [*ma*], he discovered

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[150] A number of bSam-sdings-pa masters were related to Tshal Gung-thang, also this master; cf. *Tshal rnam* 46a7–b1, 49b1–2, 50b6, 63b4, 64a2. He resided in dPal gyi ri-bo.

[151] Or *Gru ma ri gongs pa'i chos skor*. A cycle of Shangs-pa bka'-brgyud-pa?

[152] I.e. the teaching cycle of the *Hevajra tantra* etc. according to the system of rNgog mDo-sde (cf. BA Roerich 407) which *inter alia* was transmitted within the rNgog lineage of sPre'u-zhing. The important teaching center in gZhung was founded by mDo-sde's grandson Kun-dga' rdo-rje (1157–1234 A.D.); his grandson, the 5th sPre'u-zhing throne-holder rNgog Rin-chen bzang-po (1243–1319, or 1231–1307?; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 61.14–62.7; BA Roerich 410) was active as a teacher in Tshal Yang-dgon and at the sGom-sde college. He may (although the Ri-bo-pa seems to have a flourit covering the mid-14th cent.; see fn. 488 below) be identical with the *rje bstun* Ri-po-ba Rin-chen bzang-po, where "Ri-po-pa" perhaps referring to the place gZhung Ri-bo [Khyung-sdings], known as the residence of rNgog Chos-sku rdo-rje (= rNgog mDo-sde's father). Cf. BA Roerich 404; *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 343–44; *gTsang smyon rnam thar* 118.3; Chos-sku rdo-rje's father was dPal-le, son of rNgog g.Yu-khri.

The 9th Tshal-dpon sMon-lam rdo-rje wrote a biography of Ri-bo-pa (non-extant); see Table V.12 below.

For a representation of the rNgog (branch) lineage of rNgog Chos-rdor which includes a *gdan rabs* of sPre'u-zhing, see *lHo rong chos 'byung* 50–65; BA Roerich 403–14. On the gZhung district, see also below fn. 423.

[153] The precise location of this *ri khrod* in the Yer-pa district (east of lHa-sa) remains unknown.

[154] I.e. Chos-khri-nub, see 62a, 70a below. The building initially accomodated the private cella of Bla-ma Zhang, whereupon it was expanded by the current throne-holder into the Chos-khri lha-khang. Adjacent to this chapel, the later Chos-khri grva-tshang or college, situated just south of the gTsug-lag-khang itself was established; below Graph 3.

[155] Although *bla ye*, *bla* [*g.*]*yer*/*l* (also *bla dbye*) as a term is fairly rare and nowadays obsolete, in medieval texts the term was in common use, employed in the sense of an open-aired, spacious courtyard square or plain. Our text mentions that it consisted of an inner and an outer part and that the outer section alone accomodated a stone-paved courtyard (*rdo bcal*; this term is often a synonym of *bla g.yer*/*l*) and that it corresponded to the square-type similar to gSung-chos ra-ba of lHa-sa (below fn. 615), which clearly served as model. The main activities at a Bla-ye square was to deliver large-scale public or religious teachings. Bla-ye assembly or public squares were established at all major monastic (predominantly) bKa'-brgyud-pa centers throughout Tibet, such as at 'Bri-gung-mthil, here called Bla-dbye/yel chen-mo (orig. Bla-g.yel chen-mo, cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 167, *et passim*; *Nam mkha' dpal rnam thar* 8b3; dKon-mchog 'phel-rgyas 1991: 41), a huge open-spaced plain (now wall-framed) which included a prayer throne, hence a locale also called Bla-yel-thang. Older texts adduce that ceremonies conducted there also comprised *ras phud* rituals and large-scale *gaṇacakra*. The Gung-thang *bla ye* is mentioned during the reign of sMon-lam rdo-rje and Kun-dga' rdo-rje; cf. *Tshal rnam* 17b5. Similarly, Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan mentions a triangular square, Bla-ye[l] chen-mo at gDan-sa-thel, where he in 1360 intended to erect a sKu-'bum for the late *spyan snga* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan who had passed away that very year, at the corner of the Chos-khri of Bla-ye chen-mo; *Si tu bka' chems* 239.16–240.8 = *Rlangs* 331.5–15; it was in the same location, i.e. Bla-yel chen-mo of rTsed/s-thang that the funeral service for 'Gos *lo tsā ba* in 1481 was enacted (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1125.10, 1126.22; *Kam tshang brgyud pa I* 302b4). It is indicated that such a square could hold up to 5000 monks and devotees; similarly at mTshur-phu (courtyards such as the Southern and

the footprint of Zhang Rin-po-che at sPyi-khungs, etc.;[156] such incredibly wondrous biographical sketches concerning him prevail.[157] He occupied the see for 48 years. Age 61 he passed away [1358 A.D.]. He was followed by *spyan snga ba* Grags-pa bshes-gnyen.

[12] *sPyan snga ba* Grags-pa bshes-gnyen

Date of birth: Dog year [1322 A.D.].[158]

Father: *drung chen* sMon-lam rdo-rje.

He was ordained at the age of eight and became well versed in ***t****antra* and [related] ritual practice. He relied upon many *bla ma* such as sPang [= dPang] *lo tsā ba* [1276–1342],[159] lHa rDzong-ri-ba and dPal-ldan Bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan [1312–1375].[160] Age 33 [i.e. 1354], he arrived at the see. His glorious karmic activities and [the number of] converts [gathering around him are innumerable] resembling space [in magnitude]. Reaching the age of 61, he passed away in a Hen year [[*lcags*] *bya* 1381 A.D.].[161] He was followed by *spyan snga* Legs-pa rgyal-mtshan.

[13] *sPyan snga* Legs-pa rgyal-mtshan

Date of birth: Horse year [1366 A.D.].[162]

Western Square (*bla ye nub ma* and *lho ma*) were constructed) and at sTag-lung, cf. *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 63b1–3, 89a1; *mTshur phu dgon gyi dkar chag* 40–41, 83, 114; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 253, 256, etc.; BA Roerich 628.

[156] I.e. the Zhabs-rjes 'Gro-don-ma, above fol. 9b. Cf. *bKa' rgya ma I* 104.3–6. Here it is mentioned that the Bya-mkhar zhabs-rjes, the foot-print of Bya-mkhar hermitage was detected by *rtogs ldan* sTag-lo-pa, an ascetic born in a Tiger year, but Byang-chub bzang-po was allegedly born in an Earth Dog year (1298 A.D.). However, the number of years (115; 1193 + 115 = *ca*. 1306–07) that had passed since the demise of Bla-ma Zhang would appear to fit with this throne-holder. It thus appears that at least this part of Bla-ma Zhang's writings, the *bKa' rgya ma* (i.e. *Ngar phug ma*), which was transmitted to Byang-chub bzang-po from *rtogs ldan* Don-grub ye-shes ([= sTag-lo-pa?] the actual discoverer of the foot-print) was compiled by the former. In *Tshal rnam* 24a4–5, it is maintained that the stone-marked foot-print was found by this Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba* and the 9th Tshal *dpon*.

[157] Byang-chub bzang-po is probably the "abbot of Tshal [Yang-dgon]" who is mentioned in *Deb sngon* in connection with Chos-dbyings dbang-phyug (a.k.a. dBang-phyug rdo-rje) from the *Sems khrid* teaching lineage; he requested the latter to become abbot of [the Tshal monastery ?] of mKhar-mgon. Cf. BA Roerich 722.

[158] Assuming that it corresponds to 1322 A.D., his ascent to the throne in 1358 cannot have taken place in his 33th year, but in his 35th year. The dates in *Deb sngon*: *chu pho khyi* 1322 – *lcags bya* 1381; *Ming mdzod* 1028–29.

[159] dPang-lo *alias* dPang Blo-gros brtan-pa, he is registered for 1335 at Gung-thang; cf. *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 15b3. The great scholar of *kāvya*. See e.g. *Shel dkar* (P. Wangdu and Diemberger 62f.); BA Roerich, s.v. index.

[160] In 1338, Bla-ma dam-pa visited Gung-thang where he remained for six months; cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 276. For his life, see TBH Sørensen 29–31; Everding 1988: 113–119. Bla-ma dam-pa served as teacher to sMon-lam rdo-rje; for details, see *Tshal rnam* 45b5f.

[161] His ordination name: Śākya'i dGe-sbyong chen-po sMon-lam rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po. See his biography *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar*. This figure is the last *gdan sa ba* listed in the *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma* 113a4; the same text purports that he ruled for 24 years, and passed away age 60. So also *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 601.7–8.

[162] He appears to have been prophesied in *Blon po bka'i thang yig* 522:

/ gNyags ban Ku ma rā dza ni //
o ta na yi gtsug lag tu //
ta li sher bzang skye ba len //
ma 'ongs dvags sgom zhes bya bar //
rgyal mtshan ming can rta lo pa //
zla 'od gzhon nu'i sprul pa 'byung /

Father: *ta'i si tu* dGe-legs bzang-po.

Age nine he became ordained together with Drung *slob dpon* and two religious brothers in the presence of dPal-ldan bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan [1312–1375] and *spyan snga* Grags-pa bshes-gnyen. [**18b**] Age 13, in a Horse year [1378 A.D], he arrived at the see. His [karmic activities] in the form of [providing] resources for the converts resemble the sky. He occupied the see for 21 years [i.e. until 1399]. He handed over the throne to *spyan snga* dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan, and henceforth practiced as a great all-abandoning [peregrinating] ascetic (*kun spangs*).

[**14**] ***sPyan snga*** **dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan**

Date of birth: Rabbit year [1387 A.D.]

Father: Tre-hos dPal-'byor-bzang-po [i.e. the 13th *dpon sa ba*].

He became expert in all *tantra* and ritual practices. Age 13, in a Rabbit year [1399 A.D.], he arrived on the throne, which he occupied for 18 years [until 1416 A.D.]. At the age of 31, in a Hen year on the 25th day of the fifth month,[163] he passed away. He was followed by his disciple *chos rje* Grags-pa don-grub.

[**15**] ***Chos rje*** **Grags-pa don-grub**

From the foundation of Tshal until this point 265 years had passed.[164] Since the passing of mNyam-med Rin-po-che [i.e. the 1st throne-holder] 225 years had passed.[165] Following *Chos rje* Grags[-pa] don[-grub], in a Tiger year,[166] bSod-nams rin-chen arrived on the throne.

[16] bSod-nams rin-chen[167]

He was followed in a Monkey year[168] by *Rin po che* Nam-mkha' bzang-po.

[**17**] ***Rin po che Nam-mkha' bzang-po***

Following suit in a Horse year.[169] *Thams cad mkhyen pa Chos rje* Rin-chen came to the throne.

[**18**] ***Chos rje*** **Rin-chen**

After him in a Dog year,[170] *Rin po che* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho came to the throne.

He must have passed away prior to 1409 A.D. when a commemorative service was made in his honour in connection with the initiatory sMon-lam ceremonies, *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 331.

[163] It corresponds to *ca*. 13. 06. 1417 A.D. of the Western calender.

[164] I.e. either 1439 or 1451 A.D. (*sic*), which seems impossible. The dates of ascent to the throne for the following incumbents are shaky.

It may refer to Tshal Grags-don [= Tshal-pa dBus-gling rtse-pa Rin-chen Grags-pa don-grub] listed several times in the *Thob yig* of the 5th Dalai Lama. His students included Śākya rgyal-mtshan.

[165] I.e. 1207 + 225 = 1431 A.D. This calculation seems to fit because he in a transmission was followed by rNgog Byang-chub-dpal (1360–1446); cf. *Thob yig IV* 318b5.

[166] The *stag* year: 1434? or 1446?/1458. Anyway, around 1448, Rong-ston Śākya rgyal-mtshan (1367–1449) preached at Tshal Gung-thang by entering religious bonds with *slob dpon* Don-yod dpal-bzang-po (still unidentified); cf. *Rong ston rnam thar* 358–59.

[167] In the list of the *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 153.3, the following four *gdan sa ba* are missing. The chronology of most of these throne-holders is shaky.

[168] I.e. 1440 ?/ 1452 / 1464?

[169] I.e. 1450/1462/1474/1486 A.D.?

[170] I.e. 1454/1466/1478/1490 A.D.?

[19] *Rin po che* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho
Father: *spyan snga* dNgos-grub [i.e. the 14th *gdan sa ba*].
He came to the thone in a Hen year.[171]

[20] *sPyan snga* Grags-pa rgya-mtsho
He was followed by *spyan snga* Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho.

[21] *sPyan snga* Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho[172]
He was the spiritual son of *paṇ chen* bDe-legs nyi-ma.[173] He was contemporary with *zhabs drung* bKra-shis. After [Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho] *spyan snga* bSod-nams rab-brtan followed.

[22] *sPyan snga* bSod-nams rab-brtan
After him came *spyan snga* sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho.[174]

[23] *sPyan snga* sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho
Until his tenure, concerning the question of safeguarding the see, there had been no fallacy in the successive ascent to the see, yet on account of the animosity (*'khu ldog*) [i.e. revenge] of rDo-rje grags-ldan,[175] this *spyan snga* suddenly passed away in an Earth Ox year, being [the 23rd year] of the 10th sexagenary cycle (*prabhava*) called *virodhin*.[176] Because there was no reliable assistant, Zur-chen *Rin po che* [Chos-dbyings rang-grol later] rendered service in form of setting fire to the funeral pyre and [**19a**] by making offerings, etc. In particular, Zur-chen personally tendered all necessary utensils and manufactured an arrow-long golden statue of the [deceased] *spyan snga*. He had it installed in the Yang-dgon monastery, where it thus [was capable of] restoring the faith [in the tradition] among all righteous and non-partisan people.[177]

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[171] I.e. 1465/1477/1489/1501 A.D.? A *bka' bzhi pa* dGe-'dun-dpal of 'Tshal-mo Gung-thang is mentioned for the late 1460's and in 1470; cf. S*ang rgyas seng ge rnam thar* 15a6–b1, 23b3.

[172] Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho was throne-holder of Tshal in *ca*. 1570 as confirmed by a visit that year by lHa-rtse-ba Ngag-dbang bzang-po; cf. *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 11a6–b.

[173] For his life, see *Se ra chos 'byung* 242–248, mentioning his pupil Yang-dgon *spyan snga* Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho, *op. cit*., 245, as well as sKyid-shod bKra-shis [rab-brtan] (see fn. 694 below) who attempted to persuade him to become throne-holder of dGa'-ldan Byang-rtse. His *flourit* is to be situated to the later part of 16th century. Similarly, the 3rd Dalai Lama vainly attempted to persuade him to become throne-holder of Se-ra; cf. *Mi sna*: 621. The main treatise composed by him, a Vinaya commentary is commonly known as *'Dul ba bDe legs nyi ma*; cf. *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung II* 107a3–4; *JCh* 230–32.

[174] The last *gdan sa ba* from the "Tshal lineage," see below fol. 39b.

[175] As alluded to later in our text, what is meant here is Pe-har. rDo-rje grags-ldan is considered the minister of Pe-har. The expression *'khu ldog* is a common term for the antagonism or wrath of protective deities. Texts containing precepts to ensure the pacification of such animosity is attested e.g. in the writings (Vol. 5) of lCang-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje, a.o.

[176] This would correspond to 1589 A.D., yet from Zur-chen's biography it is apparent that the Yang-dgon *spyan snga* indeed passed away, after a brief illness, in an Earth-Ox year, not in the 10th sexagenary cycle but in the 11th *rab byung*, in other words 1649 A.D. Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 162a4–b6 (= 323.4-324.6) for this passage. The evidently mistaken attempt to identify the *rab byung* as the 10th was made by 'Jog-ri-pa, the author of *Gung thang dkar chag*. With the passing of the last scion of the mGar clan in that very year the final control or proprietorship of Gung-thang was transferred (*rtsis sprod*) to Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol as *beneficium* – more precisely all *sa ris* required for the renovation was handed over to whoever held control over the mChod-khang at Gung-thang (i.e. Zur-chen); cf. below 52b.

[177] The episode is *verbatim* gleaned from Zur-chen's biography 172a46 (= 324.4-6). The same texts for 1646 mentions a Yang-dgon *zhabs drung*. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 153.3f. mentions additional (short-term and little-known) *gdan sa ba* following in the wake of sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho, the 23th throne-holder, namely

Up until *drung chen* dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan [i.e. the 14th incumbent] [the throne-holder] was in charge of safeguarding the secular affairs (*srid bskyangs*) and the religious esteem rendered and respect paid to the Tshal-pa monk-body, both teachers and pupils, [until then] never diminished. For this reason, whether in the secular or religious field of the two systems (*chos srid lugs gnyis*) there was no reason [for them] to "let their mouth water for" [i.e. to covet] support from other [patrons]. Subsequently [however], the institutions gradually deteriorated. In particular in the Fire Horse year [1546 A.D.], being the [40th year] of the ninth sexagenary cycle (*prabhava*) called *parābhava*, during the night of the 15th day of the fourth month[178] most of the temple complex

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[24. throne-holder?] Yang-dgon *spyan snga* Shar/Sha-ra Hor-pa* dGe-'dun dar-rgyas (*fl*. mid-17th cent.; cf. *DL5 I* 232b5; *Zur chen rnam thar* 170b1–2) followed by

[25. throne-holder?] sKyid-shod *zhabs drung bla-ma*. I.e. either the celebrated Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin 'phrin-las or less likely the earlier bsTan-'dzin blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1593–1638); for their works, cf. *gSung 'bum dkar chag* 205–07, 238–39.

[26. throne-holder?] bSam-grub sgang-pa mKhas-btsun bzang-po,

[27. throne-holder?] sTod-lung Blo-bzang bstan-'phel,

[28. throne-holder?] 'Phyongs-rgyas-pa Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin,

[29. throne-holder?] sNa-mo-mkhar Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (possibly related to sNa-mo in Yar-stod),

[30. throne-holder?] [Sha-ra?] Hor rNam-rgyal,

[31. throne-holder?] Rags-ma Legs-bshad rgya-mtsho (related to Rags, east of lHa-sa?), followed by

[32. throne-holder?] Shun-pa Ngag-dbang smon-lam (related to Shun, west of lHa-sa; rl. *ca*. 1690's).

These throne-holders evidently followed after the inclusion of Tshal by the lHa-sa central government.

* The Shar / Sha-ra Hor-pa was originally a clan-based (or nomadic) community and later noble house, documented already early in the 15th century (1409 A.D.) under the fiefship of the Brag-dkar *nang so* (the heartland in present-day Dar-rgyas *xiang* of sTag-rtse county). The 3rd Dalai Lama in 1556 (where he met dGa'-ldan shar-pa *chos rje* Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po with whom the 'Bras-spungs chos rje entered a patron-priest relation) and again 1569 visited Sha-ra Hor-pa. It was the beginning of concerted attempt to establish relations with the Mongols of northern Central Tibet. Probably sometime during the period of the 5th Dalai Lama or later, the name was changed into Sha-ra 'Or-pa and again later, evidently from the reign of bka' blon [bShad-sgra] Don-grub rdo-rje (rl. 1808–1839), the name was again changed to bShad-sgra 'Og-pa** which as an estate and noble house rose to become possibly the most important among the 150 *sger pa* (not a *sde dpon* family; cf. Bya-rigs-pa 2001: 16) families in Tibet during the Pho-brang *gzhung* government. bShad-sgra dGa'-ldan dpal-'byor, a scion of the house, in his informative essay on his family purports that the principality known as Brag-dkar was under the Tshal-pa khri-dpon (when it in fact at that point was a stewardship or fiefship under the Phag-gru hegemony). He further purports that rJe bTsong-kha-pa had a *gzims chung* denoted bKra-shis-'khyil set up at the three-storied mansion of the Sha-ra Hor-pa. From the early 14th cent., the family had become stout supporters of the dGa'-ldan-pa. In the later centuries, two 'Brog-ru or nomadic units of bShad-grva 'og-phu belonged to the dGa'-ldan monastic head (*bla spyi*) administration. Here bShad-sgra Blo-bzang 'jam-dpal (on the seat 1817–27 A.D.) served at the Shar-rtse grva-tshang. Today the former estate bShad-grva 'or-pa is, as said, still registered as a village settlement or community located in Dar-rgyas *xiang* of sTag-rtse county: 29°43'N 91°27'E. Other texts speak about bShad-sgra lho byang ljang.

Sources: *Zur chen rnam thar* 170a1–2 (= 340.1–2); *DL3* 46a6–b1, 83b3; *DL5 I* 232b5; *DL5 Thob yig II* 156b2; *Khri byang rnam thar* 20b1–5; *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 315; *bShad-sgra* 1992: 4f.; Petech 1973: 159–189; *HSLG* Vol. 1: 46–49; Vol. 2: 95–96; Richardson 1998: 313, *et passim*; Gene Smith 2001: 312.

** The original or oldest rendition underwent a gradual transformation from Shar / Sha-ra Hor-pa [Sha ra > [b]Sha[d] [sg]ra] *Hor pa > 'or pa > 'og pa*) and this clan-based house can boast Mongolian roots (as noted by Petech *op. cit*., 159 the original family name Sha-ra may have been derived from a *mchod rten* of the bKa'-gdams-pa master Sha-ra-ba Yon-tan-grags). Like a small number of other noble houses or clan-communities, it underwent a transitional process of naturalization and Tibetanization. Similar cases of Tibetanized Mongols are reported from the 'Dam area north of lHa-sa (cf. e.g. Sperling 1992; being descendants of the militia-men of Doorda Darqan and Saṃgha in the wake of the 1240 or 1280 A.D. Mongol invasions resp.) or the (later *mi drag* aristocratc family) Hor-khang-pa of sTag-lung Phod-mdo (their presence already registered in the 1480's), later they held estate land under their fief in rGya-ma valley (cf. Hor-khang 1994, 1999) and would rise to great influence in Tibet.

[178] Cf. next note.

including the statues caught fire and burned down.[179] From that point the school and teaching of Tshal was only a shadow of its former self. This Fire Horse year is the year up until which, counting from the founding of Tshal [Yang-dgon] by 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che [i.e. 1175] until this *annus horribilis*, 373 years had passed, the year up until which, since the establishment of Gung-thang [i.e. 1187 A.D.], 361 years had passed and, finally, five years since the birth of the [3rd Dalai Lama] *rgyal dbang* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [1543–1588 A.D.] had passed.[180]

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[179] It corresponds to *ca*. 16. 05. 1546 A.D. of the Western calender. Conversely, *Karma sku phreng 2* 16 (Lanzhou 1997) has the 13th day of a winter month of 1546. *Khri byang rnam thar* 5a2 erroneously has 1507 A.D; whereas *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 811.6–11, 1294.8–9 situates it in 1547. The date corresponds to the time when in Gung-thang the central Fourth Month Festival of the Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa* is held (below fn. 529) and would suggest that it was the baneful result of the Festival.

The year 1546 A.D. was a true *annus horribilis* that would haunt not only Gung-thang, but also lHa-sa and the rest of Central Tibet. Dark clouds roamed in the horizon in form of an immanent local war in Central Tibet; further, a drought visited Central Tibet in the fifth month of spring and in the seventh month a severe flooding hit the entire area due to excessive precipitation. It prompted extensive repair and solidification of the dykes and dams around lHa-sa. Politically tense, the year witnessed not least an uneasy relationship between the dGe-lugs-pa and the Karma-pa. The 8th Karma-pa hierarch attempted to pay a visit to the lHa-sa Jo-bo but was prevented from doing this by the 'Bras-spungs community. Without knowing the true background to the devastating fire in 1546 A.D. at Gung-thang, it is still plausible that either the reported drought (i.e. one month after? the great fire) was responsible for the fire or that it was related to the ban preventing the Karma-pa, i.e. the 8th Zhva-nag from entering the shrine. Ironically, Karma-pa biographies maintain that the 8th Karma-pa had contributed to extinguish the fire at Gung-thang (Verhufen 1992: 98). Nevertheless, this ban may also have been supported by the sKyid-shod-pa. It may be speculated whether the fire of Gung-thang, the seat of the sKyid-shod-pa along with dGa'-ldan khang-gsar in lHa-sa, was the result of this conflict. During the summer month 'Bri-gung Rin-chen phun-tshogs conducted his own dike mission. Sources: *DL3* 27b5–29a5; *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 358.3–370.4; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1293–94.

The following year (29th day of the tenth lunar month), the sTag-lung *vihāra* too caught fire (the 'Ba'-[b]rom lha-khang (and the mGon-khang) was destroyed.; see *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 511–12), wherefore the cause of both fires may also have beeen associated with warring conflicts. In lHa-sa and Tshal Gung-thang the story circulates, found both in written and oral sources, that Pehar caused the disasters (see also below fn. 576). In the biography of Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, it is reported, somewhat inconsistently, that the Horse-year (1546) saw a fire at mTshal sTag (*sic* = Tshal and sTag-lung or just Gung-thang?) *gtsug lag khang* caused by the gNas-chung rgyal-po who had instigated the 'Bras-spungs-pa to prohibit the Karma-pa Hierarch from visiting the Jo-bo statue in lHa-sa. However, a few lines further it is briefly mentioned that for the year 1547, on the 13th day [of the first month? see above] Gung-thang caught fire; cf. *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 22b6–7, 23a2. 1547 is also mentioned elsewhere in the present text as the year of the Gung-thang fire, obviously following another tradition (below 50b). In addition there are also references to be found in the Pehar story according to which the date of the Gung-thang *me 'bar* is to be located during the tenure of the 2nd Dalai Lama who died in 1542 (see App. IV: Chap. V).

A particular reminiscence of the Gung-thang *me 'bar* is represented by the so-called Gung-thang me-shor ("Gung-thang has caught Fire") statue kept in the Jo-khang (cf. Richardson 'The Jo-khang', p. 251; *Shakabpa Guide* 43). According to Richardson it is represented by the statue of Khro-bo rMe-brtsegs-pa, the door-keeper at the entrance to the Amitābha chapel (ground-floor) who points his (right) arm to the north. Local monks, however, state that the Gung-thang me-shor of the Jo-khang is the *grub thob* Nyi-ma-'dzin (i.e. *siddha* Virūpa), a statue on the northern wall of the ground-floor with the left arm pointing to the east, i.e. the direction of Tshal Gung-thang (see Fig. 51 of App. IV). There were also similar images kept in Khra-'brug where the "announcement" of the Gung-thang fire was represented by two figures, the statues of Pha Dam-pa sangs-rgyas and *siddha* Virūpa. Cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 70–71.

[180] Following the catastrophic fire, rGyal-ba bSod-nams rgya-mtsho already in 1553 A.D. carried out or supervised repair works and their subsequent consecrations at Gung-thang. Here he was met by Yang-dgon *rin po che* and rGyud-pa *dpon slob*. His patrons inviting him to Gung-thang were the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa, Don-grub rgyal-po and his

Formerly, the throne-holders of Yang-dgon were all elected from the chair of the Tshal Gung[-thang] monk colleges (*grva tshang*). Pure spiritual and ritual practises prevailed [at Tshal Yang-dgon] such as [**19b**] the distribution of Centers of Meditative Realization (s*gom grva*) established all around [the complex], where cycles of s*ādhana* and instructions were practiced and in [various] Centers of Hermeneutics (*bshad grva*) where teachings pertaining to *Mahāmudrā*, *Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa* [of Nāropa], and the *Ṣaḍ*[*aṅga*]*yoga* [related to Kālacakra] as well as the successive instructions pertaining to the unique Tshal tradition were taught [and explicated]. [The curricula there further included] the major basic treatises related to the field of [exoteric] *sūtra*, i.e. to the *Vinaya*, *Abhidharma*, *Pāramitā*, and *Pramāṇa* and related to the field of [esoteric] *mantra*, to the [cycles of] *Mahākāla*, *Hevajra* and *Saṃvara* (*gur brtag sam*) the three. Yet, it evidently only remained so up until [the tenure] of *spyan snga* bSod[-nams] rgya[-mtsho] [i.e. the 19th throne-holder?]. Later, however, and unlike former times, the religious tradition of the distinct colleges, the transmission of the *sādhana, maṇḍala* and the liturgical teachings were now handed down separately. Whichever teachers that were capable were elected to the chair of the individual colleges. At this very see [of Tshal Yang-dgon], the 'Jam-mgon *Bla-ma* [b]Tsong-kha-pa [i.e. Blo-bzang grags-pa, 1357–1419 A.D.] studied *gso ba rig pa* (*cikitsā-vidyā*) in the presence of the *sman pa* dKon-mchog-skyabs,[181] and later he there made a *grva skor*[182] [i.e. debating visits] for the study of the "Four Difficult Texts/Words (*d/bka' bzhi*)."[183] He [there] examined carefully all the [canonical texts of the] Translated Words (*bKa' 'gyur*) of Buddha and carried out a revision. This version served as a basis (*gzhi ma*) for the printing of the *bKa' 'gyur* at the imperial residence of the Mañjuśrī[-embodying] Chinese Emperor (*'Jam dbyangs gong ma*),[184] from where it spread in all directions. Later the precious [Tibetan] government [i.e. the current dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung* and the Dalai Lama] printed these whereby the text [collections] became disseminated all over the world. Furthermore, [bTsong-kha-pa] demonstrated [there] his overall far-fetching activities from the viewpoint of the three promulgations of [Buddha's Word] such as writing major commentaries including a commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* [i.e. the universally celebrated

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brother bKra-shis rab-brtan. He paid the Tshal Gung-thang and the local sKyid-shod-pa estate known as Tshal Zur-khang a visit in 1556 and finally in 1577. Cf. *DL3* 29a6–b3, 35b5, 36a4, 49a6–7, 90b2–4; *gShin rje gshed chos'byung II* 279a3–4; *Se ra chos 'byung* 121; *sKyid shod sde pa'i skor* 21.

[181] In the year 1373 A.D. according to the vita of Tsong-kha-pa. He sojourned at Tshal Gung-thang between 1381 and 1385 A.D., where he deepened his knowledge of the canonical writings. See R. Kaschewsky 1971: 24, 81, 93–94; *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 117–118, 471–72; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 8a3. In the notoriously unreliable biography of Rva-lo, the protagonist met a *sman pa* Brag-ri dKon-mchog-skyabs in lHa-sa (*ca*. early 12th cent. *sic*), cf. *Rva lo rnam thar* 318.

[182] A *grva skor* – also denoted a *chos skor* – in dGe-lugs circles became a widely established institution, designating monks who had finished their initial training and studies and who subsequently conducted a circuit or row of visits to different prestigious colleges where they tested their skills in debate and scholarly erudition in relation to different key cycles and texts. Tsong-kha-pa initiated this peregrinating debate tour throughout dBus and gTsang in his 19th year, i.e. from 1375 A.D. Sources: *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 435f.; *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 431.7f; Kaschewsky 1971: 81–82; *Se ra chos 'byung* 330; Onoda 1992: 14.

[183] According to *Sangs rgyas chos gzhung* 30 it refers to *Madhyamika*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma.* See the *vita* of Tsong-kha-pa (prev. note) 88.

[184] The conception that the Chinese Emperors were regarded as manifestations or embodiments of Mañjuśrī (starting with Qubilai Qan, followed by some of the Ming emperors and later during the Qing dynasties) and closely associated with his cult and hence conceived of as Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, contributed significantly to enhance the spiritual and religious status accorded these rulers; see Farquhar 1978; cf. also App. III: fn. 12.

Legs bshad gser 'phreng] and the *sNyan ngag sgra rgyan*.[185] His personal disciples included one of the eight bsTan-'dzin who [became] knowledgable in many scriptures, namely rGyal-sras bDe-'byung[186] who functioned as *'chad nyan pa* at the Chos-'khor-gling [college of Tshal Gung-thang], but also *rJe* 'Dul-ba 'dzin-pa chen-po [Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, 1374–1434/36 A.D.][187] through his excellent propagation of the teaching of the Moral Code and the Gradual Path, etc. The tradition-holder of the Lord [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa]: Byams-chen *chos gyi rgyal po* Śākya ye-shes [1354–1435 A.D.][188] too descended form this seat (*gdan sa*) [i.e. place] and he functioned as Imperial Preceptor (*dishi*) for the emperors of the Great Ming [dynasty] [**20a**] in which all, whether the emperor, his ministers or the subjects, all became *dānapati* for the Teaching of the Yellow Hat [School]. He [i.e. *chos rje* Śākya ye-shes] established all over Tibet and China many monastic complexes (*dgon sde*), first and foremost the Se-ra Theg-chen-gling,[189] a source for the Teaching [of Buddha, for the transmission] of both Exegesis and Realization (*bshad sgrub*). As masters of the highly esoteric Tantric tradition, all [successive] lineage holders (*sku 'phreng*) [at Se-ra] effortlessly brought about the financial conditions for establishing the new Upper and Lower Tantric College [in lHa-sa],[190]

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[185] See *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 432.17–433.1; R. Kaschewsky 1971: 94–95. These works are respectively found in Vol. TSA and BA of his *Collected Works*, the latter minor work is on poetics or *śabdālaṃkāra*, the phonetic figures of speech. See also *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 158–161; *gShin rje gshed chos'byung II* 120a4–b2. At Gung-thang, bTsong-kha-pa also wrote the *Tshig sbyor phun sum tshogs pa'i snyan ngag gi lam nas drangs pa'i blo sbyong*. During the same period bTsong-kha-pa also learned the Kālacakra system from the Tshal-pa *bla ma rtogs ldan* Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan at sKyor-mo-lung. Cf. TPS Tucci 428.

[186] To him is ascribed the conversion of Gung-thang seat to the dGe-lugs; *bKa' gdams chos 'byung II* 97a4. In other sources counted among the so-called seven Bodhisattva, see R. Kaschewsky 1971: 209. He was considered the great scholar in the sKyid-shod district during his time; BA Roerich 591. A detailed biography deplorably does not exist.

[187] He was initially ordained in the presence of 'Bri-gung *chos rje*. Later he relied on bTsong-kha-pa, from whom he heard *sūtra* and *tantra*, but in particular *vinaya*, becoming in this field a peerless *vinayadhara*. He established the monastery of bTsun-mo-tshal (*dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 6ab2f.; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 165-66; in fact, it was initially erected by Po-to-ba (1031–1105), later it shifted site several times; first it was re-built by *'dul 'dzin* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan at the shore of sKyid-chu; in the 1650's, being menaced by flooding, it was again moved. It is now situated at the entrance to the Byan-chen valley which corresponds to the Mal-tro brDzen-t[h]ang of the *Dunhuang Annals*, cf. Hazod 2003). He also taught at sPangs-don in Mal-'gro and at Tshal Gung-thang. He passed away at bTsun-mo-tshal; *gShin rje gshed chos'byung II* 180b6–b2; *Ming mdzod* 886–87.

[188] The founder of Se-ra Theg-chen-gling monastery est. in 1419 A.D. This hierarch sojourned for a long time in China. The title Byams-chen Chos kyi rgyal-po, *Mahā-Maitreya Dharmarāja, > Daci Fawang. He arrived in China – as a substitute for Tsong-kha-pa who had politely declined the invitation – already in 1408, following an invitation from the 3rd Emperor Yongle (1360–1424 A.D.; rg. 1403–1424).

Sources: *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 292f.; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 40a6f. For his biography, cf. *Lam rim bla ma brgyud rnam thar* 397–402; *Hor chos 'byung* 189–200 (Huth 1896); *Se ra chos 'byung* 23f.; Blo-bstan 2000; Everding 1988: 133–148 for a detailed retelling of his life, mainly based upon Mongolian sources.

[189] A number of sources recounts the founding story of Se-ra, cf. most readily *Se ra theg chos 'byung*, *passim*; *Grva sa chen po bzhi chags tshul* A 438f.; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 40a5f.; Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin, *Chos sde chen po se ra theg chen gling gi lo rgyus* (Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang 1995); Blo-bzang kun-mkhyen (ed.) 2003.

[190] The prestigious dGe-lugs-pa institutions of rGyud-stod and rGyud-smad *grva tshang* go back to the Tsong-kha-pa disciple Srad rJe-btsun Shes-rab seng-ge (1383–1445 A.D.) who initially founded a tantric college in Se/Srad in gTsang (= the original Tantric College of Upper/Western (*stod*) [Central-]Tibet) and later in lHa-sa, in dGa'-ldan, Se-ra, and sMad-rgyud grva-tshang (in sTod-lung erected in 1433 A.D.), Mal-gro and also in Tshal Gung-thang. The latter (situated east of Tshal Yang-dgon, Graph 5) became the summer retreat site (*dbyar gnas*) of the lHa-sa rGyud-smad institution (the present building lCang-lo-can situated close, due west of rMe-ru gsar-pa, goes back to the 18th

wherefore his overwhelming feats and his karmic activities indeed resemble space. The *chos rje* of ’Bras-spungs, ’Jam-dbyangs dGa’-ba’i blo-gros [i.e. Tshal-pa Legs-pa chos-’byor, 1429–1503 A.D.][191] too came from the [Tshal] *gdan sa*. He also functioned as *’chad nyan pa* at gSang-phu[192] and at ’Bras-spungs Blo-gsal-gling [in lHa-sa].[193] When he arrived at the throne of the Chos-rje [i.e. the main seat] of ’Bras-spungs, he, by way of explicating the grand treatises [of bTsong-kha-pa etc.], performed great feats for the Teaching. He had innumerable disciples such as [the 2nd Dalai Lama] *Thams cad mkhyen pa* dGe-’dun rgya-mtsho [1475–1542 A.D.].

Because of the [successive] arrival of many learned ascetics who performed [peerless] deeds for the Teaching of the Lord [bTsong-kha-pa], all monk communities of Tshal Gung-thang were by nature utterly pure, and, on account of the gratitude incurred from having applied [its tradition to] the religious system of the Mahāpuruṣa [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa], this Grand Community (*sde chen po*) of Tshal Gung-thang was in a pure fashion changed into that of the dGe-ldan-pa tradition.

Having [above] briefly told how these former lords who arrived at the [mother] seat [of Tshal Gung-thang], all disciples of Jagannātha [Bla-ma Zhang], thus had been able to bring to fruition on a grand scale the well-being both of oneself and of others by way of [the transmission of] hermeneutics and realization (*bshad sgrub*) [at Tshal, we may now continue by presenting a brief outline of the branch monasteries and centers attached to the mother seat], and [we commence with] the personal disciple of Jagannātha by the name of Ro-skam-pa chen-po.

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century; elsewhere Chu/Phyi-mig-lung of sTod-lung is mentioned as the summer retreat center; cf. e.g. Wylie 1962: 77). Formerly located in ’Chu-mda’ – until recently the rGyud-stod institute was situated close to Ra-mo-che. It was initially established as *bshad grva* in 1474 A.D. known as dBus-stod ’Jam-dpal-gling grva-tshang, which then gradually turned into a *grva tshang* after it was attached to Ra-mo-che by rGyud-chen Kun-dga’ don-grub (1419–86 A.D.) in 1485 who had received it as *mchod gzhis* for his service in protecting lHa-sa from flooding. See also Part II: App. II, Chap. 2.2. The Tantric College of Yer-pa is said to have been its summer residence. Other dependencies include *bshad grva* in dGa’-ldan and at sKyor-mo-lung.

Sources: *Lam rim bla ma brgyud rnam thar* 731–40; *dGa’ ldan chos ’byung I* 28a6f.; *Grva sa chen po bzhi chags tshul* [B] 100–04; *Rva che jo bo dkar chag* 489f.; *bCa’ yig phyogs bsgrigs* 168–173; *lHa sa’i dgon tho* 61–2; Ferrari 87, 95; Chan 1994: 171,197; Gyurme Dorje 153, 155; A, Alexander 2005: Chap. 8; Ricard 2001: 240; *Ming mdzod* 414–15, 662–64; *Mi sna* 471–76; 520–22; *HSLG* Vol. 2: 27–28.

[191] He was the eighth throne-holder of ’Bras-spungs. Cf. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 107.8–19; *dGa’ ldan chos ’byung I* 31a4–b3. Onoda 1992: 15, 20; *Ming mdzod* 633.

[192] gSang-phu Ne’u-thog was founded 1073 A.D. by rNgog Legs-pa’i shes-rab. Cf. e.g. *Yar lung chos ’byung* 126f. For the abbatial succession of this important monastery and teaching center in sKyid-smad, see Table 8 *infra*.

It is said to be named after the *ne’u le* or “weasel” which assisted during the monastery foundation and which may be associated with the *nāga* king *klu’i rgyal po* Ne’u-le Thod-dkar, the divine donor in the founding legend (Wylie 1962: 148). The local *yul lha* is also called Ne’u klu-btsan. The chief *srung ma* is bSe-khrab-can who is classified as the wrathful form of Tshangs-pa dkar-po. Klu Tshangs-pa and *klu rgyal po* Ne[’u]-le Thod-dkar are mentioned elsewhere as two names of gNyan-chen thang-la (cf. Bellezza 1997: 26–29). Perhaps the name of this divinity is also related to other “Ne’u sites” of the sKyid-chu region, such as the site of bZad Ne’u-kha (in gZad Chu-shur/l) and the place of sKyid-smad Ne’u, both registered as settlements of the early Vinaya school (cf. *Dul ba’i chos ’byung I* 55–56; MTP Uebach 139; Table V. 6; the latter place perhaps refers to the sNe’u due west of Ra-ma-sgang, where the sNe’u *rdzong,* the fort of the Nel-pa fief, was erected in the 14th cent. (see App. V: Table 12.1 and Fig. 63–65 of App. V). gSang-phu is historically and even presently part of the sNe’u district, one of the *xiang* of sTod-lung bDe-chen county (below fn. 434).

[193] Blo-gsal-gling, the college specialized in logic is the biggest of the (originally) seven colleges of ’Bras-spungs.

[II.1.2.2] [The Monasteries of the Middle Bar-Tshal-pa School] [**20b–23a6**]

[**A**] [Ro-skam and the Lineage of Ro-skam-pa]

Ro-skam-pa chen-po[194] [**20b**]

Place of Birth: Phur-lung Byang-khang of Klad.[195]

Father: Phyug-po bKra-shis seng-ge of the Lo-mi clan, being born the youngest of two sons.

Age 13 [in 1151 A.D.] he was ordained in the presence of lCags-bu-pa[196] who acted as *upādhyāya* and mGar acting as *ācārya*.[197] Ordination name: Nyi-ma shes-rab. When Zhang Rin-po-che came to 'Gyer of Gr[v]a[198] [district] in order to wage war, [Nyi-ma shes-rab who at that time practised] in Ngar-phug,[199] [arrived and] functioned as adjutant to Zhang Rin-po-che. In Tshal in the presence of Sha-mi 'dul-'dzin [1085–1171 A.D.][200] who acted as *upādhyāya*, Zhang Rin-po-che as [*karm*]*ācārya* and bZad-pa as *upādhyāya*, etc., he took his final ordination. Until the age of 49 he relied upon Zhang Rin-po-che [for instructions], which he [eventually] received full and complete [lit. "to the brim of the vase"]. At the point of the death of Zhang [i.e. 1193 A.D.], he was instructed [by Zhang] to return to his own country Lo-sgom to meditate.[201] In Ro-skam, he built a simple hut where he meditated. Then he met 'Bri-khung chos-rje [i.e. 'Jig-rten mgon-po], from whom he received *dharma* teachings and who decorated him with a meditation hat (*sgom zhva*). He was given a long trumpet, requesting him to establish a monastery in Ro-skam with a

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[194] *Ming mdzod* 1621: Ro-skam-pa Nyi-ma shes-rab (1139–1208 A.D); *Deb dmar* 128.17: Ro-skam-pa Lo-sgom Nyi-ma shes-rab. He is probably identical with sGom-pa Lo-sgom who is mentioned in Zhang's writings together with lCe-sgom Shes-rab seng-ge (registered for the year 1177); cf. *rNam thar bSam yas ma*, in *bKa' thor bu* 89.4; *bKa' rgya ma I* 214.1. A Lo-sgom is mentioned as teacher of the *dharmasvāmin* Zhig-po *alias* Zhig-po Rin-chen shes-rab (1171–1245 A.D.), a master of the *Zhi byed* school; BA Roerich 953; Kollmar-Paulenz 1993: 237; Martin 2001: 174.

[195] *Deb dmar* 135.23: Phur-lung Myang-khang of the Glags province. A Phur-lung is known as the name of a temple of sBa gSal-snang which he erected "in his own country," i.e. Glags (cf. MTP Uebach 113). It is in fact the name of a side-valley in Upper Shing-tshang (south of present-day sTag-rtse township; Map 1.b.3).

[196] Perhaps it alludes to lCags-ri-pa; he acted as Secret Preceptor during the ordination of the aforementioned *dharmasvāmin* Zhig-po which took place in 'Bri-gung *ca*. 1201/02. BA Roerich 952.

[197] This is possibly 'Gar (= mGar) bKra-shis rin-chen who is mentioned as one of the disciples of rNgog mDo-sde. BA Roerich 408; *'Brug pa chos 'byung* 346.15.

[198] Also dGyer. It is evidently identical with the sGer village (loc. 29°08'N 91°21'E) in dKyil-ru *xiang* in Upper Grva. Cf. e.g. *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 57b3–4; *bKa' thor bu* 292.5–294.2 in g.Yo-ru. It may refer to a place inhabited by the dGyer / sGer clan.

[199] A famous cave located in Upper sGrags and related to Zhang Rin-po-che, close to Yang-rdzong. It was later associated with the activities of *grub chen* Me-long rdo-rje (1243–1303 A.D.); *Zur chen rnam thar* 104b1f.; see also Ferrari 1958: 46.

[200] Cf. above 15b. As can be seen from the dates of Sha-mi (d. 1171), the ordination in Tshal took place prior to the founding of Tshal Yang-dgon (1175) which also means that there existed already in the late 1160's a religious institution (see above fn. 82; see also App. IV: Chap. 4.1).

[201] The toponym Lo-sgom which is also part of his name (fn. 194) may refer to his paternal clan of Lo-mi. According to the context it should be located in Phur-lung of Shing-tshang where, however, a toponym Lo is not traceable. The only Lo which is known to us in this part of sKyid-shod is the Lo village of the sMan-chu valley to the west of Shing-tshang. Here the less known sMan-chu dgon-pa (also called Lo-dgon) is located, a foundation of rNgog Blo-ldan shes-rab (*HSLG* Vol. 1: 52) that later became a nunnery (still existing; see below. Fig. 44, 45 and Fig. 20 of App. V).

community for 500 monks. In a Rabbit year [1183 A.D.][202] he established the Ro-skam monastery, a seat which rendered great service to Tshal Gung-thang.[203] He safeguarded the monk community [i.e. the see] for 25 years. Age 70, in a Dragon year [1208 A.D.] he passed away.

***Rin po che* Sang[s]-rdo-r[je]**[204]

The son of the latter's elder brother *Yon bdag* 'Bum-me, *Rin po che* Sang[s-rgyas] rdo[-]r[je] was a disciple of his uncle [i.e. Ro-skam-pa], of 'Bri-khung chos-rje [i.e. 'Jig-rten mgon-po] and of *sPyan snga Rin po che*.[205] In a Dragon year [1208 A.D.], he was elected [as abbot] of Ro-skam by *dbon* Sangs-rgyas,[206] and he held the seat for 20 years, until a Dog [i.e. 1226 A.D.] year. Age 58 he passed away.

gZhon-nu, i.e. *rin po che* Tshe-dpag-med
Father: dGos-pa[207]
Mother: [b]sKyid-'bum

He received teaching from his uncle[208] and from *spyan snga* Rin-po-che. In a Dog year he was elected as [throne-holder] of Ro-skam by [the Fifth *dp/bon sa ba*] *dbon* Rin-rgyal.[209] For 33 years, until a Horse year [1258 A.D.], he held the seat [**21a**]; he passed away age 67, etc. Over time and gradually, these [throne-holders] and their lineage of teacher and pupils too worked in a magnificient way for the sake of the Buddhist teaching and for living beings.[210]

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[202] According to the context the Rabbit year is to be set after the death of Zhang (1193), which, however, does not dovetail with the other chronological data of Ro-skam-pa's life mentioned here.

[203] The Ro-skam or "Dry Corpse" monastery evidetly is to identify with the Ro-skam of Upper Ba-lam mentioned in the *rGyal rabs sogs bod kyi yig tshang gsal ba'i me long* (MTP Uebach 145, fn. 930). In the 1409 A.D. donation list embedded in *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 315, it is registered too as an area under the Brag-dkar estate, listed in tandem with adjacent, former Tshal areas like Ba-lam, lHa-phyug and lDan. As noted above, *Deb dmar* gives Phur-lung of Glag[s] (which is the Glag[s] in Glags Ba-lam) as the birthplace of Ro-skam-pa chen-po. The old Ro-skam may refer to the (not further specified) ruins of Phur-lung in Upper Shing-tshang (Hazod 2004; see also below fn. 410; Map 1b.3). A Re-skam of dBu-ru-shod is known from the *Dunhuang Annals* (DTH 16.18; *TDD*: Re-skar), which, however, may refer to the Rol-skam (also Ru-skam) of present-day Ngar-nang *xiang* (east of Klung-shod) in lHun-grub county. *Xizang Dimingzhi* 70a; *HSLG* Vol. 4: 26; Hazod 'King Mer-ke.'

[204] *Ming mdzod* 1740: 1169-1226 A.D.

[205] It refers to sPyan-snga Grags-pa 'byung-gnas (1175–1255 A.D.), the attendant of 'Bri-gung chos-rje and later abbot of Phag-mo-gru gDan-sa-mthil. BA Roerich 571–579; see O. Czaja 2006.

[206] This seems to refer to the later Tshal-pa *dpon chen* mGar Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub (*ca*. 1185–1258) who ruled from 1230/31–1258 (see below, Chap. II.2).

[207] *Deb dmar* 136.17: Sho-mi dGos-pa of upper Glags. dGos-pa appears as a var. spelling of the clan name 'Gos (mGos) which is listed among the 18 clans of the lDong tribe (lDong rus-chen bco-brgyad). They received as territorial appanage during the imperial period large stretches of 'Gos-yul between Myang-stod and the border to present-day Bhutan (on mGos / 'Gos, see also most recently Vitali 2002: 82f.). In the present context, it remains unclear, however, whether there exists any relation to this clan. Sho-mi is perhaps a misspelling of Lo-mi, the lineage of Ro-skam-pa. Note, that Zhang's birthplace (Tsha-ba-gru) is also given as dGos kyi Tsha-ba-gru. See App. IV, fn. 55.

[208] It probably refers to the predecessor Sang[s-rgyas]-rdo[-rje].

[209] The Dog year most likely refers to 1226 A.D. Since all the *mkhan po* of Ro-skam used to be appointed by the *dpon po* of Tshal (see also following note) one may think that the *dbon* Rin-rgyal mentioned here is identical with the 5th *db/pon sa ba* of Tshal, *dpon*/*dbon* Rin-rgyal-ba. The latter, however, lived from 1233 until 1289 (cf. below fol. 31a).

[210] *Deb dmar* 136.22–137.12 lists three further generations of Ro-skam *gdan sa ba* who were all paternal relatives

[**B**] [Kha-rag and its Branches]

Kha-rag-pa chen-po [’Dul-ba-’od]

Place of birth: Kyis-pa of Grva.[211]

Clan: Kyi.[212]

He was knowledgable about many old *tantra* cycles pertaining to the mantric rNying-ma-pa tradition. Moved by the killing of a [close] relative of his by [some] people,[213] he was depressed and, therefore, in a Hen year [i.e. 1177 A.D.?][214] he came into the presence of Jagannātha Zhang Rin-po-che at Yang-dgon khra-mo.[215] He made a request [to be given] cycles of religious teachings, and having for three years immured himself and practiced at Yung-bu Gad-pa,[216] he consummately obtained

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of Bla-ma gZhon-nu and who were successively appointed by the Tshal-pa dpon po dGa’ bde-dpal, sMon-lam rdo-rje and Kun-dga’ rdo-rje: Bla-ma ’Jam-dbyangs-pa who occupied the throne for 22 years, his younger brother Bla-ma Yon-tan rin-chen and the latter’s nephew, Bla-ma Nam-mkha’ seng-ge; for the latter, see also *Tshal rnam* 46b4. The chronology of the succession of abbots does not fit with the data of the respective *dpon chen*, however (see Part II: Table V. 1). It seems that at least one generation of abbots is missing in this list.

[211] Spelling corrupt. It evidently alludes to the toponym s/dKyid/l-ru. In the mid-16 to 17th century, sKyid-ru was registered as an estate (*gzhis ka*); cf. *DL5 I* 322b4; *DL6* 339 (*var*. sKyid-dur or dKyil-du (*sic*) confirmed in the 1830 Tax Survey; *CTZhZh* 110) – but already in the 1610’s, a sKyi-ru-nas (seat of a *gzhis ka*) is registered; *DL5 I* 20a2. A *sde pa* sKu-’bring-pa is registered in the late 16th cent.; cf. *Rin chen dpal bzang rnam thar* 10b2, 20b2–3. Visited in mid-16th cent. by *thugs sras* Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan; cf. *Thugs sras rnam thar* 11. Tāranātha repeatedly reports about visits to sKyid-ru around 1600 A.D., invited by the local *sde pa* Kun-dga’; *Tāranātha rnam thar* 98a6, 131b5, 196a1–2, etc. In *rJe btsun Mi ’gyur dpal sgron rnam thar* 149.5–6 (*ca*. 1740 A.D.), a visit is registered at sKyi-ru *gzhis*.

We in fact have two options: sKyid-ru (modern spelling dKyil-ro/-ru/-rug, a village in ’Phyong-po *xiang* of present-day Grva-nang *xian*; *Bod Map* 99. Geograph. location: 28°55'N 91°33'E in Upper Grva. Another dKyil-ru is a *xiang* and village located: 29°08'N 91°18'E, also of Grva-nang *xian*. Cf. *DL5 IV* (= Ahmad 318). In s/dKyid-ru, we find the place where Grva-pa mNgon-shes was born and where he subsequently erected a temple; cf. *Grva pa mNgon shes kyi rnam thar* 7b6; *gSo rig sman khog ’bugs* 205; BA Roerich 95–96; Ngag-dbang phun-tshogs 1994: 21, 23.

[212] *Deb dmar* (137): Kyi-pa-sa (*sic*) of Grva; *Ming mdzod* 136–37. *Deb sngon* mentions a Kha-rag sKyi-ston (i.e. Kha-rag[-pa ’Dul-ba-’od], the teacher from the sKyi clan/place?) who taught the teaching cycle of Tshal (such as the so-called *gZer lnga*) to the *dharmasvāmin* Zhig-po (above fn. 194; BA Roerich 953). See also BA Roerich 949, where it is said that at the age of 12, Zhig-po came to the monastic college of a Kha-rag Gra-pa ’Dul-ba-’od.

A story of origin of the Kyi clan (or Kyi-mi, evidently related to the ancient Kyi-ro territory) is given in *Ka khol ma* 305f. See also Introduction: Chap. 4.

[213] *Deb dmar* 137: killed in a fire.

[214] If the reference to Yang-dgon is valid, 1177 would be the most obvious date. *Ming mdzod* 136–37 suggests 1165.

[215] *Deb dmar* 137.16: Tshal-dgon khra-mo. It obviously refers to Tshal Yang-dgon; *khra mo* in this context remains unknown, however. We find *khra mo* e.g. in connection with rTse [= Potala] and lCags-po-ri; *Sle lung rnam thar* 169a4.

[216] Or Yu-du / Yul-du / Yud-bu’i gad-pa, i.e. Gad-pa of Yud-bu, see also *ZhK* 292.1; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 59b1–2. It appears to be located not far from Phya’i lung / Cha’i lung located south-east of dGa’-ldan (later a *mi sde* of the Tshal myriarchy; below fn. 402). At this site Zhang himself wrote his treatise *Mas ’dzeg go rim*.

However, alternative toponymic candidates are plausible: a Gad-pa-kha of Yar-klung dPal-grong Grva-nang; cf. *DL5 III* 158b2. A place Gad-pa-[m]kha[r] and a place Gad-po are found in sTod-lung (loc. at 29°45'N 90°47'E), where later in sTod-lung in the 17th century, the *sde pa* Gad-kha-sa noble house was established, whose eldest son Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was a contentious candidate for the re-embodiment of the 4th Dalai Lama. From this house of sTod-lung Ran-pa also stemmed the 25th dGa’-ldan throne-holder dPal-’byor rgya-mtsho (1526–99). A Gad-po is also reported for ’Phan-yul (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 53a, 97a, 102a), for sGrags (fn. 62) and even in Grva (Kha-rag-pa’s home territory), the place of Gad-’phreng is situated (more precisely Gr[v]a’i phu-so Gad-’phreng; below fn. 259); otherwise unknown.

and realized all the precepts. At the summit of Ri'u-chung,[217] he was ordained in the presence of Zhang Rin-po-che who acted as *ācārya*, 'Ben-thang-pa,[218] who acted as *upādhyāya*, as well as in the presence of 13 pious members of the *saṅgha.* Ordination name: *dge slong* dNgos-grub bla-ma. Later Zhang Rin-po-che named him 'Dul-ba-'od.[219] He was also known as *rtogs ldan* Nyag-po seng-ge. Both his elder brother bSod-nams bla-ma and bZod-ldan bla-ma respectively became book-stewards (*dpe gnyer*)[220] and domestic assistants to Zhang. His son from his period as a layman, *slob dpon* Jo-sras having passed away, [he] erected the huge main support (*rten gtso chen mo*) in the Southern Annexe [Glo-'bur-lho][of the Gung-thang temple]. In a Ox year [1193 A.D.?] he erected the monastery of Kha-rag ri-dgon[221] as had been prophesied by Zhang Rin-po-che. Later, at Do-bo-ri[222] a [special] insight was born in him. His nephew (*dbon po*) Seng-ge brtson-'grus was ordained in the presence of Zhang Rin-po-che. At one point when rich presents were brought, [Zhang Rin-po-che] made a dance called "the flight towards the snow-mountains by Nyag-po seng-ge [= i.e. 'Dul-ba-'od] of Kha-rag carrying along [the Mahāmudric process of] view, meditation and conduct, the three." [**21b**]

At one point [Kha-rag Nyag-po seng-ge] in Gung-thang erected the southern portal and the southern wall [within the complex]. He also assisted in bringing to completion the sKu-'bum chen-mo [of Tshal] up to the third *parisaṇḍa*. During the period when Zhang Rin-po-che waged war at Dol[223] in all directions, Kha-rag Nyag-po participated and thus fulfilled the intent of Bla-ma Zhang.

He erected a mountain retreat in Kha-rag; to the east [of Kha-rag], he erected bKra-shis kun-dga', to the west gSal-stengs [hermitage], and Rigs-pa, [at] Phu-stod [he erected] Do-bo-ri and to the north he erected Kha-lung.[224] During his sojourn at bKra-shis kun-dga' he visualized the 62 countenances of the deities of [the *maṇḍala*] of [the Mother Tantra Cakra-]Saṃvara. During his stay in Sog-po-dgon[225] his personal disciple rNal-'byor ye-shes beheld how [Kha-rag Nyag-po]

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[217] According to the context, it either refers to a place in the area of Yung-bu Gad-pa or, more likely, it means a religious site in the Tshal Gung-thang district. Here it may correspond to the Zhang residence of Re'u chung-dgon of Zhal which is repeatedly mentioned in his writings (elsewhere he speaks of a Re'u-rtsa'i gtsug-lag-khang (above fn. 62). A Ngan-lam Ri-chu[ng] ring-mo (*var*.: Ngan-lam gyi Re-chung ring-mo) is known from the biography of Gling ras pa (*lHo rong chos 'byung* 641; *sNa phu rnam thar* 17a1–2 [= 33.1–2]). On Ngan-lam and Zhal, see below fn. 413.

[218] 'Ben-thang as toponym appears to refer to 'Ben-thang monastery adjacent to sNe'u-gdong and rTse-tshogs in rTse-thang. Cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index.

[219] In *Deb dmar* 129.2–3 he is also called Grva-pa *rin po che* 'Dul-ba-'od of Kha-rag. He is one of the 'od-gsum (or 'od-bzhi) group of disciples of Zhang (above, fn. 101). Cf. also Table V.3 below.

[220] Or *dpe = phyi*?

[221] It most evidently refers to Kha-rag (*var*.: mKha'-reg, Kha-dbrag = Kha-rags), the district north-east of Yar-'brog-mtsho in sNe-dkar-rtse county. Geograph. Position: 29°15'N 90°24'E. Cf. also Part II: Table V.7.

Another sound guess, however, may be the homophonous Kha-[db]rag of Ru-thog *xiang* of Mal-gro Gung-dkar county. The location is also mentioned as the retreat site of Nam-mkha'-'od (1133–1199 A.D.), a student of Zhang as well as of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa and sTag-lung Thang-pa (cf. BA Roerich 522; he is probably not identical with lHa-ri-pa Nam-mkha'-'od, fn. 101).

[222] Situated in Phu-stod in the area of Kha-rag; below 21b. *Rlangs* 110.20 mentions a mKhar-ltag Do-bo as an area of the Hülegü appanage.

[223] Possibly also written gDos; cf. *bKa' rgya ma I* 115.4. Here Bla-ma Zhang composed writings during warfare.

[224] The more precise location of these sites of the Kha-rag area remains unknown. Do-bo-ri is registered in *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 229. Dob-bo-ri = Dum-bu-ri. It may not be related to the Kha-rag rDo Bug-pa-can (see fns. 431, 562 below).

[225] It probably corresponds to the Sog-po-dgon of g.Yag-sde, a foundation of the Klu-mes group which was

was endowed with three eyes; on Do-bo-ri, during lightning, he wrapped the lightning into his coat and threw both against the cliff. When a huge fire raged in the forest, he displayed the gesture of menace (*sdig mdzub*), whereupon the fire immediately extinguished. At one point when it [had] to rain in Kha-rag, he prayed to Zhang Rin-po-che, who [in Tshal instinctly knew about this] and making circumambulations around the platform on the roof of the edifice of Yang-dgon Ka-dguma [i.e. the Nine-pillared Hall in Yang-dgon], he uttered: "I am helping Kha-rag Nyag-po to make rain," whereupon a huge shower fell in Kha-rag. At one point when he requested Zhang Rin-po-che for empowerment in Cha'o-lung,[226] he saw [how] the main statue of [the Cakra-]Saṃvara [*maṇḍala*] in reality was Zhang Rin-po-che.[227] At the point of his passing at Kha-rag, his heart [lit. "the *śrīvatsa* of the heart"] and his monk's robe did not catch fire and these items were brought to Gung-thang where they were inserted into the statue of the Thousand-eyed and Thousand-armed (*sahasrabhuja*) [Avalokiteśvara] installed in the upper courtyard. The tongue [inscribed or marked?] with the word *phaṭ* landed upon the lap of [his disciple] rNal-'byor jo[-bo] ye-s[hes], whereupon it was inserted into the *sku 'bum* of Kha-rag. [**22a**] From [these] relics were made a victory-banner and a co-emergently born *iṣṭadevatā* as inner support manifested itself, whereafter they turned up in the hands of the [later] throne-holder of the see of Kha-rag *Bla ma* sGang-kha-pa.[228] After his [i.e. Kha-rag-pa's] demise, it was placed inside a golden statue of himself as inner support that is now kept in Kha-rag. At the time of the cremation, it was said that three suns appeared in the sky and that at the point of his death he transferred himself into the chest of Zhang Rin-po-che [i.e. merged with his spirit]. [Such auspicious and miraculous signs occurred]. After the death [of Seng-ge brtson-'grus], the nephew of Kha-rag had a statue erected, being a copy (*par ma*) [*sic*] of the [statue of] Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara in Nepal.[229] It was consecrated after it had been brought to the upper courtyard [of Kha-rag], when a rainbow appeared connecting the two sites of lHa-sa [i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang] and Gung-thang.[230] During the period when factional fighting broke out at Gung-thang, a prophecy emerged that had been uttered by the Dharmapāla [i.e. Mahākāla?], whereupon the fightings abated. The *sgom sde* [responsible for the strife?] was exiled from the area. He had to flee to gNas-gsar of Grib-mda' [Lower Grib][231] and to lHa-sa rtse-mo.[232] [The Kha-rag *dbon po*?] offered [the place of]

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established as dependency of Kha-rag Labs-so (MTP Uebach 139). Uebach (*ibd.*) – quite doubtfully – suggests it is identical with the Sog-po-dgon situated in Sog-po-lung, a side-valley in Shangs in gTsang (Ferrari 160, fn. 610).

A less likely candidate is the Sogs-po-ri (found. by the 'Bring *tsho*) which is located in bZad (bZad (~ gZad), i.e. part of present-day Gong-dkar and Chu-shul; cf. App. II below and Table 6 of App. V).

[226] Also in this form registered in *bKa' thor bu* 294.3–4. Probably the same location as Cha'i dgon. See fn. 36.

[227] Recte *Deb dmar* 138: [...] the main deity of the Saṃvara [*maṇḍala*] was in reality seen by Zhang Rin-po-che (*bde mchog gi gtso bo de zhang rin po ches dngos su gzigs 'dug*).

[228] I.e. *Bla ma* sGang-kha-ba Blo-gros bzang-po, below fn. 236.

[229] *Bal por par ma*; corrupt; read: *bal po'i padmas* with *Deb dmar* 138: erected by the Nepalese [artist named] Padma. According to *Deb sngon* 837.12–13 the statue was an image of *chos skyong* (i.e. Mahākāla?).

[230] *Deb sngon* (*op. cit*., *ibid.*) gives the place of the statue as Kha-rag Bon-drug which corresponds to the branch monastery or dependency of Don/Bon-'brug-'ol mentioned below, fol. 22a.

[231] It may refer to the Grib-mda' lha-khang which in *lHa ldan dkar chag* 28 (2002 ed.) is registered as a site associated with Klu-mes. A gNas-gsar temple counts among the 'Bring *tsho* foundations; see App. V: Table 6; cf. also App. IV: fn. 11.

[232] The true identity of lHa-sa rtse-mo (abbr. lHa-rtse) remains unclear. It either refers to a *chos sde* in lHa-sa inside Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, on the roof or the topmost point in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang (cf. *Ga zi gdung rabs* 402b5–6; *bKa' blon rtogs brjod* 35); or it may refer to the Bar-khang rtse-mo of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang; cf. *DL8* 548 (its wall-painting repaired 1787). At this pinnacle, and along its adjacent courtyard, at least from the 18th cent., paintings of dPal-lha, of the 5th

sGom-sde nub-gling to the sGom-sde incumbent and he [i.e the *dbon po*] requested and received [instead from the *sgom sde ba*] empowerment and precepts.[233] The Kha-rag *dbon po* founded the monastery of Sa-dgon, as well as the monasteries of Don-'brug-'ol,[234] Brag-cho,[235] Do-lung, Phu-stod, sPong-po-mkhar, dByung, Gong-bu, and [s]Gam-po dgon-pa etc.[236]

The throne-holders of Kha-rag arriving in succession from Kha-rag-pa until *bla ma* gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan, including teachers and disciples all worked magnificently for the sake of the Teachings and for the living beings.[237]

Dalai Lama with teachers and entourage, and pilgrimage sites of Tibet were depicted. The *srung ma* dPal-ldan Dung-skyong dbang-mo was usually propitiated. Cf. *DL8* 549. For this option, cf. *DL7* 835, 981.

It does not seem to refer to any of the surrounding mountains, such as the dGe-'phel dBu-rtse (to the west of the town) or the lHa-sa dBu-rtse (north of lHa-sa; below Fig. 79b), which – according to the local tradition – belongs to the group of the lHa-sa'i Ri-chen-bzhi (see App. IV). A less likely option is the topmost point of dMar-po-ri in lHa-sa (albeit it does not readily appear to be identical with dMar-po-ri'i pho-brang *rtse*; cf. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 427). Alternatively, an old witness *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 37b4 speaks of lCags-ri rtse-mo [of lHa-sa]. It occurs in a number of contexts: *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 425 (lHa-sa rtse-mo with a four-pillar temple on its northern side, here evidently referring to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang), ib. 428; *DL5 I* 301a4; *HSLG* Vol. 4: 1; *Nang rig* 270–71. What is meant here is possibly that the exiled *sgom sde ba* (Sangs-rgyas-'bum?, see following note) placed himself under the protection of the mountains surrounding lHa-sa, respectively under the protection of the god of Grib (i.e. Grib rDzong-btsan).

[233] The episode indicated here appears to allude to an internal conflict during the reign of the 4th *gdan sa ba* Sangs-rgyas-'bum, who in the wake of his exile, established the sGom-sde (see above fn. 115) and by the *sgom sde ba* the (first) *gdan sa ba* of the later sGom-sde is meant.

[234] *Deb dmar* 139.13: Bon-'brug-'ol, i.e. the Kha-rag Bon-drug mentioned above (fn. 230).

[235] *Deb dmar* 139.14: Brag-tshe.

[236] These minor places remain largely unknown, but according to context appear to be located in Kha-rag or in the immediate neighbouring areas. Sa-dgon may refer to the Sa (-smad, -stod) situated on the northern bank of the gTsang-po in western Chu-shul; Phu-stod is the aforementioned area of the Do-bo-ri retreat which seems to be related to the place of Do-lung monastery. *Deb sngon* notes that (a grossly exaggerated number of) 10.000 monks gathered at the monastery established by the [Kha-rag] *dbon po* (837.12). Another source indicates g.Yung Do-bo-ri, where *bka' bcu pa* Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (i.e. *chos rje* Do-bo-ri-pa) resided; *Kam tshang brgyud pa* 330a2–4.

[237] gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan is mentioned during the life of the 9th Tshal-dpon sMon-lam rdo-rje; cf. *Tshal rnam* 47a12. Another namesake was Tshal-pa rGya-gar-pa gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan, mentioned during the late 1280's and early 1290's, registered as a *bya bral*, cf. *U rgyan rnam thar I* 264. *Deb dmar* 139.15–20 lists the succession of the Kha-rag *gdan sa ba*

Kha-rag-pa Nyag-po-seng-ge,
dpon po/*dbon po* Seng-ge brtson-'grus,
chos rje rGyal[-ba] gZhon[-nu],
mKhas-pa Grags[-pa] rgyal[-po/mtshan],
bla ma sGang-kha-ba Blo-gros bzang-po,
dBu-rtse-ba Grags-pa rdo-rje,
'Jam-dbyangs Shes-rab bzang-po,
dge bshes Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan,
'Od-zer lHa-tho-ba and
bla ma gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan.

[C] [The Bar-Tshal Branches Stemming from Ru-thog-pa and his Disciples]

[**Ru-thog-pa chen-po**]

Ru-thog-pa chen-po was a disciple of lHa-phyug-pa [i.e. lHa-phyug mkhar-pa, the 3rd *gdan sa ba* of Tshal Yang-dgon].[238]

Place of birth: gZar-po'i phu of Grva

Clan: mDzo-ri.[239]

In the first part of his life, he was the disciple of sNa-ro Chos kyi ye-shes in sDe'u-sgang of Grva.[240] Having grown up he relied upon lHa phyug-pa. Having requested him for meditative guidance of *Mahāmudrā*; [he received it] and it is known that his [yogic] comprehension was extremely high. He established the Ru-thog monastery in Mal-'gro and the sGang-bu dgon-gsar [also in Mal-'gro].[241] [The site of] lDan-lung fell into his hands.[242] He had as disciples three *rtogs ldan* ascetics: [**22b**]

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[238] Ru-thog-pa or *rtogs ldan* Ru-thog-pa, the founder of Ru-thog dgon-pa. In his description of the sTod Tshal branches, Everding (2000: 333ff.) identifies him with sNang-sgom ras-pa *aliases* Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa or Sangs-rgyas-'od, the founder of rTa-sga (see foll. Chap.). Probably this is based on *Deb dmar* where the biography of sNang-sgom ras-pa is captioned as "Ru-thog-pa" (*ru thog pa* / *rta sga'i snang sgom ras pa zhes grags pa des* / [...]). However the identification is hardly possible; according to Vitali's calculations (see below fns. 250, 268) Ru-thog-pa sojourned in dBus when Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa founded rTa-sga (around 1200). *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 191.8 mentions the Zhang disciple *rtogs ldan* bDe-ba gZhon-nu as the founder of Ru-thog. We assume this is the personal name (or ordination name) of Ru-thog-pa. Cf. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 191; *Ming mdzod* 1617 maintains that he was also called Zhig-po sTon-bde, also claiming that his clan was mDzo-ro.

[239] *Deb dmar* 139: Birthplace: Zur-phu of Grva district; clan: mDzo-ro. Upper gZar-po is located close to dKyil-ro/sKyid-ru in Upper Grva. *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 142a. Cf. also *Bod Map* Verhufen. The place most probably is identical with the dynastic Dra'i Zar-phu, one of the assembly places of Grva registered in the *Dunhuang Annals*. DTH 22.7–8.

[240] Locals think that the place corresponds to the present-day village Ral-gri-sgang situated in d/sKyil-ru *xiang* of Grva (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 140b). sNa-ro Chos kyi ye-shes currently remains unidentified.

[241] The exact location of sGang-bu dgon-gsar remains unknown. Ru-thog is in eastern Mal-'gro (east of 'Chad-kha *dgon* in Ru-thog *xiang*). Cf. also *Rva lo rnam thar* 279.18–19); *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 871. The monastery, presently still existing on a modest scale, is situated above Mal-'gro river (also called g.Yu-'brug sngon-mo, an epithet routinely used for other rivers in Tibet, all ultimately identified or rather conflated with gTsang-po) with a view of the snowy mountain or *gnas ri* of Zu-'brug-mda', lying opposite, which is also designated as the lord of the *sa bdag* of this region. The monastic inventory: the images of the main building are restricted to statues of the three Buddhas, of Tsong-kha-pa and his two chief disciples (Yab-sras-gsum) and images of Mahākāla and the *srung ma* named 'O-lde gung-rgyal-sras Byams-dmar-btsan and *gzhi bdag dge bsnyen* Klu-btsan (the latter is also the *yul lha* of Ru-thog). A shrine outside houses a statue of *nāga* Mal-gro gZi-can, vestiges of this most important *nāga* can also be traced in other eastern parts of Mal-'gro (cf. Hazod 2003). To the east of Ru-thog dgon-pa there are the thermal springs of Ru-thog (cf. *HSLG* Vol. 5: 75; *bKa' thang sde lnga* 55). In Ru-thog, today there is hardly any recollection of the former Tshal-pa presence in the region. The disciple of Bla-ma Zhang, mKhas-grub or *rtogs ldan* bDe-ba'i gzhon-nu (= Ru-thog-pa? see above) is said to have had, prior to the foundation of the monastery, a retreat site called Chos-lung hermitage located above the monastery. The monastery was later attached to 'Bri-khung, before it was transformed into a dGe-lugs dependency during the reign of the 2nd Dalai Lama (the founder of the Chos-'khor-rgyal, south of Ru-thog, cf. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 191.10; *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 154). It is maintained that the Ru-thog abbots were usually provided by dGa'-ldan. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 191.8–9 lists for the Tshal-pa period, the abbots *rtogs ldan* bDe-ba'i gzhon-nu, *spyan snga* gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan, *spyan snga* Chos Blo-gros and *gcung* Rin-po-che 'Jigs-med seng-ge. In a late (18th cent.) bSam-yas restoration-donation list (*bSam yas dkar chag* 378), both a Ru-thog *bla brang* and a Ru-thog *rdzong sdod* are registered.

[242] *Deb dmar* 140.1 reads lHan-lung. Local people assume that lDan-lung is located north of Ru-thog; a valley called

in rTag-chen [***a***] *rtogs ldan* mTshal-pa, in Za-lung [***b***] *rtogs ldan* mDzes-pa and in rTa-sga [***c***] *rtogs ldan* Dar-bsod.

[***a***] *rtogs ldan* [m]Tshal-pa: he descended from the lineage Ri-khyi-ba of Ba-lam.[243] He established the rTag-can [= rTag-spyan] monastery of Grva-phyi.[244] The *dbon po* lHa-phyug-pa and the disciple *grub thob* Bla-ma seng-ge etc. came to the *dbon po* of Ru-thog-pa, bSod-nams gzhon-nu.

[***b***] *rtogs ldan* mDzes-pa [and the School of Za-lung]

Place of birth: Gle g.Yang-chung kha-ru of Za-'og, close to Ma-pham g.yu-mtsho in mNga'-ris.[245]

Father: g.Yung-drung byin-rlabs, the middle son of Mal-gros-pa mGon.[246]

He was known as a [re-]birth of [the disciple of Mi-la ras-pa] Khyi-ra ras-pa;[247] in rTa-sga of La-stod he took his final ordination in the presence of sP[r]ug-gcer-ba[248] acting as *upādhyāya*, etc. Ordination name: mDzes-pa snying-po. He assisted rTa-sga-ba [i.e. sNang-sgom zhig-po] when the latter brought presents [to Tshal], where he carried the *ganjira* of the Glo-'bur-shar [Eastern Annexe],[249] whereupon he went to dBus in search of the *dharma*. At sGang-bu dgon-gsar of Mal-['']gro (see *supra*) he requested *Mahāmudrā* teachings from *rtogs ldan* Ru-thog-pa, whereafter he practiced meditative realization for three years.[250] One night he had a dream, in which a shining red woman appeared and said: "Pray to Zhang Rin-po-che and practice meditative realization at sPyi-khungs!"[251] At Glo-'bur-nub [Western Annexe of Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang], he prayed [to Bla-ma Zhang] after having offered a *maṇḍala* in front of the [latter's] image, at which point a spiritual insight that surpassed all former experiences was born in him. Thereafter he meditated in [strict] mountainous seclusion at 'Brong-bu sPyi-khungs of Byang-phyi without descending [to human inhabited regions] (*ri mi 'babs pa*) for 13 years [*ca.* 1202/3–1214/15 A.D.].[252] In a female Wood-Pig year [i.e. 1215 A.D.], he established Za-lung [cloister], where many *rtogs ldan* [or

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lDan (different) is also located east of Ba-lam. The latter corresponds to the sKyid-shod kyi stod lDan-lung (lDan valley of Upper sKyid-shod) mentioned in *Rva lo rnam thar* 270.14. See fn. 409.

[243] *Deb dmar* 140.5: Bon lineage of Ba-lam Ri-khyi-dba' (referring to a branch of the dBa' clan; App. IV: fn. 82.

[244] Today there exists barely more than a faint memory of a once-important rTag-can/spyan monastery in Grva-phyi (west of Yar-lung), at least so according to the locals of the neighbouring Grva-nang.

[245] The location remains unidentified; a Za-'og[-phug] is known as the name of a *sgrub gnas* of Mi-la ras-pa which, however, lies in the closer area of Mang-yul Gung-thang, i.e. Gung-thang Ra-la'i-phu Za-'og-phug. Everding 2000: 364, 686; Ehrhard 2003: 364. On Ra-la (also Re-la), see also Vitali 1996: 548, 553; Vitali 1997: 1027; Buffetrille 2000: 55.

[246] Mal-gros-pa obviously refers to Mal-gro or Mal-dro[s], the latter also known as a name of the Ma-pham g.yu-mtsho lake (*alias* Manasarowar). *Deb dmar* 140.8: Mal-dgos-pa mGon. A dGos-pa is mentioned as the father of the Ro-skam *gdan sa* gZhon-nu (above 20b).

[247] Name rDo-rje mgon-po of sNi-shangs. He belongs to the group of disciples of Mi-la-ras-pa called the Eight Cotton-clad Brothers (*ras pa mched brgyad*). *lHo rong chos 'byung* 167, 168; *Mig 'byed 'od stong* 17b4–5 BA Roerich 435.

[248] mKhan-po sPrug-gcer.

[249] Glo-'bur-shar[-ba] refers to the Eastern Annexe of the Gung-thang gtsug-lag-khang, which contains a number of separate temples (Chap. III.2-D below).

[250] *Ca*. 1200/1–1202/3 as calculated by Vitali (1996: 394, n. 639).

[251] *Deb dmar* 140.16: sPyil-skung; i.e. the Byang-phyi 'Brong-bu sPyi-khungs mentioned below.

[252] 'Brong-bu sPyi-khungs is the name of one of Zhang's *sgrub gnas bdun* which is associated with the area of g.Ya'-ma-lung in the northern mChims-phu valley (fn. 62). On the other hand, the present Byang-phyi seems to refer to the area of Chos-lung. See following note.

realized ascetics] and novices appeared.[253] For 30 years, he safeguarded the monastic community. He passed away in a Dragon year [1244 A.D.] at the age of 79. His disciple, *rtogs ldan* Nam-mkha' dbang-phyug established the Bal-yul gangs-ra monastery;[254] [the disciple] *rtogs ldan* Nam-mkha'

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[253] The Za-lung monastery most probably is identical with the Za[var. -b-b/phu-]lung [mGon-po lha-khang], also known as Chos-lung dgon-pa (29°39'N 91°19'E; cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 85a) situated in present-day bSam-grub-gling *xiang* (west of Ba-lam in sTag-rtse county), a site where Bla-ma Zhang was active and a cloister which contains a statue of four-armed Mahākāla allegedly erected (i.e. commissioned) by Bla-ma Zhang; the statue further constitutes one of the so-called "Three mGon-po Brothers," cf. Blo-bzang rnam-rgyal 1999: 143–44; *HSLG* Vol. 1: 52, 61–62.

It represents the "Zva-lung (Valley of Nettles; orig. spelling) of Upper Chos-lung" mentioned in the autobiographical writings of Bla-ma Zhabs-dkar, who sojourned here for one year (in around 1811 A.D.).* He too mentions the prestigious mGon-po phyag-bzhi statue of the local temple and its connection to Bla-ma Zhang g.Yu-brag-pa; cf. Ricard 1994: 232f. In *Bod kyi deb ther* 183.7 Chos-lung is specified as Byang-phyi Chos-lung which is mentioned together with [Tshal?] Yang-dgon as a fief of the dGa'-ldan ruling house in the mid-15th century.** Thus it appears that Za-lung dgon-pa and the sPyi-khungs hermitage of Byang-phyi are neighbouring (or even identical?) sites. The mGon-po lha-khang of Za[b]-lung could be the mGon-khang (= house of the mGon[-po Phyag-bzhi-pa]) of sPyid-khungs which is mentioned in Bla-ma Zhang's autobiographical *bKa' thor bu* (284.2–3; the shrine was consecrated by Zhang after his meeting with 'Bhe'-ro in the late 1150's; see above fn. 51). However, the toponyms Byang-phyi and sPyi-khungs remain unknown in modern day Chos-lung and, as has been said, the *sgrub gnas* sPyi-khungs is otherwise associated with g.Ya'-ma-lung (see fn. 62). The later Za-lung is *inter alia* also associated with sNa'u Bya-bral-pa (early 14th cent.), a student of the *gter ston* Dung-mtsho ras-pa Shes-rab rgya-mtsho/rgyal-mtshan (alt. or ordination name: Rin-chen bzang-po), the (re-)discoverer of (sGam-po-pa's) *Sems khrid* teaching cycle (BA Roerich 717–720; Gene Smith 2001: 42; *sGam po khri rabs* 40a1; see also fn. 255 below; *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 522–23; *Nor bu'i do shal* 144). Visited by the 7th Zhva-nag in the 15th cent. and by the sTag-lung monk rNam-rgyal rin-chen dpal-bzang-po (1532–1599 A.D.) in the 1580's. As *gnas chen* or a pilgrimage site, visited by the 25th 'Bri-gung throne-holder in 1725; cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 313. Today the Za-lung dgon-pa which is situated in the upper Chos-lung consists of a small building flanked by a new Byang-chub mchod-rten. Behind the temple there is a small cave which is associated with Bla-ma Zhang. One *Rin po che* Za-lung-pa was teacher to Klong-chen (1308–1364), and tendered to the latter the precepts adhering to Zhang.

On the hill, to the right of the temple, one finds an impressive stone-throne which is called the throne (*bzhugs khri*) of the 5th Dalai Lama. It was also during the rule of the latter that Za-lung-dgon (as well as a number of other Tshal-pa branch institutions of sKyid-shod) turned into a nunnery. Currently three *ani* (nuns) who come from the Maṇi lha-khang situated further down in the valley are responsible for the temple. The shrine accomodates *inter alia* statues of Bla-ma Zhang and the 5th Dalai Lama, as well as a new statue of Mahākāla which still today is worshipped in the area as the mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa of Bla-ma Zhang. See Fig. 41–43. Close to Za[b]-phu-lung, a Za-ma-tog dPal gyi *ri khrod* was situated.**

* It seems to refer to the Chos-lung gzhis-stod listed among the estates of the later dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung*; cf. *HSLG* Vol.1: 7–8. In the early 1640's, Chos-lung bKra-shis-sgang *gzhis ka* adhered to Grong-smad A-ba; cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 111b1f.

** Another? Za[b?]-phu-lung (close to bSam-yas or of Thob-rgyal *rdzong*?), whose *gdan sa ba* in the 1620–30's was dBang gi rgyal-po and upon whose initiative bSam-yas was repaired.

A (different) Zab-lung [Gangs kyi ra-ba] is associated with Guru Rin-po-che; cf. Padma gling-pa, *Bogs 'don 'gegs gsal kyi gdams pa* and *rDo rje gling pa rnam thar II* 32–3, 98–99. *Rva lo rnam thar* 170–71 speak of a Zab-bu-lung and of a *rin po che* rTogs-ldan-pa and of a local Zab-lung Me-tshor gzhi-bdag brtsan-rgod. In this case however, it evidently refers to the Zab-bu-lung in the Shangs area of g.Yas-ru (cf. *Zab bu lung gi gnas yig*, lHa-sa 2004). The 5th Dalai Lama speaks about a gSung-byon-ma statue of the Zab-lung bDe-gshegs 'dus-pa'i pho-brang.

[254] *Deb dmar* 140: g.Yul-Gangs-ra. Bal-po was one of the royal residences of imperial Tibet (Dotson, *forthcoming*). sBal-ba-tshal (also sBal-tshang and other spellings) of Yar-'brog is known as the place where king Khri lDe gtsug-brtsan Mes Ag-tshoms passed away (TBH Sørensen 362). A Bal-yul-gangs counts among the 21 *dge bsnyen*, a group of mountain gods named after their dwelling place. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 222. It seems to correspond to the present-day dPal-sde in north-western Yar-'brog (cf. also fns. 422, 542).

seng-ge built at Gong-po the Na-phu gangs-ra [monastery],[255] and therefore [these three disciples of *rtogs ldan* mDzes-pa?] are known as the three Glacial Retreants [Gangs-ra-ba].

[**23a**] Furthermore, thirteen ascetics including *rtogs ldan* Dar-ma and Sangs-rgyas, etc.[256] each established thirteen monasteries in Kong-po.[257] *rTogs ldan* dGe-[']tsho-ba established the monastery of Ko-ba-brag in sTod-lung.[258] He hung his coat onto a sunbeam. *rTogs ldan* Tsa-ri-ba[259] established the monastery of lHun-grub-sdings,[260] whereas *rtogs ldan* Nyi-zla [and his successors], altogether five, established in g.Yor-phyogs [the areas of the former Left Horn] the monasteries of Gangs-khrod etc.[261] The eldest of two sons born to g.Yu-ru Byin-rlabs-stan [= g.Yung-drung Byin-rlabs-brtan/ldan], *rtogs ldan* mDzes-pa's younger brother, being invited from La[s]-stod,[262] was ordained in the presence of *rtogs ldan pa* and *mkhan po* Śākya bkra-shis. Ordination name: bSod-nams dbang-phyug. In a Dragon year [1244 A.D.], he came to the see of Za-lung, remaining on the

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[255] It appears to be the sNa'u-gangs-ra known as a place associated with the aforementioned Dung-mtsho ras-pa disciple sNa'u Bya-bral-pa (also sNa'u-pa, *flourit* first half of the 14th century) from the *Sems khrid* teaching lineage (fn. 253). Born in Zur-mkhar (of eastern Dvags-po), he later was ordained in Za-lung (ordination name: rDo-rje-mdzes) and after his practice in sNa'u-gangs-ra, he became known as the "ascetic of sNa'u" (BA Roerich 720). The exact location of this early Bar-Tshal branch remains unidentified; perhaps Gong-po is here a mispelling for [r]Kong-po. See *Deb dmar* 140.

[256] rTogs-ldan Dar-ma, obviously not identical with the aforementioned *rtogs ldan* Dar[-ma] bsod[-nams] who came to rTa-sga (foll. chapter).

[257] Cf. *Deb dmar* 141.1–2. Foundations in Kong-po are also mentioned in connection with the students of lHa-ri-pa Nam-mkha'-'od, the Zhang disciple who founded the lHa-ri-kha monastery. Cf. *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma* 112b2f.; *Tshal rnam* 46b3–4 and note 267 below.

[258] Cf. *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 293 where the *rtogs ldan* mDzes disciple and founder of Ko-ba-brag is given as *rtogs ldan* dGe-bcu-pa rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan. The site is perhaps identical with the Zhang retreat of sKo-ba-brag-phug of rJe-mo mentioned above (fol. 9a). A sTod[-lung] gyi Kho is known as one of the royal residences in dynastic period (DTH 57.30); cf. also *lHa 'dre bka' thang* 34.5 (cf. Blondeau 1971, s.v. index). The latter may correspond to Kho-brang-tshal (= Kho-brag-tshal or Pho-brang-tshal [Palace-garden]?), the birthplace of Mes Ag-tshoms (DTH 19.10). There could also be a relation between the name of this monastery in sTod-lung and the foundation of Ko-brag of Myang-stod established by the contemporary Ko-brag-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (below fn. 263, 815).

[259] He is probably identical with the Bla-ma [r]Tsa-ri-pa who is mentioned as teacher of 'Khrul-zhig Seng-ge rgyab-pa, a leading representative of the *rDzogs chen snying thig* teaching transmission (born in g.Yu-ru Gra'i phu-so Gad-'phreng; *fl.* first half of 13th cent.); at that time Tsa-ri-ba's residence appears to have been Seng-ge-rgyab of Sri-zhal where 'Khrul-zhig also heard expositions of the Tshal-pa teachings from one Seng-ge rgyab-pa bar-ba (middle Seng-ge rgyab-pa) (cf. *Deb sngon* 243–44 (BA Roerich 195–96); *Nyingma School II* 564–66; *rDzogs chen chos 'byung I* 64b4–66a4). Seng-ge-rgyab remains unknown to us; however, it appears that Sri-zhal refers to the eastern part of the Tshal Gung-thang district which is formed by the two valleys of Sri and Zhal (often mentioned together in earlier sources; cf. fn. 413); thus, the site of Seng-ge-rgyab may be related to the Srin-mo brag-phug mountain at the entrance of Sri, which in *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 14a is registered as Seng[-ge]-ri brag-khug (= phug). See also App. IV: Chap. 3.

Huber (in his notes to Padma dkar-po's Tsa-ri guidebook, 1999: 69, 84f., 243) identifies the master bSam-gtan dpal-ba (1291–1366, in BA Roerich 884–86) with the *rtogs ldan* Tsa-ri-pa of the Tshal-pa (the note refers to the entry in Padma dkar-po's account which says that at one point the hermits of the Shug-gseb bKa'-brgyud-pa "were sent out [to Tsa-ri] by the Tshal-pa lineage"), and identifies the monasteries est. by bSam-gtan dpal-ba at Tsa-ri (i.e. Yab chos-sdings and sGo-mo chos-sdings) with the Tsa-ri-pa foundation of lHun-grub-sdings, an identification that appears rather questionable.

[260] Currently unidentified (see prev. note). Perhaps it refers to the lHun-grub-stengs of Dol.

[261] Currently unidentified.

[262] *Deb dmar* 141.6: Las-stod. Probably La-stod [rTa-sga] is meant here.

throne for 14 years, whereupon he took over the throne at the see of lHa-phyug[-mkhar].[263] His younger brother Yos-lo-pa gZhon[-nu] rdo[-]r[je][264] arrived in a Snake year [1257 A.D.] at the throne [of Za-lung], where he safeguarded the monk community for 19 years. In his 58th year in a Pig year [1275 A.D.], he passed away. He was followed by *slob dpon* rNam-rgyal-mdzes who safeguarded the see for 15 years. Date of birth: Snake year [1245 A.D.] [His Mother] was *lcam*[-*mo*] [i.e. Sister or Lady] Sangs-rgyas-[b]skyid. He passed away in an Ox year [1289 A.D.], age 44.[265] He was followed by his younger brother, *slob dpon* gZhon-nu-mdzes who came to the throne [in an Ox year, 1289 A.D.].[266] All [throne-holders] safeguarded their monastery both in the religious and in the secular sphere, the two (*chos srid*). Like [the sun during] daylight, they illuminated the Teaching adhering to the Transmission of Spiritual Realization.

The supplementary History of the origin of Bar Tshal, briefly told.
[On [***c***] *rtogs ldan* Dar-[ma] bsod[-nams] see the following chapter][267]

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[263] Cf. above fn. 106; he is probably the Za-lung-pa who is listed as one of the disciples of Ko-brag-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1170/82–1249/61 A.D.); cf. BA Roerich 728. On the latter figure, see Stearns 2000. A *mahāsiddha* Za-lung-pa is known as teacher of the *rDzogs chen* master Me-long rdo-rje who was also ordained in the presence of Za-lung-pa (in around 1250). BA Roerich 196; *rNying ma school I* 566f.

[264] I.e. the one born in a hare year, 1219 A.D.?

[265] *Deb dmar* 141: From a Pig year until an Ox year he held the throne for 15 years.

[266] *Deb dmar*: 141. Thus the succession of abbots of Z[v]a-lung of the 13th cent. can be summarized as follows:

1. *rtogs ldan* mDzes-pa (disciple of Ru-thog-pa): rl. 30 years; 1215–1244 A.D.
2. [Za-lung-pa] bSod-nams dbang-phyug (younger brother of no. 1): rl. 14 years; 1244–1257.
3. Yos-lo-pa gZhon-nu rdo-rje (younger brother of no. 2): rl. 19 years; 1257–1275.
4. *slob dpon* rNam-rgyal-mdzes (disciple of no. 3): rl. 15 years; 1275–1289.
5. *slob dpon* gZhon-nu-mdzes (younger brother of no. 4): rl. 1289– ?

No. 2 and the Za-lung-pa Bla-ma mJos-pa bzang-po are also listed as abbots of the lHa-phyug-mkhar monastery (above fn. 110). A later Za-lung-pa is mentioned as teacher of Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa (1308–63). Cf. Smith 2001: 33, 279.

[267] Not listed here is the branch school stemming from Zhang's disciple lHa-ri-pa chen-po Nam-mkha'-'od (fn. 101) and his successors. They obviously have to be counted among the Bar Tshal. His birthplace is mDzad[-pa] of Grva (also Gr[v]a 'Jed-pa, ~Jad-pa); father: Gru-gu-tsa, mother: Thang-gro-ma. Ordination name: Sangs-rgyas ras-chen (also Sangs-rgyas-'od). See *Deb dmar* 135.15f.; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 199.19. In 1168, he established the lHa-ri sPang-gshong (or lHa-ri-kha) monastery (cf. *bKa' brgya ma I* 164.6–7).* Nam-mkha-'od was followed as next *gdan sa ba* in the succession by dBon-po lHa dGe-bshes, *dbon po* dBon Rin-po-che, Devakumāra (lHa gZhon-nu) and others. Cf. *Deb dmar* 135.19–22; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 199.19–2101.3; *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 66a2–3; *Deb sngon* 837.3–8 (BA Roerich 715); *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 809.12–15; App. V: Table 2.1-E. The sources mention as branches of lHa-ri-kha the three monasteries of [Kong-po'i] lHa-ri gyang-[m]tho (the holy mountain formostly associated with the Bon-po tradition), Zu-ru-gdong and gSol-kha Brag-la lHa'i dgon (or: gSom-kha Brag-ste-dgon) as well as the Yang[s]-steng monastery of 'Brog. According to the *'Brug pa chos 'byung* 395.9–10, Nam-mkha'-'od founded lHa-ri-kha, Kong-po'i lHa-ri gyang-tho and Yang-stengs of 'Brog; cf. also *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma* 112b2f. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 202 lists the monstarey So-lung La-kha (= gSol-kha) as the foundation of a certain *rje* (= lHa-ri-pa?) Nam-mkha'-'od.

A branch of the early Tshal-pa of Central Tibet which is similary missing in the listing of the present text was the rDzam gyi lHa-sa-steng monastery in rDzam of Dvags-po. It is given as a foundation of the Bla-ma Zhang disciple Ye-shes Blo-gros. See *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 202 and below, fn. 424.

* The location of this monastery still remains uncertain; sPang-gshong-pa is registered as the name of a village of mTsho-stod *xiang* in eastern 'Phan-yul (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 48a) where a lHa-ri[-kha] is unknown, however. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 426.6 speaks of a Byang-thang lHa-pha ri-kha'i dgon-pa; it is listed together with the Gye-re'i dgon-pa (i.e. Gye-re in sKyid-smad) as place of activity of the Bla-ma Zhang and gNyos rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa, disciple of 'Jig-rten mgon-po and founder of the lHa-pa bKa'-brgyud school (below fn. 420). One informant (bSod-nams ldan-pa, a librarian from 'Bras-spungs) suggests that the

[II.1.2.3] [The Monasteries of the Upper / Western sTod-Tshal School] [**23a6–28b1**]

[A] [The West Tibetan Tshal-pa Branch Schools in the Territory of Mang-yul Gung-thang][268]

[**Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa** and the abbots of the rTa-sga monstery]

Furthermore, the one known as sNang-[b]sgom ras-pa of rTa-sga was ordained into the Buddhist order in the presence of lHa-phyug-pa. Ordination name: Sangs-rgyas-'od. He consummately [received] all the precepts related to the cycles both of [theoretical] scriptural authority instruction and [practical] realization. [**23b**] At Byang-mkhar [= Bya-mkhar], at sPyil-skungs [= 'Brong-bu sPyi-khungs] and at mTha'-brag,[269] etc. he perfected his practice of spiritual realization. In the presence of the dPal gDan-sa-ba[270] too, he removed any misgivings (*zhun thar bcad*) [hitherto prevailing] as to the cycles of instruction and realization received. Having the benefit of his converts in mind, he arrived at Ti-se[271] and rDzong-drug[272] for his spiritual realization. At [one of these Mi-la retreat caves known as] rDo-rje-rdzong of Brag-skya, he purified his skills of spiritual commitment.[273] Having established the monastery of rTa-sga,[274] it turned into a main-center for his

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lHa-ri-kha monastery is to be located in lHa-ri county (north of Kong-po Brag-gsum), perhaps sPang-gshong is here to be read as 'Phrang-gshong, a main settlement situated in western lHa-ri (cf. e.g. *Bod Map*, Verhufen, s.v. index).

[268] On the sTod Tshal branch, the foundation of the key outpost rTa-sga dgon-pa of La-stod in western Tibet and its abbatial succession, see the present texts' *Vorlage*, *Deb dmar* 141–149; *Yon tan 'brug sgra* 9b3ff.; *Chos legs rnam thar* 9b2ff. (= Everding 2000: 588–593); Vitali 1996: 393f. and Everding 2000: 333f. Driven by their quest for *propaganda fides*, the missionary foray into new territories was on that score remarkably successful, although their activities were restricted, in the first place, to establishing petty monastic cloisters or hermitages suitable for their devotion to asceticism – the cornerstone of bKa'-brgyud practice. The considerable success of Tshang 'Dur-ba Tshul-khrims seng-ge, the "Lion of Morality" (see below) with his pragmatic approach that placed more emphasis on the Avalokiteśvara cult and ritual than upon devotional proselytism, ensured that his school gained a firm footing also among the common population.

[269] lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa's hermitage in Ba-lam (above, 15b). On the other two retreat sites, see fn. 62.

[270] It is far from easy to determine beyond doubt what is exactly meant by dPal gDan-sa-ba (or [Rin-po-che] gDan-sa-ba). Mostly likely [dPal-ldan] lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa is meant, as in the present context. The title *gdan sa ba* here therefore refers to his position as abbot of lHa-phyug-mkhar (1193 until 1209/10).

[271] The journey to Ti-se (around 1195) is one of the earliest documented bKa'-brgyud-pa pilgrimages to the holy mountain (Kailash) as already noted by Vitali (1996: 394f.). There are allusions to an even earlier date, e.g. the Ti-se journey mentioned in connection with the Zhang disciple gTsang-ston Hral-chung (see fn. 10 of Table V.5).

[272] Mi-la rdzong-drug (also Gung-thang rdzong-drug) or the six fortresses or hermitages associated with Mi-la ras-pa are listed in many sources. They are classified as the six outer, six inner and six secret *rdzong.* See Everding 2000: 337; Ehrhard 2003: 347, 353; P. Aufschneiter 1976: 175–89; K. Dowman 1997: 211–15; *Mig 'byed 'od stong* 13a5–b3.

[273] The hermitage belongs to the group of the six outer *rdzong* (see prev. note). *Chos legs rnam thar* 10a states that at that time the place was held by the 'Bri-khung-pa, who then accepted Sangs-rgyas mTshal-pa as the new holder. Later the cave became known as [m]Tshal-phug.

[274] [Nub-ris] rTa-sga dgon or "the Horse-Saddle Monastery" (since a huge boulder there resembled a horse-saddle; Yon tan 'brug sgra 10a2–3) was arguably built between 1195–1200 A.D., as already suggested by Vitali (1996: 394–5), by Sangs-rgyas-'od also called Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa or Sangs-rgyas Tshal-chung. It soon turned into a powerful local establishment for the spread of the Tshal teachings in Western Tibet. In fact *Yon tan 'brug sgra* 10b2–3 maintains that the rTa-sga-pa were the dpon or rulers of sTod-tshal. In the first half of the 14th century when Ya-rtse troops occupied the Nub-ris area, the rTa-sga monastery and its dependencies fell under the "protection" of the latter kings for whom the *bla ma* were directed to perform annual *sku rim* ceremonies (see here the evidence of the copper-plate inscriptions of 1321

converts of the districts of sKu[-thang] [and] Nub-ris.[275] During the period in which a large number of monk novices [increasingly] assembled there, [sNang-sgom ras-pa, *aliases* Sangs-rgyas-'od, Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa] forwarded a request to *Rin po che* gDan-sa[-ba] [i.e. lHa-phyug-pa?]: "Since my small monastery [of rTa-sga now] has been established, I request [you] to send three or four monks headed by my maternal nephew (*tsha bo*) Jo-sras."[276] Accordingly, having dispatched Jo-sras along with Tshang [']Dur-ba chen-po, bSam-gtan rdzong-ba[277] and *rtogs ldan* Dar-bsod,[278] they arrived [at rTa-sga], but two months after [their arrival] Jo-sras died. [Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa] himself was [at that point] very old wherefore he requested *rtogs ldan* Dar[-ma] bsod[-nams] saying: "You better remain here at [my] monastery, it will prove beneficial to sentient beings!"

He [i.e. *rtogs ldan* Dar-bsod] occupied the see of the monastery.[279] For the people of [the West Tibetan districts of] Nub-ris [adjacent to sKyid-grong within Mang-yul Gung-thang area, as well as] Men-zhang,[280] Pu-rangs, Dol-po, and Glo-bo his activities for the benefit of the people were

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and 1327 formerly kept in rTa-sga; Childs 2001: 12, 22–24). Much later this Tshal branch establishment was taken over by the Bo-dong school and constituted one of its five *chos sde* as e.g. recounted by Brag-dkar rta-so Chos kyi dbang-phyug (1775–1837 A.D.) in his writings (cf. e.g. *'Bur pa mi rje'i gdung rabs* 9b2, 15b5–6, 16b4–17a1; also Ehrhard 2000a: 204). It is still unclear when this take-over actually took place, but arguably relatively late and under dGe-lugs auspices, similar to the fate of its mother seat in Central Tibet. As indicated by *Chos legs rnam thar* 9b–10a, it was situated somewhere to the east of Mi-la's retreat hermitage of Brag-skya and to the north (yet still within the boundaries) of Nub-ris, in an area where formerly 'Bri-gung ri-pa had their hermitage. Perusing written sources and biographical diaries of many minor and little-known religious figures who travelled these remote Himalayan borderlands would no doubt bring to light more information on the vicissitudes of this once-influential centre.

[275] *Sku nub ri* brachygraphically renders Ku[-thang] Nub-ri[s]. For these two West-Tibetan districts in the Nepal-Tibetan borderland, now largely within the Himalayan Gorkha district of Nepal in the environs of Mt. Manaslu, cf. Aris 1973; Everding 2000: 299–300; Childs 2001. These areas were ethno-historically part of Tibet until mid-19th cent. – having successively been the hermitage area and field of conversion of the Tshal-pa, the 'Bri-gung-pa, and later (16–17th cent.) by the 'Brug-pa – when, along the Himalayan divide, northern Nub-ri fell under Tibetan rule and Upper Nub-ri and Ku-thang became part of Nepal. Medieval and later local texts often speak of the hermitage or retreat areas of Ku-thang *ri khrod* often adjacent to other neighbouring districts, much-sought retreat sites of asceticism, esp. for the 'Bri-gung ri-pa or retreatants, such as the area of Ku-thang Tsum gyi *ri khrod*, Ku-thang gTsang gi *ri khrod*, cf. e.g. *bKa' brgyud rnam thar chen mo* 444ff. Most prominently associated with Kutang is the *sbas yul* sKyid-mo-lung (a guide was written by the "Hidden-land Opener" Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem; cf. e.g. Childs 1999: 129–131; 2001: 13).

[276] Probably not identical with Sangs-rgyas Jo-sras, the 5th abbot of lHa-phyug-mkhar (above fn. 110).

[277] bSam-gtan rdzongs-pa was according to *Deb dmar* 147.15f. (supported by *Chos legs rnam thar* and *Mang lung pa rnam thar*, quoted by Vitali: 397–98) evidently responsible for the dissemination of Tshal-pa monasteries in the Glo-bo area (Mustang) which pertained to the so-called middle region (*bar*) of the areas of lower mNga'-ris (below fn. 292). The bSam-gtan rdzongs gi dgon-pa / bSam-gtan-gling is mentioned in gSer-mdog's biography during his initial visit 1474, called Glo-bo'i lung-lag bSam-gtan-rdzong; cf. *gSer mdog rnam thar* 115.23–4. Otherwise undocumented.

[278] I.e. the disciple of Ru-thog-pa; = above no. c. See also *Mar lung rnam thar* 173a3: Dharma bsod-nams.

[279] According to *Chos legs rnam thar* 10a; *Mar lung pa rnam thar* 150a (cf. again Vitali 1996: 396–99); *Yon tan 'brug sgra* 10a4f. The second throne-holder of rTa-sga, *rtogs ldan* Dar-ma bsod-nams played a major role in the expansion of rTa-sga. He was also responsible for disseminating the Tshal teachings in Pu-rangs (where the Tshal-pa occasionally rose to become court chaplains of the Pu-rang king after having saved the king from sickness), and in the areas of the Men-zhang (see foll. note). He was also a disciple of Bla-ma Zhang, cf. *Deb dmar* 129.5. Under his tenure, the sTod-tshal spread towards sNyi/e-shangs (Manang); cf. also Ehrhard 2001: 102.

[280] The nomadic groups of the Men-zhang who lived in Gro-shod and other districts of mNga'-ris *smad*; they represent one of the principal communities of the Mang-yul Gung-thang kingdom (*mi sde sgo bzhi*); see Vitali 1997: 1024–36;

extensive and he also expanded the monastery of rTa-sga.[281] After his passing, *bla ma* gZhon-nu [functioned as the third rTa-sga throne-holder, and thus] successfully executed the manufacturing of the receptacles in the form of inner and outer supports and [the execution of] a commemorative ceremony (*sku 'dab*[*s*]) [for the latter throne-holder].[282]

With his disciples he arrived at Go-lo kun-rdzob, where he cared for and worked for the well-being of sentient beings. He even expanded the see.[283] After the latter's passing *bla ma* gCung-po [acted as fourth rTa-sga throne-holder and] erected [for the deceased] the inner and outer supports [i.e. edifices and statues] and a [*sku*] *'dab*[*s*]. His former disciples and the patrons safeguarded and rendered service [to the see]. After the latter's passing, *slob dpon* Sangs-rgyas bla-ma [as the fifth rTa-sga throne-holder (*gdan sa ba*)] occupied the see [**24a**]**.** He erected [for the deceased] an inner and outer support, [executed] a commemorative service ([*sku*] *'dab*[*s*]) and cared for his monastic disciples. He too expanded the see. After the latter's passing, *bla ma* Shes-rab bla-ma [acted as the sixth rTa-sga throne-holder and he similarly] erected [for the deceased] an inner and outer support, [executed a] commemorative service ([*sku*] *'dab*[*s*]) [in his memory] as well as cared for the monk disciples. After the latter's passing, his monk disciples erected [for the deceased] the inner and outer supports and a [executed a] [*sku*] *'dab*[*s*]. *Bla ma* dKon-mchog gzhon-nu [as seventh rTa-sga throne-holder] was then invited to the see. Everybody, such as *bla ma* bZang za-ra[-brtsegs] etc. rendered service on a grand scale [in order to enhance] the karmic activities of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che [Bla-ma Zhang] e.g. by bringing many presents in form of sacred scriptures, a *ganjira* as well as precious material goods to the monasteries of Tshal Gung-thang and lHa-phyug-mkhar.

[**Tshang 'Dur-ba chen-po** *alias* rTa-sga-ba sNang-sgom zhig-po][284]

[He was a fellow companion of Jo-sras and had] already during his childhood been given [in custody for religious training] by his father to the dPal gDan-sa-ba.[285] Growing up, he was ordained into the Buddhist faith in the presence of *bla ma* Ba-lam-pa.[286] Ordination name: Tshul-khrims seng-ge. [Receiving] all the precepts for the cycles of instruction and spiritual realization, his mind matured. Thereafter he came into the presence of *Rin po che* gDan-sa-ba, where he became his private chamberlain, and was thus given all the precepts for the cycles of instruction and spiritual realization. He then came to rTa-sga, where in the presence of Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa and *mkhan po* sPug [~ sPrug]-gcer-ba, he took the vow of a *bhikṣu*. At rDzong-drug, at sPong [= dPung]-rgyan

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Everding 2000: 360ff.; Everding 2006: 60ff. The Men-zhang area is also mentioned in connection with the sTag-lung-pa. Cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 377.19f.; BA Roerich 643f.

[281] He is perhaps identical with the *rTogs ldan* Dar-ma who is mentioned in the *Va ti bzang po'i rnam thar* in connection with O-mo-thang in sKyid-grong. Cf. Ehrhard 2003: 218.

[282] On *sku 'dab*[*s*], see fn. 89 above. The third throne-holder or abbot of rTa-sga was *sprul sku* gZhon-nu seng-ge, cf. *Chos legs rnam thar* 10b3f.

[283] On the activities of the third rTa-sga throne-holder *bla ma* gZhon-nu (also called *sprul sku* gZhon-nu seng-ge), see *Chos legs rnam thar* 10b3f. (= Everding 2000: 591) and *Yon tan 'brug sgra* 10b6f. The fourth throne-holder was mKhas-grub chen-po.

[284] To Tshang 'Dur-ba is primarily ascribed the Tshal conversion of the Mang-yul Gung-thang region. The source for our text is throughout this section exclusively *Deb dmar* 142.23f.; cf. also Everding 2000: 340–344.

[285] In *Deb dmar* the teacher is called dPal-ldan-pa. It probably refers to dPal-ldan [lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa].

[286] The lHa-phyug-mkhar disciple Ba-lam-pa, who later (after 1224 A.D.) became abbot of the lHa-phyug-mkhar monastery. Cf. fn. 110 above.

sgangs kyi ra-ba[287] as well as at dBang-po'i brag [i.e. the Cliff of Śiva/Maheśvara i.e. Mt. Manaslu] [itself],[288] he became perfect in the practice of spiritual realization. In Tshong-'dus 'gur-mo[289] he erected for the [deceased] sNang-sgom ras-pa an eight-*mtho* high reliquary-ossuary (*gdung khang*). As outer support (*phyi rten*) he erected a *sku 'bum* dome-reliquary, and he took up residence at the solitary site of Brag-dkar[290] where he continued refining the skills of his spiritual commitment. The Khal-glang-mi [= "The Glang people of Khal"/ "People of Khal-glang"?], the Servant (*g.yog*) mGon-po and Teacher (*ston pa*) Be-chung [**24b**], his three patrons, offered him the valley [i.e. land] of Tshang-'dur,[291] where he established a monastery, the name of which became known as lHa-sdings too. Based upon prophecies, which bespoke that he in reality was Avalokiteśvara, he was called sNang-sgom zhig-po. The areas of lHo-Nub-Gung, the three[292] until and including the places of [the local mountain-*cum*-spirit] Jo-bo sKu-rgyal [i.e. Mt. Jo-bo sKu-rgyal][293] was

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[287] rDzong-drug are the celebrated hermitages or retreat sites of Mi-la and the glacial area (*gangs kyi ra ba*) adjacent to sPang-rgyan, or sPungs/dPung-rgyan = Manaslu; cf. Aris: 1975: 72.

[288] According to Kaḥ-thog's *Gung thang rgyal rabs* 90.10–11, Manaslu is also called Gangs-ri chen-po dPung-rgyan.

[289] Tshong-'dus m/'gur-mo of gTsang (in M/Nyang district; cf. *Myang chos 'byung* 9, 145) was formerly a key cross-road and market-place. From the very outset of the *bstan pa phyi dar* period it emerged as one of the most frequented cross-roads spread all over Tibet for innumerable saints and scholars throughout this early medieval phase of the second Buddhist dissemination, notably starting with Atiśa through Kha-che Paṇ-chen etc. Its role as an important trade-mart appears to spring from the activities of Lo-ston rDo-rje dbang-phyug (Dung-dkar 1981: 457–58; *Ming mdzod* 1673–74; *Myang chos 'byung* 145–47) and lCe lHa-bzang grags-pa, where the foundation for its later political role was formed. This vital cross-road therefore surfaces in most biographies and writings of numerous 11–12th-cent. masters such as Khyung-po rnal-'byor, Rva, Chos-rje Lo-ras and rGod-tshang (*Shangs pa bla rabs* 32; *Rva lo'i rnam thar* 183.19–184.1; *Lo ras pa'i rnam thar* 89ff.; *rGod tshang rnam thar I* 49) to mention a few. The site more precisely refers to the present-day village of 'Tshong-'dus at the entrance to the Zha-lu valley. It was the centre of the imperial *stong sde* of Khri-thang 'Gur-mo and it corresponds to the gTsang mGur-mo of the appanage distribution of 1251, according to which the gTsang mGur-mo-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa swore allegiance to Möngke Qaγan. Cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1416.11; Petech 1990*a*: 11. During the Yüan Mongol supremacy and under local Sa-skya rule it constituted an postal station (*'jam chen*) and myriarchy (also called lHa-sde 'Gur-mo; cf. g*Nyags ston gdung rabs* 98.19); Petech 1990a: 55, 63, 65; Smith 2001: 223. There exist no references in the sources concerning a relationship between the early sTod Tshal-pa and this site in gTsang; thus one may consider in this context that the author of *GT* here refers to the Tshong-'dus of sKyid-grong, an area where *inter alia* a site associated with Sa-skya Paṇḍita is located. Cf. Ehrhard 2003: 215, 347–48.

[290] Probably not the famous Mi-la hermitage of Brag-dkar rta-so is meant here but the retreat site of Brag-dkar which is situated close to the later dGe-lugs foundation of bKra-shis bSam-gtan-gling in sKyid-grong. Ehrhard 2003: 216, 333.

[291] The exact location of Tshang-'dur remains unknown.

[292] Cf. also *Gung thang rgyal rabs B* 90.8–13, *lho nub gung gsum* constitute the three core districts into which Mang-yul Gung-thang was divided (*nang tshan*) in its entirety, geographically defined as:

[A] lHo or the southern part that refers to the area spanning from Ting-va-ri (in present-day Nepal) until mTshams i.e. the part known as sKyid-grong and the area of

[B] Nub = Nub-ris (according to *lCTZhZh* 332 part of rDzong-dga' *khul*) that stretches from the sKyo-la Pass (cf. *Bod Map* 56: sKyo-mo-la) to the area comprising the mountain massif known as dPung-rgyan or dBang-po'i brag (i.e. Mt. Manaslu) of Rod district (? = Rud, Ros/Rö present-day Samargaon; cf. the Map in Aris 1973, *et passim*; cf. also Vitali 2004c: 71) which borders on the district of Se-rib (i.e. an ancient name of a kingdom known already in the 7th cent. and comprising a part of present-day Mustang area (cf. Jackson 1978: 195f.); and finally

[C] Gung = Gung-thang which constitutes the area stretching from mTshams until the sTag-la Pass situated in the mountain-range of rJe'u lha-btsan.

Further ahead in the text, *op. cit*., 99.16–17, Kaḥ-thog is more explicit by saying that these three areas of Mang-yul are made up of Gung-thang, sKyid-grong and Nub-ris. See also Everding 2000: 47, 292; Vitali 1996: 398.

[293] *Gung thang rgyal rabs B* 89.14–15 Jo-bo sKu-rgyal (Jo-bo, the Lord King-Body) or the glacier mountain

turned into the heart[land] to be converted [by him]. Considering that his karmic activities and his promotion for welfare of the living beings [indeed] were immeasurable, [one example of this was that once when] he arrived in the presence of the [famed] sKyid-grong Jo-bo[294] the monks were just having breakfast in front of the [Jo-bo] Vati [Statue]. He generated compassion towards those who begged and who possessed neither food nor clothes. He requested the family of local lords (*dpon brgyud*) [i.e. custodians] of the Jo-bo with the words: "If possible I shall establish here in the presence of the Jo-bo [Statue] a tradition of providing soup [to the poor ones]. If [permission is not granted] at least grant me permission, with the 16 *khal* of flour (*phye*) brought along here, to rent your place so as to establish a site where [meat and bones can be grinded] for preparing porridge (*dzam drug*/*grub cig gi thug pa btang*)."[295] They offered him the sites for establishing the tradition [of preparing and serving] porridge. From that point on, and until the entire Saṃsāra is emptied, the traditions of continuing [to supply endowment and funding] for preparing soup and for having the *Maṇi* [*mantra* of Avalokiteśvara recited] prevail [*in situ*]; he provided a monk for each Jo-bo caretaker [responsible for these institutions].

He then came to the temple of Byams-sprin Rlung gi kha-gnon[296] and having been offered the estate administrating this [temple], he [provided the endowment for] establishing the sessions [i.e. the incessant *pūjā*-recitation of the celebrated six-syllabic] *Maṇi* [*mantra* of Avalokiteśvara]. Again, the sPang-zhing people headed by the sPang-zhing *bcu dpon*,[297] and the people of the *yon bdag*

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resembling a throned king (*gangs ri rgyal po gdan la bzhugs pa lta bu*) appears to be identical with the mountain-*cum*-deity known as sKu-lha dpal-rdzong. This depiction is well-known from standard description of other holy mountains, such as Kangchenjunga, etc. According to the same text, *op. cit.,* 101.18-21, this mountain is considered one of the *rje yi mgur* / *sku lha bcu gsum* or 13 primordial ancestral telluric gods in Tibet whose main seat supposedly is Ti-se-gangs or Mt. Kailash, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 223–24; Haarh 1969: 263f.; Macdonald 1971: 207, 292–309; Aris 1979b: 2. For other lists of the mGur-lha bcu-gsum, see e.g. Bellezza 1997: 47f. The component *sku lha* suggests that the mountain holds great antiquity and import, being considered the home of one of the ancestral divinities symbiotically related to the personal cult and well-being of the Tibetan kings (CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 212ff.).

[294] *Deb dmar* 143.16: Kyi-rong. For a thorough study of this celebrated image, cf. Ehrhard 2004; Decleer 2006.

[295] Following here the explanation of Dung-dkar 1981: 459: *rtsam pa la sha rus kyi rdor btab pa'i thug pa.*

[296] The Byams-sprin lha-khang in Mang-yul counts among the 12 temples allegedly built by Srong-btsan sgam-po in order to nail down a supine or prostrate demoness, here intended to affront the element wind. In the Atiśa Biography *rNam thar rgyas pa* 48b (Eimer 1979: 220) the temple is called Tshangs-pa rlung-gnon. Tradition holds that for the erection of this temple king Srong-btsan sgam-po summoned seven carpenters (from sKyi[d] [shod] in dBus), wherefrom allegedly the sKyid-mi grong-bdun, the seven original families of sKyid-grong eventually descended. In *Ka khol ma* 305f., Kyi-mi grong-bdun designates the original settlements of a commune of craftsmen from the Kyi clan in dBu-ru, who were involved in the construction project of several Srong-btsan sgam-po period temples (see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 53; Introduction: fn. 4) We may thus assume that behind the episode related to the Myang-yul temple an immigration of Kyi people from the sKyid-chu region took place, which also accounts for the conflation between Mang-yul (often also Myang-grong) and sKyid-grong (also Kyi-rong). For the sKyid-mi grong-bdun, see also the data in Everding 2000: 320, fn. 781 and Ehrhard 2003: 266, *et passim*. On the classification of the Mang-yul Byams-sprin, see most recently TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 52f., 184f.

[297] Cf. *Verhufen Index* 86–87/28–29; *Bod Map* 54–56: sPang-zhing (~-shing) "Meadow-field." See also *CTZhZh* (1830 Land-Tax Survey) 337; Schuh 1988: 174, 184. Geograph. position: *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 450b: 28°30'N 85°15'E. It was in the 1970–80's registered as a people's community (*kung hre*, *gongshe*), later a *cun* or *grong tsho* (rural village) within the sKyid-grong county. In sPang-zhing the dynastic Byams-sprin temple is situated (see prev. note).

A less likely candidate, a similar-named locale sPang-shing is mentioned by bsTan-'dzin ras-pa of Dol (1623–

sGar-ba offered him [land that could serve as] monastic estate (*mchod gzhis*) of Zhog[s]-phug,[298] whereupon he founded a monastery. He thereafter instituted [formal] sessions for [the liturgic recitation of] Mañjuśrī [i.e. *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti*], and the *Maṇi* [*mantra* of Avalokiteśvara]. *Bla ma* rGyal-ba Shes-rab from Bal-steng[s][299] requested many Dharma teachings from him. With a share of his food-provisions, he instituted [formal] sessions [for the recitation of] the *Maṇi* [*mantra*-s]. Furthermore,[300] the people of sGun-pa [= dGun-pa], Shags and Mun[301] acting as *yon bdag* offered him [land that could serve as] monastic estate, land and pasture and [**25a**] he founded a winter residence (*dgon pa dgun gnas*)[302] and instituted a [formal] session for [the recitation] of the *Maṇi* [*mantra* financed by] one single *yon bdag*. From [the people] of gSang-ma [i.e. the gSang-m[d]a['] Valley][303] he received an estate, and in the monastery [established there] he instituted a [formal] session for [the recitation] of *Maṇi* [*mantra*]. After he had also received an estate from a *yon bdag* from sNgags-steng[304] an estate [too], he [*in situ*] instituted a [formal] session for [the recitation of] the *Maṇi* [*mantra*]. During the winter period, he instituted the continuous tradition of serving soup [for the poor; i.e. provided its necessary funding and endowment]. After the expiry of the winter session, all monks gathered for the winter teaching session (*dgun chos*)[305] in which connection he instituted many sorts of [formal] sessions for the [recitation and reading of the *Prajñāpāramitā*] in its extensive, intermediate and [abbreviated] versions, the three (*rgyas 'bring* [*bsdus*] *rnam gsum*), [liturgical and for the recitations of texts such as] the "Going For Refuge and the Generation of the Enlightenment Mind Formulae" (*skyabs 'gro sems bskyed*), the "Hundred Syllable" [Mantra on Vajrasattva] (*Yig brgya pa*), the *Mañjuśrī*[*-nāma-saṃgīti*], the *Vajravidhu/Vajravidāraṇa* [*-nāma-dhāraṇī*] ([*rDo rje*] *rNam 'joms*), *Tārā* and a *Maṇi* [*mantra*].[306] [Furthermore] each twentieth day he instituted a large session

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1723), a place situated within the neighbouring area of present-day Gurung area of Kutang (presently in Nepal), cf. Aris 1979b: 2; Childs 1997: 146 wrongly reads sBang-zhing.

[298] Currently unknown, but evidently located in the sGar area of sKyid-grong, see *Gung thang rgyal rabs* 1b, 2a (Everding 2000: 48–49), where sGar is mentioned in connection with sPang-zhing.

[299] Cf. *Deb dmar* 144.6. Bal-lding. Currently unknown.

[300] The text evidently reads *yang na*; *Deb dmar*: *lar na*, "In Lar,..." ; Everding 2000: 341, 2000a: 84–85 reads Ling-na (*sic*) ("In Ling,..") which he identifies with the site of Ling-ba Brag-dmar situated opposite to dGun-mda'. On this site, see also Ehrhard 2003: 358, 362.

[301] The toponyms refer to three valleys south of Brag-dkar rta-so in sKyid-grong. See Map 5 in Everding 2000. For dGun/dGon, see also fn. 307 below.

[302] *Deb dmar* 144.7: *dgon pa dmun pa*, which appears to be related to the aforementioned *dānapati* land of r/dMun.

[303] Located in the south-eastern part of Gung-thang.

[304] sNgags-sding in *Deb dmar* 144.9.

[305] Cf. *Deb dmar* reads *kun mchod*. This reading may be preferable and refers to the expression of *Kun bzang mchod pa'i sprin gyis mchod*, i.e. offerings resembling the clouds of offerings of Samantabhadra. Hyperbolically, it alludes, metaphorically, to an immense cloud of offerings that flows from the endless number of emanations issuing from Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. It is a cherished depiction indicating a sheer infinite number of offerings. Samantabhadra is said to have made endless offerings by emanating countless bodies of himself, each of which again made offerings thus filling the sky. They in turn emanated countless bodies that also made offerings *ad infinitum*.

[306] For a listing of these recitational or liturgic (*chos spyod*) texts related to a number of celebrated incantations cf. e.g. the anthology *Chos spyod phyogs bsgrigs lam bzang gsal ba'i sgron me*, *passim*. For most of these texts and their ritual application, see e.g. Hanson, *The Torch of Certainty* 53ff. The *Prajñāpāramitā* in three sizes refers to the 100.000, 25.000 and 8.000 versified versions respectively. For a rendering of the 100-syllable Vajrasattva incantation and a translation, see Beresford, *The Confession of Downfalls* 67-72. For the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti*, see Wayman 1985.

[for such recitations]. In Lower rGyun-mda' [= rGun/dGun-mda'],[307] he erected a huge *kagṇi* (**kaṇiṣka*) *stūpa.*[308] Having been invited to Gung-thang by *yon bdag* Rin-po-che mGon,[309] he was offered the sTad [~ Srad-]thang gi gtsug-lag-khang.[310] He instituted [there – i.e. provided the endowment for] the [formal] session for [the recitation of] the *Maṇi*[-*mantra*], [financed] by the estate. Invited by the y*on bdag* bSam-'grub of sNyam[s],[311] he was tendered Brag-shug-gseb [as estate],[312] whereupon he established a monastery [*in situ*] and instituted a [formal] session for [the recitation of the *Maṇi*-[*mantra*]]. In Tsar[313] he was invited by *yon bdag* Blo-gros, who tendered him the estate of sBo (~ sPo?)-mong[314] and [again] he [there] established a [formal] session for [the recitation of] *Maṇi*-[*mantra*-s]. Being invited by the people of Mang-dkar[315] from outside [the core area of conversion, i.e. Mang-yul, he there aroused so much interest] that he became the key focus of the[se] *yon bdag*. He founded [there] the Khyu-ri dgon-pa[316] and instituted a [formal] session for [the recitation] of *Maṇi*[-*mantra*]. In rTa-sga, he erected the Tshes-bcu bla-brang. He instituted there a full-monthly offering [i.e. provided its funding in commemoration] of [the rTa-sga founder] Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa, and a regularly recurring *Tshes bcu* [ritual festival]. He erected the four-pillared Prayer Hall [Kun-mchod] of rTa-sga [monastery], and raised a white roof [i.e. tent] (*dkar phibs = rgya phibs phub*)[317] [over the building]. He [thereafter] erected [the

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[307] dGun (-phu, -mda', also dGun gyi lung-pa) is the name of a valley situated due east of Brag-dkar rta-so in sKyid-grong. Cf. Map 6 in Everding 2000; *CTZhZh* 332; see also Chan 1994: 925, 931; Stearns 2000: 143. Geographical position: *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 445b: 28°39'N 85°18'E. It is mentioned in the *Gung thang rgyal rabs* as one of the three first cultivated areas of Mang-yul Gung-thang (i.e. rTsa, Ron, dGun). See Everding 2000: 48–49, 316. In dGun, Padmasambhava defeated the *sku bla* of Gung-thang (i.e. *sku bla* dPal-bzung (~-rdzongs) *alias* Jo-bo sKu-rgyal, fn. 293) and his followers. Cf. Ehrhard 2003: 356. A *slob dpon mchod rten* is raised in this area. In dGun and in the neighbouring districts many reliquaries of Mi-la ras-pa have been found; cf. e.g. *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 398.1–3.

[308] The *kaniṣka stūpa* was especially in the medieval period a prevailing type of *stūpa* in the western part of Tibet. Kaniṣka refers to an Indian King Kaniṣka. In its Tibetan form this receptacle usually consisted of two walls and an overarching roof to allow for those on pilgrimage to pass through the holy edifice. See H. Kottkamp 1992: 152f.

[309] *Deb dmar* 144.15: Rin-chen mGon, perhaps a representative of the ruling house of Mang-yul Gung-thang.

[310] Currently unidentified.

[311] Following here *Deb dmar* 144: sNyams *yon bdag* […] etc. Probably referring to the gNyams which is listed among the 13 hundred groups (*bgya tsho bcu gsum*) of Gung-thang est. by the ruler 'Bum-sde-mgon (1253–1280). Everding 2000: 68–69 identifies it with the sNyam[s] situated south-west of rDzong-dkar. Cf. Verhufen, *Bod Map*; *CTZhZh* 334 too registers a locale mNyam in the district of rDzong-dga' within the border of sKyid-grong *xian*; mNyam as part of present-day Gung-thang *xiang* in *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 468b: 28°41'N 84°57'E. It is probably identical with the mNyam of the northern Nub-ri area visited by O-rgyan bstan-'dzin in 1681, cf. Ehrhard 1998: 5; Childs 2001: 24.

[312] Unidentified, but evidently situated in the environs of sNyams.

[313] Cf. *Deb dmar* 144 reads gTsang, perhaps the better reading. A gTsang is located north of mNyam (see previous note); *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 4669a; Verhufen, *Bod Map*. A gTsang-po Zangs-tsha-ba is registered as one of the 13 hundred groups of Gung-thang.

[314] Cf. *Deb dmar* 144 reads sBo-khung.

[315] Mang-dkar/mkhar is a valley located relatively far beyond Mang-yul Gung-thang – accounting for the (redactionally added?) phrase "coming from outside" (*phyi yul du*) – to the west of Sa-skya, cf. Ferrari 64–65; often specified as Mang-dkar of La-stod district. It is a locale foremost associated with 'Brog-mi. In dynastic times it formed one of the military thousand-districts of Ru-lag. See Uebach 1987: 22; Hazod, *forthcoming b*.

[316] Still unidentified.

[317] *Deb dmar* 144: *dkar phig*. Dung-dkar in his comments (*op. cit.,* 460; see also *brDa bkrol* 16) defines *dkar phi*[*b*]s as a long roofed path-way or staircase, whereas *Tshig mdzod* 57 speaks of a roofed house with only one wall! More obviously, it may refer to a white (i.e. tent-cloth, rather than from wood) roof or to a white *rgya phibs*. See also *Tshal rnam* 19b1.

Temple of] the Dharma-Throne [including its] Prayer Square (*bla yer*) at rTa-sga,[318] followed by the erection and installation of statues [inside the Hall]. He [thus] rendered immeasurable service [to the local religious establishment and to sentient beings in this region]. At sP[r]ug-gcer, since a *phyi rten* [reliquary] for the [deceased] abbot (*mkhan po*)[319] had not [yet] been manufactured, he erected a '*bum pa* [i.e. dome-receptacle] as outer support [for the deceased abbot's remains] [**25b**] and offered it to the [monastery]. Having been invited by the *yon bdag* of Dros-pa, he founded the monastery of Byang-chub-gling.[320] On Chos-khri-thang[321] he preached the *dharma* whereupon the *yon bdag* tendered him a monastic estate, and he [there] instituted [formal sessions] for [the recitation of *mantra* related both to] *Mañjuśrī*[-*nāma-saṃgīti*] and to the *Maṇi*-[*mantra*]. The patron and priest (*yon* [*bdag*] *mchod* [*gnas*], *dānapati*, *purohita*)[322] [thus conjointly] instituted [i.e. provided the endowment for] the meritorious tradition of manufacturing each fifth day *tshva tshva* terracotta figures. Following an invitation by the *yon bdag* to [come to] sKu-thang [= Kutang], at sProg,[323] he came and erected a monastery, and instituted there a [formal] session for [reciting] the *Maṇi*-[*mantra*] on a regular basis. At Sa-'gag [in the district of 'Or-ma], he erected a large *khag-ṇi stūpa* [i.e. *kaṇiṣka stūpa*]. Having been invited by Ban-nag to come to [g]Sum-rje gTso-ma [~-gTsom-] gling,[324] he was given the monastic estate of dPag-rkyen. He established a monastery and instituted [the formal] regular session of [reciting] *Maṇi*-[*mantra*]. At this monastery, at Brag-dkar rta-so dBu-ma'i rdzong,[325] at sMan-khang and at Go-bo-tsha[326] he perfected his meditative accomplishment and by way of his ideal *Bodhisattva* life, he worked in immeasurably many ways for the welfare of sentient beings. At the age of 70, he passed away. At the time of the cremation of his body, [the following objects miraculously] emerged [from the pyre:] innately born with[in] his hand-bone [i.e. the radius or humerus of the deceased] (*phyag gi rkang nang du lhan skyes*), yet outwardly from the melting process through crystallization (*zhun thigs*), statues of

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[318] See fn. 155 *supra* for the discussion of this term.

[319] Alluding to *mkhan po* sPrug-gcer at whose feet *rtogs ldan* mDzes-pa snying-po, but also Tshang 'Dur-pa chen-po had earlier become ordained (above 22b).

[320] Still not identified.

[321] It probably refers here to the open plain, evidently within the rTa-sga monastery, perhaps a courtyard in front of the Chos-khri [lha-]khang, the "Hall/Chapel of the Dharma-Throne." Cf. similar the Chos-khri-thang in Sa-skya as described in the *Gung thang rgyal rabs* 4a (Everding 2000: 63); *Si tu bka' chems* 73.3. The toponym Chos-khri-thang is also attested as the name of a locale (cf. *Pha 'Brug sgom zhig po rnam thar*, Y. Dargye and Sørensen 2001: 10).

[322] For a thorough study of this relationship throughout Indo-Tibetan history, see Ruegg 1995, 1997.

[323] In Upper sProg of Kutang (in Nub-ri according to Childs 1997: 146), a hermitage called mGon-pa-phug was visited by the 18th-cent. Kutang-ascetic Padma dbang-'dus during his itineraries (see Aris 1979b: 253.2–3, 411, 481). There sProg was defined as a district (*yul*). Uncertainty remains whether or not this monastic site is related to the monastery est. by Tshang 'Dur-pa.

[324] Or a better? reading: the gSum-rje of gTsom-gling. Presently not conclusively identified. Evidently unrelated to the present site is Sum-bu/Som in southern Mustang, cf. Schuh 1997: 7–10. The rulers (*rje*) of Sum in Lower Mustang. gSum-po (present-day Thini) was an independent local polity along with Thag and sPun-khris (also: Mar-spag = Marpha). A hermitage, possibly unrelated, in Sum = Thini, called Zom-bu-ri of Sum-'bag is registered by O-rgyan bstan-'dzin (1657–1737); cf. Ehrhard 1998: 12. For some additional details on these districts, see the biography of Padma don-grub: 141–142 (Aris 1979b). Another option is gSum-sna-phu in Gung-thang dist. registered in *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 470a.

[325] The famous site of Mi-la ras-pa in sKyid-grong; see most recently Ehrhard 2003: 352–354.

[326] Currently unidentified; sMan-khang perhaps is related to sMan-mthong (~-gdong) of sKyid-grong (fn. 337) or it refers to sMan-'gab situated in the same area. The latter was visited by the 12th sTag-lung throne-holder in 1440's; cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 427.

Avalokita and Amitābha manifested themselves,[327] each measuring one-and-half *sor* [i.e. finger-width] and upon a one-*sor* thick rib (*rtsib ma*) a statue of himself with a teeth-baring head[328] manifested itself from the melting process of crystallization [during the cremation]. All over [these statues] ornaments and differently coloured relics [occurred]. Furthermore, a right-twisting conch (*dakṣināvartaśaṅkha*) and a statue of a Dharmapāla as well as innumerable bone relics [manifested themselves miraculously]. These were deposited inside the "heart" of a *phyi rten* reliquary,[329] whereupon the *mi ma yin* in front of the golden statue [of Tshang 'Dur-pa] offered butter. The [lamps containing the] butter was capable of burning all through the night, and in fact kept burning for three full days and nights. On [especially auspicious days, such as] the 15th [i.e. full moon], the eighth and the thirtieth [days of the month] (*nya stong brgyad gsum*), respectively on the twentieth day of the month [when commemorating] his passing [**26a**] [these butter-lamps] were lit. The *bla ma* and the lords [of the region] erected a *phyi rten,* a *nang rten* and [executed] a commemorative service ([*sku*] *'dabs*), as well as instituted [regular] offerings [commemorally devoted to his ossuary]. The monks and disciples safeguarded these receptacles and served [the place and institutions] in a meritorious way (*skyong bran rnams* [*dge*] *legs mdzad*).

[*rTogs ldan* **Brag-dkar-ba Rin**[**-chen**] **seng**[**-ge**][330]

He later established the monastery of Phyis-can.[331] Having erected a statue of 'Gro-mgon [Rin-po-che], he placed within the heart of this statue a statue[tte] of Ye-shes mgon-po. Taking over the [regular] offerings [devoted to] Bla-ma Rin-po-che, and having requested to have the consecration performed, the name of the monastery became Phyis-can. Having devoted his spiritual commitment immeasurably [and exclusively] to the welfare of sentient beings], he passed away. Many wondrous signs manifested themselves [during the cremation] such as divine statues, relics, and his corpse being unable to catch fire since it had been [protectively] wrapped up in his religious robe (*sku chos* [*gos*] *kyi*[*s*] *gtums*), etc. The monks and disciples erected a *phyi rten* [and executed a] commemorative service (*'dabs*) whereupon they instituted [regular] offerings to these [miraculous] relics.

[*Bla ma* **bSod-**[**nams**] **dar-ba**]

Bla ma bSod-[nams] dar-ba was invited, whereupon the former's monastery and the [local] monks

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[327] A common phenomenon in most hagiographic treatises that, during the cremation of especially holy personages, objects appeared and miracles occurred. Numerous references could be cited, for example in *lHo rong chos 'byung*, *passim*. E.g. during the cremation of the 26th 'Bri-gung hierarch rJe dKon-mchog bsTan-'dzin 'gro-'dul (1724–1766 A.D.) relics manifested themselves miraculously from the melting crystallization, being born from his forearm (i.e. radius or ulna) (*phyag ngar la zhun thig tu 'khrungs pa'i ring bsrel*); cf. dKon-mchog 'phel-rgyas 1991: 21. In Bhutan, the dispute over the miniature statue of Rang-byung Khasarpāṇi led to a military confrontation between invading Tibetans and Zhabs-drung's army at the doors of sPungs-thang (Punaka) *rdzong* in 1639 A.D. Of supreme importance for the claim of legimitation in the 'Brug-pa school, this statue originally had manifested itself spontaneously (i.e. autogenously, similar to Tshang-'dur's case, no doubt) from the vertebra during the cremation of the founder of the 'Brug-pa school, gTsang-pa rGya-ras in 1211 A.D. Cf. for details *Myang chos 'byung* 16–25. See also Martin 1992b.

[328] Text: *dbu so gtsigs ge ba = dbu sor gcig*? I.e. the head alone being one sor in size. Evidently corrupt, hence translation tentative.

[329] *Deb dmar* reads *phyi rten nang gi thugs khar* [...] , whereas the present text reads *phyi rten nang rten gyi thugs khar.* Both texts appear slightly corrupt.

[330] The lHa-phyug-pa disciple rTogs-ldan Brag-po che-pa (~-ba)? Above 15b.

[331] In sKu-thang? Everding 2000: 490, fn. 1216. Cf. also Vitali 1996: 486, fn. 819.

and disciples safeguarded in an unimpaired way all the virtuous traditions [i.e. the execution of the endowment that secured regular offerings and rituals] and served [the place and its institutions]. When he [i.e. Bla-ma bSod-dar] passed away, [the remaining monks] carried out the cremation and the monks and disciples erected a *phyi rten* and [executed a] commemorative service (*'dabs*) [in commemoration of him], whereupon they instituted [regular] offerings [in his honour].

[***Bla ma* bSod-nams shes-rab**]

Then *bla ma* bSod-nams shes-rab took over the see, whereafter he accomplished meritorious and virtuous activities in form of safeguarding the monastery and caring for the [local] monks and disciples. After he had passed away, the [local] monks and disciples [in return] erected a *phyi rten* and a *nang rten*, [executed a] commemorative ceremony (*'dabs*), and instituted offerings [in his memory]. The *bla ma* bZang Za-ra-[b]rtsegs and others brought along an inconceivable amount of presents in the form of material goods such as precious sacred writings, a golden parasol, a *gañjira*, a huge tent (*gung mo* = *gur mo*) etc. to the *vihāra* of Tshal Gung-thang, the *sgom sde* [College] and to [the temple of] lHa-phyug. [**26b**] The *mNga' bdag pa* and his queen [i.e. the king of Mang-yul Gung-thang], ruler and ministers along with the ruling lineage (*dpon brgyud*) of the *sDe pa chen po* of Zur-bzang[332] [all] yielded service to [these institutions and representatives to ensure] virtuousness and prosperity and, [the former ones] having submitted themselves [? to the Mang-yul Gung-thang rulers], were content.

[***Jo btsun* sPrad-pa**]

The disciple of Rin-po-che gDan-sa-ba [i.e. lHa Phyug-mkhar?] named *Jo btsun* sPrad-pa[333] went towards the West (sTod), where he founded the dPal-ba Me-tse [*sic*] monastery and [later] the Bla-shod monastery in the direction of Blo-smad [i.e. Glo-smad, Lower Mustang],[334] where he established a teaching college for Madhyamaka [studies] (*dbu ma'i bshad grva*). After he had

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[332] Currently unidentified.

[333] Jo-btsun sPrad/s-pa (read: sGrad-pa?) is generally unknown, although his feats in Nepal seemingly were impressive. According to the basic source for the *Gung thang dkar chag*, the *Deb dma*r 133, 146–7, however, his name is possibly rendered Jo-btsun sPras/Sras-pa, and the latter is registered as pupil, as here, of the throne-holder of the mother seat Yang-dgon, possibly being the third throne-holder lHa Phyug-mkhar-pa (rl. 1210–14) and the fourth throne-holder Sangs-rgyas-'bum (rg. 1214–31). Reading sPras/Sras (both variants registered; see fn. 405 below) in 'Phan-yul – as suggested above – it may refer to the area where 'Ju-bu, the first monastery of lHa-phyug-mkhar-ba is located (fn. 105). Another, and arguably much better reading is Jo-btsun sGrad-pa/sGad-pa and hence identify him with the elder brother of the first Yang-dgon throne-holder (see above fns. 83–84 of the sGrad clan); it would suggest that he was born *ca*. 1140–45. If this identification is warranted, his activities in Nepal can be situated to *ca*. 1215–25, when he was already an elderly person, a circumstance possibly warranted by the information that he soon after passed away from old age.

In attempting to comment further on this enigmatic figure and his itinerary, a far better clue shall be mooted for his identification. The information given below that Jo-btsun suddenly passed away at the otherwise little-known (and unidentified) locale Ra-sha ma-se suggests, at least, a parallel to Bla-ma dBu-ma-pa (of sNye-nam) who, according to the biography of *grub thob* U-rgyan-pa Seng-ge- (alt. Rin-chen-)-dpal (1230–1309 A.D.; cf. *Grub thob U rgyan pa'i rnam thar* 152–162; for the period, see also BA Roerich 701) passed away at a village named Ra-sha dba'-se on his way from Nepal to sKyid-grong in *ca*. 1261 A.D. At that place he drowned. Roberto Vitali, based upon a close reading of U-rgyan-pa's biography (see von Rospatt, *forthcoming*) cogently suggests that Jo-btsun and Bla-ma dBu-ma-pa simply are identical figures. In that case, his renovation of Shing-kun should be dated to late 1250's or early 1260's.

[334] Text either reads *Blo smad gtad* or *gtang*. Bla-shod still remains unidentified.

brought his mind to maturation in meditation and spiritual realization, he arrived in Nepal [Bal-yul], and having greatly worked for the benefit of the Nepalese people, [he intended to] renew the central pole (*srog shing, yaṣṭi*) of Ārya Svayambhū[-caitya] ['Phags-pa Shing-kun], whereupon he cut down one [trunk] among three [trunks being found suitable to serve as] a central pole that were found growing in Sing-ga-nags [i.e. Nuwākoṭ][335] and exchanged it with the central pole originally set up by 'Phags-pa Klu-sgrub [i.e. Ārya Nāgārjuna]. He then set up a new *chattra,* white-washed the [re-consecrated] *caitya* and installed a monolith (*rdo ring*) [commemorating the renovation]. He [thus] succeeded in accomplishing the promotion [for the welfare of the Nepalese people] on an immeasurable scale through his karmic feats. The Nepalese king and the Newār noble citizens (*'ba' ro*, *bhāro*) [of Kathmandu] presented [Jo-btsun] with a [miniature] bKra-shis sgo-mangs [*stūpa*] along with an endless number of gifts [as a token of gratitude] such as cotton [cloth], etc. He thereafter went back [towards Tibet], only to pass away [at a place called] Ra-sha ma-se.[336] The *bla ma* [and] *dpon* [*po*] of Tshang-'dur purified the body [i.e. executed the funeral ritual] and established at the place of the funeral pyre a *mchod rten*. [They] presented the dBu-rtse at Gung-thang with a golden statue of Mañjūśrī as well as offered the [above] many-doored *stūpa* to the [local] meditation college (*sgom sde*) [in Tshal]. Be-tse and Khyung-brten, the two, gradually brought along presents to [this local] *sgom sde*.

[**Nyag 'Bri-ra-ba**]

The disciple of Zhang, Nyag 'Bri-ra-ba established the Zhol-bu monastery.[337] After the people of 'Or-ma, Ron and Gung-thang[338] had become *yon bdag* [the number of] converts and feats increased on a large scale. In sKyid-grong [district] too the 'Jam-dpal-gling[339] and Rin-po-che [~ Rin-chen]

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[335] The Lion Forest or Sing-ga-nags in the vicinity of Bal-po'i *rdzong*, i.e. Newarkoṭ / Nowakot, *ca*. 70 km from Kathmandu towards sKyid-grong; cf. A.W. Macdonald and Dvags-po Rin-po-che 1983: 269–270; Lo Bue 1997: 653. It was a much-sought place of retreat (*sgrub gnas*) already associated with Mi-las ras-pa, but esp. with his successors in the *Ras chung snyan brgyud* tradition, cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 151–153; repeatedly visited by *grub thob* O-rgyan-pa too, as reported in his biography.

For the different renovations of Svayambhū, cf. Ehrhard 1989: 1–9; 1990: 10–20; and foremost von Rospatt 2000, 2001 and Rospatt, *forthcoming*.

[336] The only corroboration of this otherwise unidentified temple is *Grub chen O rgyan pa'i rnam thar* 162, where the village of Ra-sha dba'-se is located en route between Nepal and sKyid-grong.

[337] *Deb dmar* 147.10: Zhol-phug. It corresponds to sMan-mthong Zhol-phug which is located in the area of 'Or-ma in sKyid-grong (following note). The *Va ti bzang po'i rnam thar* (Ehrhard 2003: 221) mentions it as the place of a certain *grub thob* Zhol-chen-pa, perhaps a second name of the founder. It later became a favourite site of Bo-dong Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1375–1451 A.D.). Cf. Diemberger *et al.* 1997: 73; Ehrhard, *op. cit*., 221, 359–60. It still remains uncertain whether Nyag 'Bri-ra-ba is identical with the Zhang disciple 'Bri-ra-ba Śākya-'od who is said to have established a monastery in Byang (fn. 101 above). Vitali argues that Byang was once the name of an area in western Gung-thang (Vitali 1997: 1025f.).

[338] 'Or-ma is the name of a valley and village south of rDzong-dga'. See Map 6 in Everding 2000; *CTZhZh* 332; Ehrhard 2003: 360. The geograph. position of 'Or-ma village: 29°02'N 85°27'E, *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 446b. The toponym 'Or-ma of sKya-rnga-rtsa is known as the birthplace of Mi-las ras-pa, cf. Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 357. 'Or-ma gnas-gsar kyi lha-khang (cf. *Mar lung rnam thar* 127b5). Ron (-phu and -mda') is situated south of the dGun valley (fn. 307). The Mi-la ras-pa site of 'Od-gsal-phug is situated in Upper Ron. Cf. Ehrhard 2003: 357–58.

[339] It appears to be identical with the monastery of 'Jam-dpal-gling situated in the Grva district of south-eastern sKyid-grong (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 451b; Map 5 in Everding 2000); from the 16th century, it was associated with the 'Ba'-ra bKa'-brgyud-pa school. Everding 2000: 105, 203; Ehrhard 2003: 369.

spungs-pa monasteries were erected. [**27a**] In Sa-'gag of 'Or-ma, a *kag-ṇi* (**kaṇiṣka*) *stūpa* was erected.[340] Three successive [generations?] of *bla ma* having brought along [inconceivably many] presents in form of material goods to Tshal Gung-thang, to the *sgom sde* [College] and to 'Bri-ra,[341] the religious service rendered expanded greatly. bSam-gtan rDzogs-pa [~ rDzong-pa] chen-po established in Glo-bo the monastery of bSam-gtan-rdzong.[342] By way of religious explication and meditative realization, he safeguarded [the well-being and progress] of his convertees. Bringing along presents gradually to lHa Phyug[-mkhar] and to the sGom-sde College [of Tshal Gung-thang], he was [able] to amass immense accumulations [of Merit and Wisdom]. Due to the huge respect and devotion to the see, he [was able] to execute his karmic activities and [thus] work for the sake of living beings.

[B] [Patronage of the Tshal-pa Branch Establishments in the Kingdom of Pu-rang]

[***rTogs ldan* g.Yungs-pa**]

rTogs ldan g.Yungs-pa, disciple of the Rin-po-che,[343] arrived at the rDzong-drug of Mi-la [ras-pa] and at Ti-se. Taking up residence at Mi-la rDo-rje-phug,[344] he refined his skills of spiritual accomplishment. His activities and his work for the sake of sentient beings were immeasurable. Setting up [his monastic] residence in the presence of the king of Pu-rang,[345] he acted as private court chaplain (*purohita*) to the royal couple (*rgyal po yab yum*). On account of the boundless devotion and respect [that he was thus accorded, they presented him with] golden gifts which [he then] even had escorted to the sGom-sde [i.e. the sGom-sde gZims-khang shar-ma of Tshal Gung-thang]. After he had passed away, the king and the queen along with his [former] monks and disciples erected a *nang rten* and a *phyi rten* [and executed a] *'dabs* [in commemoration of the deceased].

[**Tshul-dar-ba**]

Thereafter *bla ma* Tshul-dar-ba was invited [to Pu-rang] where he cared for and safeguarded the monastery as well as [the well-being of] the monks and disciples. Taking up his seat directly [in front of the king's palace] he [too] became the king's private court chaplain [in accordance with the system of a] patron and priest (*yon* [*bdag*] *mchod* [*gnas*], *dānapati*, *purohita*). He passed away after having safeguarded the welfare of the living beings on an immeasurably large scale [who had all accorded] him their devotion and respect. The king and queen as well as his monks and disciples [too] erected a *nang rten* and *phyi rten* [and carried out a] *'dabs*.

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[340] The monastery most probably refers to the place of Brag Rin-chen-spungs-pa situated close to rDzong-dkar; it is mentioned as a *bla gter* treasure site created by Prince Mu-ne btsan-po (elsewhere Mu-khri btsad-po). See Ehrhard 2003: 222, 362.

[341] Currently unidentified. It is perhaps related to [Nyag] 'Bri-ra-ba.

[342] Cf. above fn. 277.

[343] I.e. Rin-po-che gDan-sa-ba, either lHa-phyug mkhar-pa or Rin-po-che Sangs-rgyas-'od.

[344] It remains unclear which of the Mi-la sites is meant here; perhaps it is to be read as rDo-rje-rdzong; cf. rDo-rje *rdzong* of Brag-skya, above fol 23b.

[345] This may suggest that he established his monastic community in front of the king's palace or, equally likely, had his monastic establishment facing directly towards Pu-rang. See also below, fn. 346. For Pur-rang, its history and religious sites, see most recently Tsering Gyalbo 2006.

[**Shes-rab 'phel-ba**]

Thereafter *bla ma* Shes-rab 'phel-ba was invited [to the court] [**27b**] where he [too] cared for and safeguarded the monastery as well as [looking after] the [local] monks and disciples. Having taken up his seat [too] in front of [the palace of the king], he acted as the private court chaplain (*purohita, bla mchod = bla'i mchod gnas*) of the royal couple. On account of the patron-priest [relationship which thus evolved], the king granted him the gSer gyi gtsug-lag-khang including the adjacent community once established by *lo tsā ba* Rin-chen bzang-po[346] as well as the gZhi [~ bZhi]-sde'i gTsug-lag-khang along with its community,[347] whereupon he executed his karmic activities on an immeasurably large scale and worked for the sake of the living beings. Having passed away, the *'dabs* as well as a *phyi rten* and and *nang rten* [objects in his commemoration] were erected by the king and his queen as well as by his monks and disciples.

[**Sangs-rgyas 'od-zer**]

Following him, *bla ma* Sangs-rgyas 'od-zer was invited [to the court]. He [too] took up his seat directly in front [of the king] assuming the task of safeguarding the monastery as well as caring for the monks and disciples; thereafter he became the court chaplain of the royal couple and bestowed [e.g.] empowerment (*abhiṣeka*) on the king, queen and ministers. He was subsequently invited by the King of Gu-ge where he bestowed upon the king, queen and ministers empowerment, [thus] on an immeasurably large scale [he harvested] an wealth of presents [that showered down upon him]. His karmic activities and his work for the sake of living beings were [indeed] extensive. He thereafter [again] settled down in front of [the king] of Pu-rang where he worked on an immeasurably large scale for the sake of the sentient beings. He received [as grant] the gSer gyi Bya-skyibs of Gad-pa[348] that was [under the jurisdiction] of the incumbents of rTa-sga [monastery] as well as some

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[346] Cf. also *Deb dmar* 148. The temple appears to refer to the famous Tho-ling gSer-khang of Gu-ge (also known as gSer-khang or 'Jam-dpal rnam-'phrul bla-med 'dzam-gling-rgyan), usually ascribed to Ye-shes-'od and the great translator Rin-chen-bzang-po (985–1055 A.D.; *mNga ris rgyal rabs* (Vitali 1996: 311f.; 442: n. 737) gives *mnga' bdag* Zhi-ba-'od as the founder of the temple, sit. in present-day rTsa-mda' county). As noted by Vitali in this context (*op. cit.*, 442–3), the king who presented the gSer-khang to the Tshal-pa may be identified with the Gu-ge ruler Grags-pa-lde who controlled Pu-rang in the period in question and thus also functioned as overlord of the Tshal-pa of Pu-rang (*ca*. 1265–1277 A.D.). However, the context rather points to a lord of Pu-rang and not to a ruler of the Gu-ge house (the latter mentioned separately as inviter of the Tshal-pa; see below) and one may take into account that the gSer-khang refers to a temple of the closer Pu-rang territory, perhaps to the late 10th-cent. foundation of 'Khor-chags (Kho-char, Kha-char) situated on the eastern bank of the rMa-bya (Karnali) river in Pu-rang (not far from the Tshal-pa seat of bZhi-sde; foll. note). Geograph. Position: 30°19'N 81°26'E. For a description of the temple, see Tsering Gyalbo 2006: 119–138, cf. also Vitali 1996: 258ff. For Tho-ling (mTho-lding: 31°48'N 79°79'E), see Tsering Gyalbo, *op. cit*., 175–188.

[347] The early *phyi dar* site of bZhi-sde (~bde) (Zhi-sde lha-sde *dgon*) is situated on the western bank of the Karnali, in present day Zhi-bde *xiang* of Pu-rang county. It is situated within the ruins of the fort of Zhi-sde khyung-rdzong dkar-mo. Geograph. position: 30°24'N 81°18'E (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 690b; the area in Pu-rang *smad* is related to the ancient Cog-ro clan (cf. Vitali 1996: 330; Tsering Gyalbo 2006: 142) and may correspond to the imperial Cog-la *stong sde* of Zhang-zhung *smad*; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 188.1). The religious seat was later (from the 15th cent.) held by the Ngor-pa of the Sa-skya school. Cf. Vitali, *op. cit*, 1996: 392. For a description of Zhi-sde and its neighbouring sites, see Tsering Gyalbo 2006: 141f., *et passim*.

[348] For this famous temple (formerly a sacred site of the Bon-po, i.e. the rock cave, Gad kyi Byi-ba [~ Byis-pa]-mkhar in the Bon sources, see e.g. *g.Yung-drung Bon gyi bstan 'byung* 62, 111, 294, 329; *sPyi spungs khro 'grel* 59, etc.). The place was subsequently appropriated by the 'Brug-pa followed by the 'Bri-gung-pa. At one point, it was appropriated by 'Bri-gung *spyan snga* Shes-rab 'byung-gnas and his large retinue. Thereupon it was occupied (together with the hermitage

monasteries in Pu-rang.[349] The monastery established by Bla-ri-pa, whose patron (*yon bdag*) the Men-zhang were,[350] the Chos-gung [= Chos-lung] monastery established by the [g]Ser-spangs mkhan-po,[351] as well as in the area of sMan-khrod and Mar-lung[352] too an inconceivable number of monks, disciples and *yon bdag* contributed to expand the [number of] monasteries [of the Tshal-pa in the Western part of Tibet]. Even at rTa-sga, they brought along presents in form of material goods and riches primarily holy scriptures and writings. [**28a**] Their attachment and devotion [towards the Tshal-pa and their institutions] was indeed immeasurable."[353]

This abbreviated exposition of the history of the origin of the sTod Tshal [has been written] in accordance with [the exposition] found in the *Tshal pa'i Deb* [*ther*] *dmar* [*po*]. Beyond these [details found in the latter book] if one should want to know [in greater detail] the lineage of disciples [active in these areas] and the expansion of the *sgom grva* [in the same areas], one may glean [these details] from earlier historical books (*chos 'byung*), the *Tshal ba'i Deb ther chen mo* and its appendix (*kha long, ~ skong*), the section [known as] *Deb ther mKhas pa'i yid phrog*,[354] the *dGos 'dod re skong ma*[355] as well as from the *gSung 'bum* of the *drung chen* Kun-dga' rdo-rje.

[Concluding intermediate stanzas (*antaraśloka, bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa*) [**28a3–28b1**]].

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of gSang-ba mchod-phug) by the Tshal-pa through Mar-lung-pa; cf. *Mar lung rnam thar* 125b2–3. Most likely, it had been donated to the Tshal-pa of rTa-sga by the Pu-rang ruler Jo-bo Rin-chen-'bum; cf. Vitali 1996: 397. It is located on the north-western shore of Ma-pham g.yu-mtsho. Geograph. position: 30°45'N 81°12'E; cf. Chos kyi blo-gros, *mTsho ma dros pa'i lo rgyus* 214–15. Tsering Gyalbo 2006: 151.

[349] Cf. *Chos legs rnam thar* 10a (Everding 2000: 589).

[350] Cf. above fn. 280.

[351] The monastery is situated in the area north of Gro-shod; cf. Everding 2000: 448, 591. In *Mar lung pa rnam thar* 174.4f. it is listed as one of the sTod Tshal btsan-po cha-drug, i.e. the six powerful establishments of the sTod Tshal school, a classification which includes Chos-dGon gnyis (i.e. Chos-lung and Chos-'dzoms; [Vitali, *op. cit.*, 398 reads: Chos-lung and dGon go-gsum]) situated in the upper (western) part (of the lower mNga'-ris area), [Yang-]Brag and bSam[-gtan-rdzong] in the middle part (in Glo-bo) and Mar[-lung] (see below) and rTa[-sga] in the lower part. Cf. Vitali 1996: 397, 398, fn. 648; Everding, *op. cit*., 389, fn. 996). At Chos-lung, it is reported for mid-1620's that one of the Four celebrated Autogenous Brother statues of Ārya Avalokiteśvara, the 'Phags-pa U-khang (a replica?, otherwise associated with Nepal) was set up; *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 142a6–b1.

[352] On the West Tibetan region of Mar-lung, see Vitali 1996, s.v. index; Everding 2000: 211, and *passim*. It was among others the birthplace of Mar-lung-pa Byang-chub seng-ge, a foremost representative of the early sTod Tshal school. sMan-khrod refers to a neighbouring region; Everding, *op. cit*., 382.

[353] For a discussion of some of these localities where the head of these establishments, in some sources, even led to the rise of local petty Tshal-pa rulers or leaders (*dpon*, *btsad po*), see Vitali 1996: 397–398.

[354] This text is generally considered lost; but see Introduction.

[355] This refers to Bla-ma Zhang's abbreviated biographical sketch called *dGos 'dod re skong ma* (also called his *rang bstod*, i.e. Zhang's "self-praise" *DL5 Thob yig II* 89b1) or to the commentary made by Kun-dga' rdo-rje, written 1353 with the full title *'Gro mgon rin po che'i rnam thar bsdus pa dGos 'dod re bskong ma'i grel pa* (also called *Bla ma zhang gi rnam thar*; cf. *dPe rgyun* 416.5) contained in *ZhK II* 532.1–575.4.

[II.2 History of the Secular Lords (*srid skyong* [and *khri dpon*]) of Tshal] [**28b1**–**42a4**]

If one thus were to explicate briefly how the karmic feats [– which in number and magnitude resemble the sky –] relating to the Three Wheels of Zhang Rin-po-che and his lineage of disciples were carried out and, as a part of this, the way how [later] the ruling secular lords of Tshal-pa (*srid skyong khri dpon*)[356] accomplished the physical legacies [at Tshal Gung-thang] for the worthy recipients of worship, represented principally by the congregation and the master and disciples of Tshal-pa, then [to begin with, we should mention]

[**1**] [**Dar-ma gzhon-nu**]

[**28b1**] Zhang Rin-po-che's adjutant was Dar-ma gzhon-nu,[357] an incarnation of brGya-byin [*Indra*],

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[356] The adm. term *srid skyong* evidently is a phrase coined in the 17th and 18th century; it won currency e.g. in the writings of the 5th Dalai Lama and henceforth. See also Richardson, 'The Decree' 449.

[357] Dar-ma (or young person) or Darma = Dharma. His biography *bKa' rgya ma I* 109–153; *Mar lung rnam thar* 69a3, 80b1, 173a2–4: mKhan-po (*sic*) Chos kyi gzhon-nu or Tshal gyi mkhan po Dharma gzhon-nu; further *Deb dmar* 128.22ff.; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 202.13f.; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 808.13f.; *Bod kyi deb ther* 106.5f.; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 151. He was a most important figure in the initial development of the Tshal-pa tradition, only surpassed by Bla-ma Zhang himself. In a specific classification of Zhang's disciples, *Deb dmar* 128.2ff. presents the *'phrin las grub pa'i bu chen* of Bla-ma Zhang, i.e. those great pupils who fulfilled or executed Bla-ma Zhang's karmic (i.e. active compassionate) activities (here probably an euphemism for either warfare, proselytism or artistry, etc.). In this list the first mentioned is

- Dar-ma gzhon-nu. Then follows
- *lha btsun* dBung-seng of 'Phreng-po (i.e. 'Phrang-po/'go = ? the *btsan po* of 'Phrang-po; cf. e.g. *'Phrang po btsad po'i don du gsung pa'i gdam ngag dgos pa kun tshang* among Zhang's writings)
- Khri-rtse, Prince (*btsan po*) of bSam-yas (i.e. perhaps a member of the family of lHa-btsun sNgon-mo of bSam-yas; a Jo-bo lHa-btsun is mentioned elsewhere as one of Zhang's fellow-combatants; cf. *Deb sngon* 836.8; *bKa' rgya ma II* 157f.; Jackson 1994: 62; *Mar lung pa rnam thar* 82b.1 lists the Zhang disciple called bSam-yas-pa bSam-gtan seng-ge; on the bSam-yas ruler, see TBH Sørensen 443f.). However, this *lha btsun* could also refer to a member of another ruling house, such as the one of Bya-sa (from the Yar-lung jo-bo *brgyud*) which at that period was represented by the three brothers Jo-bo lHa-chen-po (*alias* lHa-chen dPal-'bar), Khri Dar-ma and lHa[-btsun] Zhi-ba. The first is specified in the *bKa' gdams chos 'byung* as the lHa-chen dPal-'bar of Zhang-mtshal, suggesting that he belonged to the retinue of Bla-ma Zhang Tshal-pa. A closer relation between Tshal and Bya-sa is also alluded to by a note given in *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 558) according to which Bla-ma Zhang wanted to induce Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po to become the chaplain of the Bya-sa ruler; only Zhang in this context is rather to be read as [Bla-ma] Zhang [g]Sum thog-pa (see Introduction: fn. 16; above fn. 47 and fn. 813 *infra*).
- *gnas brtan* dGe-seng of bZang-yul [Mon-gdong] (cf. fn. 62)
- *gnas brtan* Seng-ge-grags of Gru-gu-sgang in Chu-shul (cf. *Mar lung pa rnam thar* 82b3 and below fn. 431)
- rDor [i.e. rDo-rje] dBang, the nephew of the king of Kha-rag
- *gnas brtan* Grub-thob of sGa-'dra (see fn. 422)
- *sgom pa* dKon-mchog seng-ge
- *gnas brtan* of mTsho-sna in Mon
- *gnas brtan* of 'Brug-mdo (in gNam of sKyid-smad?)
- *gnas brtan* mGon-po (cf. the text *gNas brtan mgon po'i don du mdzad pa'i zas kyi rnal 'byor* Zhang' writings)
- Dar-bsod (i.e. *rtogs ldan* Dar-bsod? above 23b)
- 'Gar (= mGar) rGyal-ba 'byung-gnas (= the father of the 4th *db*/*pon sa ba*, see below)
- Nag-po dBon-ston of Kun-dga' ra-ba of Phyag Khri-mchog
- Dam-pa Srabs-sman of gZhung
- 'Bum-yag of sGre-mkhar

the Lord of the Gods:[358] He was born at Ban-khos[359] in the Wood Ox year [1145 A.D.] known as *krodhana* of the second sexagenary cycle (*prabhava*). After his ordination, he followed 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che as assistant and became his spiritual son. In the Fire sheep year [1187 A.D.], he rendered service to the Bla-ma [i.e. Bla-ma Zhang] and for the latter's pleasure, he erected the Gung-thang gtsug-lag-khang and the Byang-chub chen-po [*pho brang*] in the Upper Courtyard (*khyams stod*). At the point when 'Gro-mgon passed into *nirvāṇa*, he was elected as *bdag po* of the community and the gTsug-lag-khang. In accordance with this, he [erected] the *mgon khang* in the outer Courtyard (*phyi'i khyams*) [i.e. Khyams-smad];[360] inside [the gTsang-khang shar-ma],[361] he erected [the ossuary] *gdung rten* bKra-shis 'od-'bar. He finished as well the remaining [still incomplete] part of the [huge] sKu-'bum chen-mo, etc. In an undiminished way, he [thus] succeeded in paying respect to the mother seat [of Yang-dgon] as well as to the [numerous] branch monasteries inclusive the masters and disciples and subjects. He occupied the office of the *dp/bon sa* for 21 years. At the age of 88, he passed away [*ca*. 1232–33 A.D.].[362]

[2] ['Byung-gnas brtson-'grus]

His [i.e. Dar-ma gzhon-nu's] nephew (*dbon*) 'Byung-gnas brtson-'grus was [subsequently] elected to the office of the *dbon sa* in a Pig year [1215 A.D.].[363] He greatly rendered service to the gTsug-lag-khang and the [local, adjacent] precinct. During his tenure, the disciple of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-

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- Hril-chung, the *dkon gnye*r of Gung-thang (also Hral-chung; see Introduction: Chap. 7)
- *lha bzo dpon* Pho-rog (cf. *bKa' rgya ma II* 27.4–5, 51.2: *bzo bo dpon* Pho-ro Seng-ge rgyal)
- Mar-pa lHa-dkar (also Mar-pa the famous sculpture-maker, see fn. 751 below)
- *shing mkhan* Phag lHa-bzo (He was considered a master wood-carver (*shing bzo ba mkhas pa'i yang rtse*); his family lineage later produced further artists like *dpon mo che* rDo-rje gzhon-nu, *dpon mo che* dKar-po-mgon; cf. *Tshal rnam* 61a1–2; see also Introduction: Chap. 7)
- lHa Nyi-ma shes-rab, i.e. Ro-skam-pa; see above fn. 194.
- *Phyag dpe ba* [s]Na-mo rJe-btsun
- *dkon gnyer* Hral-mo
- *sgom pa* bZod-ldan
- *gnas brtan* mChog-lha, etc. See also Part II: Table V. 4.

Under all these devotees and close assistants (*nye gnas*, usually translated as assistant but in this case, considering the nature of the relationship, attendant, adjutant or aide-de-camp are posssibly better renderings), Dar-ma gzhon-nu, as said, was pre-eminent. In the usual pictorial representation of the Tshal-pa triad which consisted of Bla-ma Zhang (center), rG[v]a-lo (right) and Dar-ma gzhon-nu (left), we see that this disciple's role was prominent. Unknown is the clan of Dar-ma gzhon-nu, from whom descends the first three generations of Tshal-pa rulers; but see App. IV: Chap. 4.1.

[358] See App. IV: Chap. 4.1, 4.2.

[359] The place-name Ban-khos (Ban-khos Gung-ba-ri, Bang-ba-ri) is known from the geomantic descriptions of the lHa-sa valley where it designates one of the eastern toponyms (see App. IV: Graph 1). In *HSLG* Vol 1: 64 the Gung-ba-ri of Ban-khos is identified with a mountain in Shing-tshang (Map 1.b.2). Cf. also below 31a for Shes-rab-'bum of Ban-khos.

[360] The Khyams-smad of the old temple structure, corresponds to the today's 'Du-khang (see Graph. 2).

[361] See below, 59a.

[362] For the succession of the Tshal-pa rulers nos. 1–15, i.e. until the reign of Phag-mo gru-pa during the tenancy of dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan (no. 16), cf. *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 4bf.; *Bod kyi deb ther* 106.5–109.11 (= TPS Tucci 1949: 629; Ahmad 1995: 107f.); *Vaḍūrya ser po* 151.14f.

[363] *Gung thang dkar chag* (following *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 50b5–6: *zhang gi dbon tshang la skyi shod stod smad chu shur bzad sogs kyi khri dpon gyi 'ja' sa byung*) retains the form *dbon sa* "Nephew Seat" (?) as the form for this seat; the 5th Dalai Lama in his *Bod kyi deb ther* has *dpon gyi go sa*, uses the more obvious *dpon*[*po'i*] *sa*, i.e. secular ruler (of Tshal Gung-thang), which under the Sa-skya/Yüan administration also functioned as *khri dpon*.

che, Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge [*alias* Bla-ma Gung-thang-pa][364] [**29a**] in a Rat year [= 1216 A.D.] presented [the *vihāra* and this ruler with] the so-called *Glegs bam 'Ga' sa ma* Manuscript written with melted gold worth 40 *srang*, an extraordinary embroidered Thangka (*rtags sku* = *btags sku*) [i.e. a *kesi* tapestry][365] and a huge golden drapery hangings (*gser 'phan, paṭṭa*), etc. He occupied the office of the *dbon sa* for 13 years; in a Pig year [1227 A.D.] he passed away.

[**3**] [**Ye-shes 'byung-gnas**]

Thereupon the nephew (*dbon*) Ye-shes 'byung-gnas[366] was elected to the office of the *dbon sa*. During his tenure, he [forcefully] subjugated (*mnga' 'og tu bcug*) many settlements (*yul grong*) in the area of sKyid-smad, known as Srid Ma-bzhi Bu-brgyad [i.e. the "Dominion of the Four Mothers and Eight Sons"].[367] [This period] was known as the beginning of the Teaching [i.e. the Dissemination of the Tshal-pa bka'-brgyud-pa School] and prosperity and felicity prospered [during his tenancy] greatly. He served the office of the *dbon sa* for five years. In a Tiger year [i.e. 1230 A.D.], he passed away.

[**4**] [**mGar Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub**]

mGar Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub [1187–1261] [as next incumbent] arrived at the seat of the *dpon sa* [*ca.* 1240?]. As to his clan [mGar]: [divinely] originating from the Land of the Gods (*lha yul*) mGar Tshe-nam, [mGar] Tshe-'brug [first appeared, followed by] mGar Bla-mkhyen chen-po etc. and in close line [of affilliation subsequently] the *chos blon chen po* mGar sTong-btsan Yul-bsrung of the Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sgam-po [appeared] subjugating under his sway half [the world of] Jambudvīpa. He invited the Chinese and the Nepalese princesses, [brought] marvellous images such as the two [famed] Jo-bo Śākya[-muni] Brother Statues, the Byams-pa chos-'khor and [the Statue of the] Speaking Tārā (gSung-byon-ma) made from sandalwood as well as many extraordinary costly items (*rin po che'i dpyad pa* [~ *spyad*, *chas,* i.e. *yo byad*])[368] to Tibet. Causing the Holy Law to disseminate in Tibet, he made his benevolence permeate [and hence reach] the entire population of the Land of Snow. Then again, after numerous generations had passed, mGar Yang-thog rgyal-ba [appeared]. He had two sons: rGyal-le and 'Phen-ne. The latter one took possession of [the place called] Ram-pa[369] [whereas] the first[-

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[364] See below 29b.

[365] Perhaps it refers to the *btags sku* with the image of Bla-ma Zhang; see App. I.

[366] Also Ye-shes-gzung. Cf. *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 5b4. Tenancy 1227–1230.

[367] Also *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 151.19; *Bod kyi deb ther* 106 reads Sring-mo-bzhi bu-brgyad or "Four Sisters and Eight Sons" (but see TPS Tucci 629; Ahmad 1995: 265, fn. 909: *srid ma bzhi bu brgyad*). The toponym is still not identified. It evidently indicates a local rule in sKyi[d]-smad; *ma bzhi bu brgyad* possible here refers to a idiosyncratic classification of (early) temples, i.e. four mother [seats] and eight branch temples or dependencies (= *bu*) which belonged to one of the local ruling houses of sKyid-smad such as the lHa-pa (below fn. 420).

[368] Cf. TBH Sørensen 199–249. We here do not read *d/spyad pa* as "workmanship," although theoretically feasible.

[369] Cf. *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 5b2–3. Ram-pa in sTod-lung is registered, according to a gloss in *rGyal rabs gsal*, as the seat of *blon po* mGar (sTon-btsan yul-bzung); see TBH Sørensen: 180; *HSLG* Vol. 3: 62. Cf. also Ram-pa rGyab-ma, an early *phyi dar* foundation established from sNye-thang Brag-sna and the bKa'-gdams-pa establishment of Ram-pa lHa-sdings of sTod-lung-mda' (*bKa' gdams chos 'byung III* 128.20–21; MTP Uebach 149; *lHa nang pa'i rnam thar* 56–57 maintains it is located not far from 'Bur pass and that it belonged to the monastic estate of Brang Ra-mo-che controlled by sBal-ti Jo-sras (App. V: Table 8 below). Ram-pa more precisely is the name of the valley due west of sKyor-mo-lung (see Part I: Map 3). It represents one of several "mGar (and Kong-jo) places" associated with the sTod-lung area (fn. 372 below; App. IV: fn. 21). Here, some ruins in central Ram-pa are locally identified as the birthplace of

mentioned] settled down in Grib [adjacent to lHa-sa].[370] His [i.e. rGyal-le's] son was mGar rGyal-ba 'byung-gnas who became *yon bdag* to Zhang Rin-po-che.[371] [**29b**] Requesting from him empowerment and instruction [Zhang bestowed these upon mGar]. In accordance with [intense] prayers [for a male heir], [Zhang] prophesied that [mGar's] junior wife would beget a son, wherefore [mGar] rejoiced greatly and he [immediately] invited Zhang Rin-po-che to Grib gSer-khang, saying: "Although I am 50 years of age, I have until now not produced any heir. Having now blessed this offspring of mine, I beg you [to accept him] by embracing him with your compassion!" Zhang directed a [magical] gesture towards the body of the wife of mGar, and spoke: "The body of yours will bear a talented *puruṣa* who will render [great] service to my [Tshal-pa] teaching!" whereupon [she and her son] received empowerment. He thereupon placed his hand on the wife's head, [her son, the future] *dpon* Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub took birth through the benediction and truthful words [uttered by Zhang].[372]

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blon po mGar who later is said to have settled down together with the Chinese princess (Kong-jo) in rGya-mo (Fig. 70a below). This village at the entrance to the valley is named after the princess who here allegedly gave birth to a son (with mGar as the father). A small lake near rGya-mo is considered the soul-lake of this mGar issue who is said to have died a tender age. A number of additional mGar and Kong-jo sites are to be found in this area, such as the place where *blon po* mGar discovered iron, or the Kong-jo *thab*, a rock in upper Ram-pa which is described as the stove of the Kong-jo.

[370] Alt. tr.: "Initial[ly] he settled down in Grib." The local tradition holds that already in the time of *blon chen* mGar there was a residence of the mGar family in Grib and the tradition thus speaks of a Blon-po mGar-tshang, the ruins of which is still visible today. It is linked to the story according to which the minister had a liaison with the Chinese princess and therefore was expelled to Grib for three years by the jealous Srong-btsan sgam-po. More likely, however, these ruins refer to the below-mentioned Grib [g]Ser-khang where Bla-ma Zhang met his future *yon bdag* of Tshal. See for more details, App. IV: Chap. 2.

[371] *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 5b3. He belonged to the group of trusted assistants and pupils who executed the worldly hegemonic tasks of Bla-ma Zhang. See above fn. 357. He or his father rGyal-le may be related to the *dpon* rGyal-tshas (= *tsha*, nephew of rGyal-ba/rGyal-le?) A-ma lha-gcig who is mentioned in Zhang's autobiographical writings to have invited him to Tshal (prior to the foundation of Yang-dgon); cf. *bKa' thor bu* 150.4. The recent *lHa sa'i lo rgyus* speaks of him as the *bdag po* of the Tshal estate who acted as Zhang's *yon bdag* when the latter founded the Yang-dgon. *HSLG* Vol 6: 217.

[372] The *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* (*MN* 4b3f.) and *Bod kyi deb ther* (*BD* 106–07; TPS Tucci 629) offer in its description of the Tshal-pa ruler the following genalogical list of the mGar descendants ([*a*], [*b*] = brothers): Tshe-nam Tsha/Tshe-'brug (descended from heaven and 'Od-gsal) with g.Yu-bza' Bod-dkar → mGar mThing-na-rje (not listed in *BD*) → mGar Bla-ma mkhyen-chen-po [Khri-sgra 'Jings-smug] → [sTong]-Mes/Me Khri-chags/lcags → mGar sTong-btsan Yul-bzung (i.e. *blon chen* mGar) → *btsan po* Yon-tan rgyal-bzung (?) → mGar *btsan po* Dred-po [*a*], bTsan-snyan Gung-ston [*b*], lHa-gcig sNyan-ldem-bu [*c*] (*var.* bTsan-snyan lDom-bu, ruler (*yul dpon*) of sNye-mo [= the (later) *blon che* (chief minister) mGar bTsan-snye/snya lDom/lDem-bu, known as one of the sons of sTong-btsan yul-bzung, see Richardson 1998: 17; see also TBH Sørensen 348, 415, *et passim*]; [*a*] and *b*] are not mentioned in *BD*) → Khri-zangs Dong-bu (~Dum-bu) → Khri-gnyer Khri-lcags → sTong-mes Khri-snang → Khri-sto-ro sTag-gzung (var. Khri-to-re sTag-[g]zung Khri-bzher khus-po, sTong-bzher Khus-chung) → Khri-btsan 'Phan-gzigs → *blon chen* Chas-pa sgo-drug (in *BD* listed as brother of sTong-mes Khri-snang and Khri-sto-ro sTag-gzung) → rDo-rje-gzung → Khri-gzung-btsan → 3–4 generations → then in succession mGar Thog-yang rgyal (= Yon/Yang-thog rgyal-ba) → rGyal-le [*a*] and 'Phan-ne (*GT*:'Phan-ne; he took hold of Ram-pa; see above) → mGar rGyal-ba 'byung-gnas (he settled in Grib; he entered a patron-priest relationship with Bla-ma Zhang, see above) → Sangs-rgyas dNgos-grub (= no. 4 in the list of *GT*) → Rin-rgyal-ba (= no. 5) → the three sons of no. 5: [*a*] Nyi-ma shes-rab (no. 6), [*b*] dGa'-bde-dpal [~ mgon] (no. 7), and the monk Rin-chen dbang-phyug seng-ge [*c*]. The two sons of no. 7: [*a*] Rin-chen seng-ge (no. 8) and [*b*] sMon-lam rdo-rje (no. 9) → The two sons of no. 9: [*a*] Kun-dga' rdo-rje (no. 10) and [*b*] Grags-pa bshes-gnyan (no. 11) → The son of no. 10: dGe-legs bzang-po (= no. 12) → The three sons of no. 12: [*a*] Tre-pos (~ tre hos) dPal-'byor bzang-po (= no.13), [*b*] Legs-pa rgyal-mtshan (i.e. the 13th Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba*) and [*c*] Legs-ldan bzang-po

Age 47, he came to the office of the *dp/bon sa*.[373]

[Excursus: The Tshal-pa Presence in Eastern Tibet, Mongolia and the Xia State][374]

Furthermore, as it is rendered [autobiographically] in *bKa' rgya* [*ma*] [of Bla-ma Zhang]:[375]

> "A *mkha' 'gro ma* spoke: "A *vihāra* named Ba-ti sde-chen[376] will appear, [established] by one Bal-po Ba-ta-na-ta [~ Bal-po Bha-tan-ta = a Nepalese Monk], who has collected the essence [of the teachings stemming from] the four great disciples of Nāro[pa]. This [temple] will be taken over by one of your physical manifestations. At that point the teachings [of yours] will spread and expand [greatly]."

and

(= no. 14) → The two sons of no. 13: [*a*] Tre-pos (~ *tre hos*) dGa'-bde bzang-po (= no. 15) and [*b*] dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan (= no. 16 in the present list of *GT*]. Part II: Table V. 1.1; cf. also the (slightly different) mGar *gdung rgyud* representation in lHag-pa chos-'phel 1989.

lHo rong chos 'byung 426.14–20 speaks of four main lineages of the mGar (~'Gar) clan (*'phru rgyud*, *dpe rgyud, kal rgyud*, *chos rgyud*), the first one is the lineage of Srong-(= sTong) btsan yul-bzungs which spead all over dBus-gTsang (On *blon chen* mGar and his family, see Richardson, 'The mGar Family;' see also Blon-phrug gnam lha-rgyal 1994; lHag-pa chos-'phel, *op. cit.*). *bKa' thang sde lnga* 436 lists five mGar ministers during the dynastic time (Srong-btsan Yul-gzung, Khri-'bring btsan-srol, bTsan-snya sDom-bu (see above), Khri Thog-rje A-nu and Khri-sgra Zin-lung) and says that their lineage (= the branch line of sTong-btsan Yul-bzung) came from Ba-gor (i.e. the Ba/sPa-gor in Nye-mo; see *Nying-ma School*, s.v. index). The clan is first mentioned as minister clan of lord Zing-po-rje Khri-'phangs-gsum who was the ruler of pre-dynastic Ngas-po, the later 'Phan-yul (*lDe'u-2* 225.14–15). The home of the mGar branch clan in this area may be the present-day mGar-yul village situated in the eastern 'Phan-yul where according to the locals *blon po* mGar was born. Another tradition places the birth of the minister in the area of mKha'-reg (= Kha-rag, fn. 431) where also a mountain called Blon-po-ri is to be located which is specified as the *blon mgar gyi bla ri* (see bDe-chen sgrol-dkar and Tshe-rdor (eds.) 1988: 17f.). On further mGar places (and "birthplaces" of the minister) in the local tradition of Central Tibet, see App. IV: fn. 21. The eastern Tibetan tradition of the mGar origin is geographically related to rGyal-mo-rong (Dar-mdo county) where the heavenly ancestor is said to have descended on the holy mountain of Mi-nyag bZhag-ra. See Epstein and Wenbin 1999: 340, fn. 17.

[373] Considering the fact that he ascended the throne in *ca*. 1230–31 or a little later at the age of 47, he was arguably born in about 1184–85 A.D. However, *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 5b4–6 suggests the dates 1187–1261, when he died age 75. The texts offer no background for the change in the line of secular rulers. The first three incumbents descended from the family line of Dar-ma gzhon-nu. Evidently, the change coincided with the demise of Dar-ma gzhon-nu (in around 1232), the eminence grise who had hitherto held the fate of Tshal-pa hegemony in his hands. During the same spell, the violent dismissal of the 4th *gdan sa ba* Sangs-rgyas-'bum (*lcags yos* 1231, see above fn. 121) took place, a figure who – as indicated above (22a) – counts among the instigators of the conflict, and who thus may have adhered to the mGar camp. As mentioned above Grib, one of his places of exile, belonged to the mGar clan. It was expressly the same mGar clan who supported Sang-rgyas-'bum when the latter later returned and est. the sGom-sde College. *Shel dkar chos 'byung* 71b (Wangdu and Diemberger 1996: 97) reports that a line descending from Sang-rgyas dngos-grub settled in mNga'-ris Gung-thang and became forefathers for the *sde pa* line Rab-spe-ba, into which line e.g. the 3rd dGe-lugs abbot of Shel-dkar, called 'Jam-dbyangs bKra-shis rgya-mtsho (1641–1718 A.D.) was born.

[374] For a brief survey of the Tibetan-Mongol relationship prior to the establishment of the Yüan-Dynasty – i.e. between the 1220–1260's, see Petech 1983; 1990.

[375] *Verbatim* from *bKa' rgya ma I* (*Ngar phug ma*) 98.4–7; 104.2–3; *dGos 'dod*, *ibd*.

[376] *bKa' rgya ma* and *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 561.3–4 here merely have Bha-ti sDe-chen built by a Nepalese monk. Cf. also sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho, *A mdo chos 'byung* 345.

"About 95 years after I have passed into *nirvāṇa*, my teaching will spread from mDo-smad [i.e. Amdo]."[377]

Concurring with [these] prophecies, the personal disciple of Zhang [named] Bla-ma Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge [initially] arrived in [b]Tsong-kha [in Amdo], where he founded the Large Temple [dGon-mo-che] of Go-ra and functioned as court chaplain (*bla mchod*) for the [local] king [and later for the emperor of Mi-nyag].[378] Assuming the name Gu-shri rTogs-pa yongs-su gsal-ba,[379] he [i.e. the king had] not only presented him earlier with many gifts such as huge golden tassel hangings (*gser 'phan chen mo*) etc.,[380] but also at this point [i.e. at the naming ceremony] too [he] lined up inconceivably [many precious] gifts such as a *bkra shis khra ring,* etc.[381]

Again, [later] the personal disciple of Zhang [Rin-po-che], gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba dBang-phyug bkra-shis, master and disciples, seven in all, arrived in Mongolia (*hor yul*) [**30a**].[382] At one point,

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[377] See *bKa' rgya ma* 104.2-3 for this *ex eventu* prophecy. The year of Zhang's demise 1193 + 95 = 1286–87 A.D., is a date hardly compatible with the subsequent historical context below which sets the scene around the period of Činggis Qan (d. 1227 A.D.). A similar statement was given by Bla-ma Zhang (found in his *bKa' rgya ma*) in connection with the birth of sMon-lam rdo-rje; *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 7a5.

[378] The emperor of Mi-nyag or the Xia empire according to *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 561.3–4, 562.2–5. In this text Grags-pa seng-ge is called *bla ma* rGya Yar-lung-pa. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 50a4–5, probably corrupt, reads: Yar-'brog-pa Seng-ge who became chaplain to the Chinese emperor.

The dGon-mo-che of Go-ra was visited by the 4th Karma-pa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje in 1362 A.D. (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 963-64) en route to Tibet. The parallels to be drawn between the activities (spanning a period of up to 150 years) of Yar-lung-pa and Rol-pa'i rdo-rje are conspicuous. To both are apparently ascribed the erection of the above temple and during their respective sojourn a small-pox epidemic raged. A case of literary mimicry?

It is not infeasible that a relation prevailed between this foundation (in Byang-ngos of the old Mi-nyag) of Bla-ma Yar-lung-pa and the Go-ra gdong-pa monastery in (Upper) Yar-lung founded in the early 13th century by the g.Ya'-bzang-pa student Go-ra gdong-pa Sangs-rgyas lha-sgom who was also present in Tshal Gung-thang (*GT* 58b). See next note.

[379] *Verbatim* from *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 565.3–4. Under this name (lit. "The State Preceptor whose insight / realization is fully clear")* Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge *alias* Gung-thang-pa is listed in *Deb dmar* among the group of the "spiritual sons" of Bla-ma Zhang (Part II: Table V. 4), but namesakes (Lion-like Fame) are recorded too among Zhang's pupils. The alternative name rGya Yar-lung-pa (prev. note) suggests that he was of the rGya clan (or a branch of the clan with residence in Yar-lung?). Again, his dates are still open: Being a pupil of Zhang, he subsequently served as *dishi* to the Tangut court where he introduced Ti-shi ras-pa to the emperor in the early 1200's (cf. fn. 123 above) and was apparently still active in the 1230's (see above *GT* 28b/29a, fn. 382 and Part II: App. I), he dispatched gifts four times to his mother seat Tshal Gung-thang during the reign of the 2nd *dpon chen*, probably for the first time in 1216 A.D. Cf. also Dunnell 1992: 100–101.

* It carries reminiscences of the Khams kyi ston-pa Blo-gros rab-gsal. Sa-paṇ met him in 1244 in Mi-nyag upon his initial arrival there; cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 118–23.

[380] It appears to be the same *gser 'phan* mentioned above (29a) which Yar-lung-pa presented (together with a *kesi thang ka* etc.) to the *vihāra* of Gung-thang. Cf. App. I.

[381] According to *Tshig mdzod* 83, a *bkra shis khra ring* (lit. "An auspicious emblem, many-coloured and long") is an ornament or rather an emblem of sorts made from many-coloured silk ribbons. It is usually set up on roof-tops on auspicious occasions.

[382] Cf. also *verbatim* reproduced in *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1414.16–1515.7; *Deb dmar* 130.17 (Dung-dkar fn. 624); They reached Mongolia in around 1209/10 (see here Petech 1983: 180; Petech 1990a: 6; Dung-dkar 1997: 549). He was a leading pupil of Bla-ma Zhang. The approximate dates (esp. the demise) of Bla-ma Dung-khur is unclear, but from the present text (see below), it may be argued that he was still active during Činggis' conquest of Mi-nyag/Xia

as they were practising spiritual realization in mountain retreat, he was engaged as shepherd (*lug rdzi*) by [the Banner Chief of a local] Hor Tribe (*hor gyi ru pa*). One day a huge flood emerged, and the water carried away the larger part of the sheep of other [shepherds] whereby they all perished. His [i.e. gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba's] sheep [in contrast] remained unharmed, since he had directed his [intense magic] visualization towards the water. Consequently the Mongols were [utterly] taken by surprise. Inquiring him how this came about, he, without understanding their language, [merely responded] by making the [mudric] gesture of menace (*sdig mdzub, tarjanamudrā*) towards the sky. With this [gesture] they understood that what [he thereby indicated was tantamount to] saying: "To wield control over the sky (*gnam*, *tngri*)!" and [instantly] his fame and merit increased. At that [very] time, Jing-gir-khang [Činggis Qan, rl. 1206–1227] had occupied the throne (*rgyal sa*) for approximately three or four years. As the circumstances [of gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba's miraculous feat] came to the ear of the Qan, he summoned him [and his retinue of six disciples] into his presence. The Qan [concluded that] these [Tibetans] had the same dresses [and accoutrement] as those living in Mi-nyag [i.e. Xixia]. Saying: "The one having control over the sky is highly meritorious!" he greatly rewarded [him]. [gTsang-pa] thereupon expressed an ode to the [Three] Jewels whereby the Qan won faith [in him and in the Buddhist religion]. Once when one of the Great Ministers of the Qan was hit by a Demon (*graha*) of the Upper [Sphere] (*steng gdon*),[383] it was immediately allayed by [gTsang-pa]. Because of this, the Qan and the minister, the two presented him with an appropriate command (*lung bzang po*),[384] as

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and Ögödei's subsequent rule, even serving as tutor to Beki (who became widow in 1232–33). It suggests a long career, but this still needs to be corroborated.

gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba must not be confounded with the almost contemporary gTsang-pa dKon-mchog seng-ge (d. 1218 A.D.) *alias* gTsang-pa Ti-shri, a leading student of Karma-pa Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa (1110–1193); the former received teachings in La-stod Thang-chung (prob. in gNya'/sNye-gnang district; where he was born) of gTsang from the 1st Karma-pa who sojourned there between 1189–90 A.D.; cf. *Karma sku phreng 1* 18b2–3. At some point he was dispatched to Xia as the replacement of his master who had rejected the invitation due to advanced age. dKon-mchog seng-ge may have served under the Xia emperor Renzong (d. 1193). gTsang-pa who was also known as gTsang-so-pa, passed away in 1218 in the state of Xia (in Liangzhou) during the reign of the Xia emperor Shenzong where he evidently served as *dishi* or imperial preceptor. Another? namesake *rin po che* gTsang-so-pa was pupil of Ko-brag (1170/82–1249/61); cf. BA Roerich 727. The latter may refer to the pupil of Kha-che Paṇ-chen in Tibet, named gTsang-so-ba Tshul-khrims-mdzes who in the first part of the 1200's and following the former's departure from Tibet took over the responsibility of the communities in Tibet for nine years; cf. *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung II* 101b1–5.

The remark of Rhie that gTsang-so-pa (pupil of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa) was active at the Mi-nyag court as early as 1159 (cf. Rhie and Thurman 1999: 53) is wide of the mark. Ti-shi ras-pa (cf. fn. 123 above) who met gTsang-so-pa 1200 for the first time, conducted the funeral rites and raised an ossuary for him.

On gTsang-so, cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 214–219, 272–273; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 865, 870; *Karma sku phreng 2* 62; *Khams stod lo rgyus* 34; *mTshur phu dgon gyi dkar chag* 124, 347, 718–19. Cf. also Sperling 1987b: 32–33; Dunnell 1992: 97–98; 2001: 111–112.

On the other hand, it can be contended that gTsang-so-pa is identical with (rather than being confounded with) gTsang-pa Ya-so as reported in *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* (who at g.Yo-ru Grva-thang compiled the abbreviated *phyi'i rnam thar* called *dGos 'dod re skong ma* of Bla-ma Zhang; cf. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i lo rgyus* in *ZhK* 292–96).

[383] The *steng gdon* usually refers to a group of demons led foremost by Rāhula traditionally known to cause various sicknesses such as paralysis, etc. Cf. CFS Gyalbo *et. al*. 167–170.

[384] The term *lung* usually associated with a *bka' lung* or *bka' shog*, i.e. an official and imperial rescript and may hence involve a writ authorizing the holder certain privileges. Cf. the similar-worded edicts in Tibetan and Mongolian (*rgyal po'i lung* = *qaγan jarliγ*), "command," "order" or "edict."

However, another *lung bzang po* or good rescript issued by the Emporer to dGa'-bde-dpal later in our text suggests

well as an extensive amount of gifts. This was the first meeting [ever] between the Mongols and Tibetan monks.

Again [gTsang-pa] returned to Mi-nyag [i.e. the Xia State]. In the female Fire Pig year [1227 A.D.], as Činggis Qan had been ruling for nine[teen?] years, the land of [the Tangut Empire of] Mi-nyag was conquered by the Mongols. Many temples were destroyed. With the Teaching [of Buddhism] deteriorating [in this region], Bla-ma gTsang-pa went into the presence of the ruler and elucidated many [Buddhist] teachings on the karmic [rules of] cause and effect. Saying: "Since the happiness of sentient beings is dependent on the Teaching of the Buddha, a Qan must display great respect [**30b**] for the Teaching of the Buddha. Upon monks, taxation and military conscription (*khral dmag*) should not be imposed, the scattered [monks in the country] must be reunited and the demolished [temples and religious sites] should be restored!" [With such words he thus] even requested [the Qan to issue] an imperial decree [and a patent of investiture] (*jasaγ* or *jarliγ*) [denoted] "Reinforcer of the Teaching [of Buddha]" (*bstan pa gshed* [= [*b*]*shed*] *bskyed kyi 'ja' sa*).[385] Indeed the request should be granted in accordance with the *bla ma*'s wish. In all regions between Bha-ti and Mi-nyag all the destructed sections [of] the temples were repaired, etc. This too appears to be the first edict ever to be granted to a [Tibetan Buddhist] monk by a Mongol Qan. Incidentally, the Bon-pos and the Daoist Priests (*zin shing*; Ch. *xian sheng*) etc. too were exempted from tax and military service etc.[386]

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that it more informally may also allude to a good proclamation or verdict of appointment, and also involve a written citation and a diploma. Cf. also for 1316, *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 13a2; see also Petech 1990a: 94.

[385] Whether reflecting historical fact or the reference attempts to depict an idealized state of affairs during the rule of Činggis Qan, we are nevertheless informed that e.g. the edict of Öljeitü does refer to Činggis and Ögödei, in fact to all Mongol rulers of having granted exemption of any tax and levies (M. *aliba alba qubčiri ülu üjen*)* exemptions on that score; see e.g. E. Haenisch 1940: 41–43; P. Ratchnevsky 1954: 489; H. Franke 1990: 138–39; Poppe and Krueger 1957; see the edicts of 1289, 1324, 1328 etc. to Tibetan dignitaries and hierarchs (in Huang 1995). It is maintained that Činggis as early as 1219/1223 had granted Chinese monks (such as the Daoist monk Chang-chun) exemption of tax and military service; cf. Petech 1990b: 5.

Later edicts or decrees too issued by Mangala of 1276 A.D. and again those of Qubilai (issued 1280 and 1292 A.D. and under emperor Chengzong in 1294) etc., confirm that Činggis had endorsed such exemptions; see L. Ligeti 1972: 230–31. It cannot be excluded, however, that the introduction of this "Reinforcement or Revival of the Teaching Edict" in the present context reflects an attempt to antedate what in later Tibetan literature became known as the *bande*/*bstan pa shed bskyed ma* (= *'ja' sa bod yig ma*? issued in 1254 A.D.) discussed in connection with the conferral of the same diploma by Qubilai to 'Phags-pa; see dPa'-bo gTsug-lag's *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1422. 18–23 and A-myes-zhabs' *Sa skya gdung rabs* (cf. Schuh 1997: 98–124). Qubilai in 1253/1258 with his third empowerment declared to reorganize Tibet and to exempt the monks from tax; cf. Kam 1994: 72–73.** See also the so-called "Pearl edict" issued in 1264 A.D. to 'Phags-pa by Qubilai which confirmed the exemption of tax, military duty or other public services, also discussed in Schuh, *ibid*.; Petech 1983: 185. For similar privileges later during Ming conferred upon the Karma-pa, rNying-ma-pa and other hierarchs, see *Karma sku phreng 2* 131; *mTshur phu dkar chag* 396–98; P. Tsering 1978: 516; TPS Tucci: 664, 703; Code (I, LXXVI); Haenisch 1940: 45–51; Chab-spel 1990: 34f.

* A unique Yüan-time document from a local Xuanweisi or Pacification Office in Khams phrases the full exemption with *khral dmag dud gsum gyi 'gres med*. Cf. Huang 1995: 14.

** It is reported that the rNying-ma master rTa-ston gZi-brjid and Zur Śākya-'od (1205–1268) succeeded in persuading Qubilai to grant the *sngags pa* of Central Tibet exemption from tax and military service; cf. *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 286.3–288.25. Unable to assess the historicity of such claims, there can be little doubt that the cultural and political prestige ensured through entertaining amicable relationship with the imperial court later inspired historians to forge or invent such privileges in retrospect. The Yüan court kept issuing such privileges, so as late as 1368, here to the rGyal-rtse rulers; cf. *rGyal rtse chos rgyal rnam thar* 14.

[386] The term *zin shing* (Ch. *xian sheng*; cf. e.g. Laufer 1916: 526–27) designates Daoists, and not least during the

and [thus] the precious Teaching [of Buddha] itself has accomplished magnificent achievements for the common good. These [achievements] certainly are [the outcome of] the karmic activity of Zhang Rinpoche. The Qan even [allowed at court] Bla-ma gTsang-pa [to take up the] topmost seat in the rows of all [the invited] Sky-Worshippers (*gnam mchod*).[387]

As O-go-ta (Ögödei [rl. 1229–1241]) was elected to the throne as Qaγan, Bla-ma gTsang-pa spoke to his private *dānapati* (*sbyin bdag*) Za-yin e-ka [i.e. Sayin-eka, or "Holy Mother," i.e. Sorqoqtani Beki, the widow of Tolui],[388] mother and her sons [i.e. Möngke, Qubilai, etc.]: "In Shva-'od Ral-gsum[389] [of Central Tibet], my Dharma-Friend named Bla-ma Gung-thang-pa *alias* Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge sojourns.[390] Invite him, [dear queen-]mother and sons, make him your chaplain!" Having spoken accordingly, he passed away. A *sku 'bum* [erected in his memory] too stands in Gu-rum, and a silver[-plated] ossuary (*gdung khang*) in [the place of] B[h]a-ti.[391] In accordance with the words of the Bla-ma, the Bla-ma Gung-thang-pa was thereafter invited

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Mongol period. For the question of their exemption of tax and other obligations, see Franke 1996: 161–165. For a meeting with these priests, see U-rgyan-pa in 1292 at the Qubilai court; *U rgyan pa rnam thar I* 235.

[387] The worship of Heaven as the highest deity has a long history. Heaven (i.e. God) is regarded the supreme deity among shamanist Mongols. It was a key worship or sacrifical practice and later part of the state cult among Mongols. Cf. Schindler 1924: 644. The centrality of the practice is regularly addressed in numerous texts and inscriptions. See *YS* 77. For the term *gnam mchod pa* (Mong. *tengri-yi ǰalbari-*, as it is repeatedly written in Mongol 'Phags-pa inscriptions), lit. "pray to or worship *tengri*" in use during the Yüan period refers to a practitioner of religion irrespective of persuation and creed. For the edicts, see Poppe and Krueger 1957; it embraced Buddhists, Christian, Daoists or Muslims, as the inscriptions stereotypically list: *doyid erk'eud senšhiŋud dasmšad*; cf. e.g. the 'Phags-pa inscriptions (Poppe and Krueger 1957). It is corroborated from contemporary Zha-lu documents, see TPS Tucci: 671, fn. 955; Schuh 1981: 343. In case of Sa-paṇ, at the court of Köden in 1247, it is said that the former was seated at the front-row of all the *hor gyi lha pa*, here similarly and unspecifically understood as co-religionists and the practitioners of the divine realm; cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 126.

[388] The assertive and pious empress and daughter-in-law of Činggis, whose confession was Christian-Nestorian, passed away 1252 A.D. She had become widow in 1232/33 when Tolui passed away. Following this statement, Gung-thang-pa (see fn. 379 above) appears to have been the private teacher of Beki, Tolui's chief or favourite consort and mother of a number of the latter-mentioned eldest sons such as Möngke, Qubilai, Hülegü and Ariq Böke (d. 1266, cf. Boyle 159–164; Rossabi 18–19). It may easily be understood why the Tshal-pa were favourably treated by the Tolui house (the Toluids), the descendants of Činggis' youngest son and subsequently the all-dominant ruling line in Mongolia, once Ögödei and his line (the Ögödeis) had lost the supremacy. It was Beki who was instrumental in posting her son as future ruler. Tshal should gradually receive most of the territorial appanage or fief (M. *qubi*), held by the former's sons, since under the subsequent Tshal-pa *khri skor* we find a number of the *mi sde* which in 1251 had been distributed to these sons. On Beki, see Rossabi 1979: 153–180; Boyle 1971, *passim*.

[389] Currently unidentified. Ral-gsum (or just Ral) is often to be found in toponymic compounds (e.g. in Ngan-lam Ral-gsum, Kong-po Ral-gsum, Thang-ro Ral-gsum, sTod-lung Ral-gsum, 'Bri-mtshams Ral-gsum) and indicates the area of a confluence of two rivers* (cf. App. IV: Chap. 3.2.2). The name Shva-'od alludes to a place with a "flood" or cascade of water (cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1415.19–20).

A number of – unlikely – options for this toponym could be mooted: Shva-'od-steng/la, the name of a place and village in Yangs-pa-can district of present-day 'Dam-gzhung *xian* (location: 30°03'N 90°35'E; cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 129b). Other possible candidates: Sha-pho (also Sha-po-srang), known as the place of one of the major stages (*'jam chen*) of dBus in the Yüan Sa-skya period (still not localized). Cf. Petech 1990a: 63; BA Roerich 279; below fn. 431.

* *sa ral* glossed as [*g*]*sum mdo*/*mda*' confirmed in *Myang chos 'byung* 26.

[390] Above fn. 379.

[391] Gu-rum and Ba-ti are Mongolian toponyms. In Gu-gum/rum Karma Pakṣi erected temples. Bha-ti (Bha-di/ti/Bhi-ti) is identified with an ossuary, cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 793, 1415.20–1416.4.

[to Mongolia] where he was honoured as the chaplain of the [widow-]mother and her sons. He conducted [for them] the empowerment (*abhiṣeka*) of *Saṃvara* [and tendered them] the reading blessing (*anujñā*) of the *Dharmapāla* etc. This was the first [time in history] the Mongols requested [and received] Dharma [teachings from the Tibetans].

Knowing that his pupil Prince Go-be-la [Qubilai] would later obtain the throne as [future] Qaγan, he proclaimed many prophecies concerning future events such as: "Since you will later obtain the throne of the Qaγan and since at that point the main seat of my Bla-ma called Tshal Gung-thang will exist you must to the best of your capability [**31a**] render assistance to it!" His body shivering, Prince Go-be-la [Qubilai] said: "Bla-ma Rin-po-che, please do not speak such great words like that! Later when the time comes I shall certainly know [what to do]!" Etc.[392] Shortly after, Go-be-la [Qubilai] ascended the throne of the Qaγan, and he became the Hor Se-chen rGyal-po [i.e. the Wise Qaγan, [imperial title] Shizong].[393] He occupied the throne for 35 years [r. 1260–1294]. Prior to Se-chen's accession to the throne, in accordance with the prediction of Bla-ma Gung-thang-pa etc., he assumed ownership of Tshal Gung[-thang] and [its] community and of the monk body, which constituted the root of the Tshal-pa Teachings. At that time the wealth and prosperity [of Tshal Gung-thang] resembled [the limitlessness of] space.[394]

The *dpon* Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub occupied the office of the *d/pon sa* [in Tshal] for 24 years. Age 74, he passed away.[395]

[5] [*dPon chen* Rin-rgyal-ba]

His [i.e. Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub] son *dpon chen* Rin-rgyal-ba[396] was born in a Snake year [1233 A.D.]. Aged 23 [i.e. 1254–55 A.D.], he was elected to the office of the *dpon sa*. In a Sheep year [1259 A.D.], *dpon* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan along with about 60 people, master and servants such as Ban-khos-pa Shes-rab-'bum[397] went to China, where they met Prince Go-be-la [Qubilai]. [Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan] as attendant accompanied Go-be-la [Qubilai] when he waged war against 'Jang[398] and thus proved excellent in his military strategy. Immediately after returning from the

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[392] Cf. similarly *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1416.1–9.

[393] The enthronement was preceded by struggles between Qubilai and his younger brother Ariq Böke who claimed to be the legitimate successor. Also addressed in Tibetan sources, such as *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 893–95. Qubilai was born 23.09.1215 A.D., his accession to the Qanate 05.05.1260 (Emperor from 1271) and he ruled until his death 18.02.1294. Se-chen means the "wise," see. G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*. Vol. I: 332–34. For his life, see Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan. His Life and Times*.

[394] The latter statement refers to the appanage distribution among the Mongol princes (under Möngke in 1251), according to which the Tshal-pa were entrusted to Qubilai. *KG* 1416; *Rlangs* 110; Sperling 1990: 148; Petech 1990a: 10f.

[395] According to *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 5b6–7, he was born in 1187, died age 75, in 1261 he passed away. And ruled for 21 years = 1240–61. Other calculations suggest: he was born around 1185, he passed away *ca*. 1258 A.D. and his rule at the see thus lasted from 1231, when he was approximately 47 years of age, until 1254–55 A.D.

[396] Short for *spyan snga* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan. He was born in sTod-lung; cf. *bKa' gdams chos 'byung II* 31b1; *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 5b6–6a1.

[397] Possible identical with Rin-po-che Shes-rab-'bum-pa (cf. BA Roerich 783) or Tshal-ba'i Zi-na Shes-rab-skyabs in this period (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 894.13–15). On Ban-khos, see above fn. 359.

[398] It refers to the old Nanzhao kingdom (in Yünnan) besieged in 1253 (its capital Dali destroyed) during the lJang/'Jang campaign headed by Qubilai in 1253–54 and continuing until 1259, or, less likely, it refers to his expedition towards Nan Song (usually Tib. sMan-rtse, Ch. Manzi) in 1258–59, cf. Rossabi 1983: 22–28, 46–52; H. Franke 1996: 133.

[successful] warfare, Go-be-la in the first month of the Monkey year [1260 A.D.] was presented with the throne of the Qaγan and he received the name Se-chen Qaγan. *dPon chen* Rin-rgyal [received from Qubilai] inconceivably [many precious] presents in form of silk, brocade and a donation of silver [amounting to one] large *bre*, [items intended to serve] as financial resources for the renovation of the buildings including its receptacle-images of the Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang.[399] An edict (*'ja' sa*) was granted [to him, issued by Qubilai] which [henceforth] declared the [formal] inclusion (*shes su bcug*)[400] of [the following] local village settlements (*yul grong*) as lay communities (*mi sde*) [to be included under the jurisdiction of the Tshal-pa myriarchy]:[401]

It is unconvincing to assume that the Tshal-pa chief was involved in these campaigns (aside from any rituals of deterrence). Qubilai's field commander in these battles was Uriyangqadai.

[399] The revenue secured from the territories (*sa ris*) under each lay settlement (*mi sde*) listed below thus formally served as financial and revenue resources for the maintenance of Gung-thang. For a far larger donation of 1254 A.D. to 'Phags-pa Bla-ma from Qubilai, cf. Schuh 1977: 116. For similar donations distributed to Chinese temples by Qubilai, cf. Franke 1996: 157.

[400] The verbal phrase *shes pa* with the paraphrastic causative *shes su bcug*/*chug* can be read in two ways: to "make known", i.e. "proclaim" or "announce"; but the correct rendering is corroborated from contemporary Zha-lu documents (see TPS Tucci: 670, 747; and Schuh 1981: 343) where *shes pa* = *gtogs pa*, thus carries the sense of "adhering" or "belonging to"; hence "made to adhere" or formally "to put in charge of." As such it is a standard phrase in medieval 'ja' sa or treatises containing an authoritative lung or decree. Used for the first time in the 1244 letter of invitation issued to Sa-paṇ issued by Göden; cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 118. For its ample usage, see e.g. other contemporary documents: *Si tu bka' chems* 15.10–16.2, 50.17–18, 52.1 = *Rlangs* 116.17–117.7, 150.2, 151.6, *et passim*; *rGya bod yig tshang* 338.11–12, etc.; *Myang chos 'byung* 78 (with a *'ja' sa* ascribed – anachronistically – to the 9th-cent. Tibetan monarch Khri Ral-pa-can).

[401] Cf. *Bod kyi deb ther* 107; *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 835; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 151.24 specifies the diploma or investiture as "Tshal-pa *khri skor gyi 'ja' sa*." The term *mi sde* ("lay community" usually used in contrast to *lha sde*, the "monastic precinct" or "community," see e.g. Tucci 1971: 194) evidently designated a geographically restricted local lay sedentary population unit, primarily set up for administrative, mainly taxation or fiscal purposes (tributes and household levies; M. *alban* and *qubčiri*; Ch. *chai fa*; see e.g. Schurmann 1956: 312f.). A closer comparison of available edicts issued by the Mongol emperors (written in Tibetan and Mongolian) indicates that *mi sde* and *yul grong* (the latter often equals Mong. *sildegen* or "village settlements") were synonyms, whereas *mi sde* either may reflect *ayimaγ*, an "administrative population group" or, as indicated above, *irgen* "people," i.e. commoners. See the many Mongol-written edicts in 'Phags-pa script partly issued to Tibetan hierarchs and dignitaries e.g. of 1289, 1304, 1308 and 1319, 1324, 1328 A.D. (in Poppe 1957: 46, 54–55; Huang 1995: edict 1–14). The organizational modalities and structures behind the *mi sde* is stil not clearly defined, but for example, the term *Gung-thang rtsa ba'i mi sde* (in *Gung thang rgyal rabs*, Everding 2000: 68–69) designates the basic regions of the *khri skor* established in the territory of Mang-yul Gung-thang kingdom. In documents from the Mongol Yüan period, *mi sde* [*mang po*] is merely rendered as Mong. *'irgen*, or "[unit of] people" (cf. e.g. Schuh 1977: 169) and *sde* (in *mi sde*) usually reflects Mong. *ulus*, "territory" or "land." With some reservations, the term *mi sde* in the Tshal-pa context seems to carry the same meaning and function as the (twelve) *gzhi*[*s*] *kha* or "landed estates" of the Phag-gru *khri skor*, est. in 1254 by *khri dpon* rDo-rje-dpal; *Rlangs* 112; CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 39–40. In some respects, they collectively resembled traditional "latifundia." The effective demographically defined fiscal unit consisted of units of taxable household (*hor 'dud* [*chung*]), and in case of the Tshal-pa the number of 3700 (or 3702) households usually are recorded (cf. *rGya bod yig tshang* 300.11–12; Petech 1990a: 49f., 56; Dung-dkar 1991: 45; Thub-bstan phun-tshogs 1996: 538), probably an incomplete number, since some of the estates listed in *rGya bod yig tshang* as unrelated areas, appear in the present list as part of the Tshal-pa *khri skor* (see also App. III). An attempt has been made in the sequel to identify these feudal and lay *mi sde* territories, all originally attached to Tshal under the Qubilai Qan's (i.e. Yüan Shizu, 1215–1294 A.D., rl. 1260–1294) appanage and later imperial patronage, and subsequently to delineate – in a very piecemeal fashion – the main sequence of their complex regional history. Further research is here sorely needed, and

[Lay Communities (*mi sde*) under the Tshal-pa Myriarchy]

Cha,[402]
Zhogs,[403]

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the persons and toponyms listed merely reflect a rather randomly selected list that must be improved in the future when more documentation turns up. Each district has its own history, seen both from a regional/local and from a supraregional perspective and the following notes must be considered preliminary and hopefully pave the way for a full-fledged survey of each area. Among the numerous *khri skor*, only of the Tshal-pa and Phag-gru-pa do we possess a more detailed list of their *mi sde* / *gzhi kha* (which, as said, in this context appear to be synonyms), an imponderable circumstance that prevents us from conducting any large-scale comparative analyses. Finally, the precise geographical coordinates as indicated in *Dimingzhi* are duly listed whenever possible, albeit these data (by ocassionally applying comparable materials from GPS data) proved to be not always fully reliable (often deviating up to one degree). However, as initial data they shall serve their purpose. As more and more data are collected, a more complex but also more representative depiction of each territory and district can be offered, also as to the temporary or lengthy presence of different orders and hegemonies even within a relatively small area. Here as elsewhere, the prime reason behind the diversity of the sectarian and political landscape of a given area was one of clan-based land-holdings and of patronage offered from disparate settlements and again clan-related populations that had sworn alliances and loyalty to different denominations. Shorn of further detailed data as to any prior relation between Tshal and its *mi sde* territories, further conjectures, *ex tacendo*, are of limited value. It should finally be recalled that the *mi sde* areas in the main were attached to Tshal no longer than 150 or 200 years before the steadily changing hegemonic pattern or the "wind of history" in Central Tibet paved the way for new political alliances. Most of their *mi sde* were lost to the Phag-mo gru-pa in the mid-14th century, albeit the actual takeover or appropriation remained gradual, lasting well into the early 15th century to be completed. For all areas in question, and despite a rough description with varying details given below, information as to the numerous anonymous settlements and the extent and nature of their population remain unknown and untold. Such information may one day surface, esp. for the later centuries, once the archives in Tibet are accessible.

[402] **Cha** (~ Phya; to be preferred) is located south-east of dGa'-ldan, in present-day gTsang-tog *xiang* of sTag-rtse *rdzong* (Ch. *zong*, this unit is later often tantamount to the current administrative unit *xian*). *bKa' thor bu* 292.1: Phya'i lung, but also Phya-bo-lung [dgon-pa] in the writings of Bla-ma Zhang. (The toponym is perhaps related to Phyva, the lineage of the ancestral figure Yab-lha brdal-drug). In Phya-yul Bla-ma Zhang met his root teacher ['Ol-kha-ba] Grol-sgom Chos-g.yung (see above fn. 51); it is also mentioned in the sources in connection with dPal rGva-lo. A *dge bshes* Klogs (a pupil of Zhang) descended from Phya-bo-lung; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 58b5. See also Part II: Table V.4–5.

The Klu-mes disciple Śākya dbang-phyug founded the Brag-sog-dgon in Upper Cha (later adhering to the dGe-lugs). It possibly may be the same as the temple of Brag-tshab-dgon erected in Upper Cha, the foundation of which, however, is ascribed to Ka-ba sTon-nam (sTon-pa Nam-mkha' of the Thag-ma lha-khang in sTod-lung), a Vinaya settlement; cf. *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung I* 34–35; *II* 91b2–3.

In Cha, one of the Tibetan pioneers of the epistemological (*tshad ma*, *pramāṇa*) tradition Cha/Phy[v]a-pa Chos kyi seng-ge (1109–1169 A.D.) was born. A Byi-shugs of Phya is registered for the 14th cent. in *Tshal rnam* 23a1.

Later, the 22nd dGa'-ldan throne-holder, dGe-'dun bstan-pa dar-rgyas (1493–1568) was active here; cf. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 20b1–3. The 2nd Gung-thang-tshang incarnation Ngag-dbang blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan was born in Cha. During the dGa'-ldan *gzhung* period, a private estate (*sger gzhis*) known as Cha-pa is registered; cf. *CTZhZh* 148; *HSLG* Vol. 1: 46, 52. Geographical position as inserted in Map 1 and Map 1b (= **01**): 29°45'N 91°31'E; cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 85b. See also below Fig. 56.

[403] I.e. **Zhogs** of 'Phan-yul, an area divided into Zhogs-phu and -mda' (in the 1960's registered as people's community or *gongshe*) which today is part sTag-rtse *xian* or county. See *HSLG* Vol. 1: 25–29. The overall territorial history of 'Phan-po/yul is complex yet extremely significant, since 'Phan-yul belongs to the oldest settlement areas in Tibetan history right from the 6th cent. Due to its long and rich religious history, 'Phan-yul was often designated – similar to a few other areas only – "the origin of learning" (**vidyākaraḥ*, *rig pa'i 'byung gnas*).* Geographically Zhogs is also to be counted as part

Dar-yul,[404]

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of sKyid-shod, and a sKyid-grong is located in Upper Zhogs (Part I: Map 1b), which possibly is related to the legendary Kyi-mi grong-bdun ("seven villages of the Kyi people") of dBu-ru sKyid-shod (see Introduction, fn. 4).

Zhogs is known as the place of the Bon-po family of Mu-zu gsal-'bar whose son became the famous Bla-chen dGongs-pa rab-gsal (MTP Uebach 127f.). The latter is said to have been inspired by the paintings of the ancient sNang-gsal temple of Zhogs to become a Buddhist monk (sNang-gsal later became a settlement of the Rag-shi faction; TBH Sørensen 447, 450; cf. also *HSLG* Vol. 1: 69; Part II: App. V, Table 6; later the Zur line of Chos-dbyings rang-grol settled there). Today, a sNang-gsal is no more known among the locals; perhaps it corresponds to the later 'Od-gsal dgon-pa in Zhogs-phu established by sPyan-snga-ba Tshul-khrims-'bar (but ascribed to 'Od-gsal-ba chen-po gZhon-nu seng-ge in *bKa' gdams chos 'byung I* 573; and to Rin-chen seng-ge in *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 61a6–b1; where one of 'Od-gsal's throne-holders, *rin po che* Blo-gros rin-chen was born). sPyan-snga-ba, the founder of Lo-dgon (see below fn. 411), is also registered as the founder of the gNas dgon-pa in Upper Zhogs (all later dGe-lugs establishments). See *lHa sa dgon tho* 111. The temple Nyan lHa-sdings (BA Roerich 276, 280) associated with dGe-'dun-sgang (close to Cha, prev. note) either refers to the lHa-sdings close to sNyan-grags in lower Zhogs or – more likely – it is the lHas-sdings *dgon* of Lo (*alias* Nyan; see below). sNyan-grags is registered as a rel. estate of Se-ra and locally also described as the former seat of one *siddha* "Ümyön" (dBus-smyon), apparently referring to dBur-smyon *alias* Chos kyi grags-pa (1595–1659/60), the 23rd throne-holde of 'Bri-gung (see Table V.11). *bKa' gdams chos 'byung III* 110 refers to sDings-pa Shes-rab rgya-mtsho born in Zhogs and a sKar-ma brag-pa of Zhogs-phu. A pupil of rGya-ma dBon-ston (1138–1210) was sTon-pa mTshe-ma of Zhogs; see Table V.10 below.

A Zhogs-pa is also mentioned as a settlement of the 11th-cent. 'Bring *tsho* (cf. MTP Uebach 147, 148; Table V.6 below). Following the demise of Atiśa, Zhogs is mentioned, cf. *rNam thar rgyas pa yongs grags* 217. *dGa' bzhi rnam thar* 107 speaks of Zhogs of sTag-rtse *khul* (with sTag-rtse evidently referring here to the neighbouring Phag-gru *rdzong* of Bye-ri sTag-rtse). The area was used as camp-site in the 14th cent., see *Si tu bka' chems* 202. Zhogs was part of 'Bri-gung territory in the late 16th cent. (here e.g. sKyid-spro and Phyag-'tshal-sgang as 'Bri-gung estates were located; cf. App. II: fn. 160).

Many leading dignitaries were Zhogs-pa, born in the area, so e.g. the 24th dGa'-ldan khri-pa Byams-pa rgya-mtsho (1516–90; born at Upper Gram; he later resided at the local Gur-smon (*var*. Gur-mo, dGung/Gur-sngon) dgon-pa of Zhogs, a foundation of (the rGva *lo tsā ba* incarnation) rGva-lo rNam-rgyal rdo-rje (1203–1282 A.D.; BA Roerich 790), who established the seat in 1237 (cf. *DKTshDz* 1780; *VS* 174.6; the monastery was later affiliated with rGyud-stod and rGyud-smad *grva tshang*). See e.g. *dGa' bzhi rnam thar* 57; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 21b1–4, 61a6–b1; *Rlangs* 227; *DL5 III* 138b2; *DL6* 525; *DL9* [A] 22a1–3, 23a6, 33b5, [B] 641, 645; cf. also *DL7* 126: 'Phan-yul Zhogs dgon-pa. Here the 9th Dalai Lama sojourned in 1807 and the 42nd dGa'-ldan khri-pa Blo-bzang don-yod was born at Phan-lan of Zhogs. He was later ordained at the Gur-smon dgon-pa. For a description of the monastery, see *lHa sa dgon tho* 119f.; Chos-'phel 2004c: 249–51. In the dGa'-ldan *gzhung* period, registered is a Zhogs Zhol brGya-tsho. mKhas-grub bDe-legs rgya-mtsho was born in sNa-ra of Zhog-phu, where the rNying-ma establishment of bSam-gtan-gling was located. Geographical location of Zhogs-pa as inserted in Map 1 (= **02**) and Map 1b: 29°50'N 91°28'E. See also below Fig. 54.

* This epithet is commonly also used for the entire dBus-gTsang region, but specifically for a number of early *phyi dar* sites, such as Myang-stod. For further 'Phan-yul epithets and metonyms, see e.g. 'Jig-rten mgon-po's *Coll. Writings V* 90–93.

[404] **Dar-yul** of 'Phan-yul. It refers to the valley of the Dar-yul phu-chu of present-day Bye-ma and Byang-kha *xiang* or district center (west of old lHun-grub *rdzong*) of modern lHun-grub *xian* (the 1830 A.D. Tax document *CTZhZh* 156, 164–67 too registers Dar-yul as part of lHun-grub *rdzong*; where Phye-ma = Bye-ma is registered as religious estate of the sTag-lung mkhan-po). See also *bKa' gdams chos 'byung III* 105.8; BA Roerich 635; MTP Uebach 15, fn.16. In this area the Dar-yul mGon-po lha-khang was located (now in ruins), originally a 'Phan-yul Nalendra dependency* (cf. Jackson 1989) est. by Rong-ston (1367–1449). An old site, *lHa 'dre bka'i thang yig* 34.18–9, 53.12, 81.2 has gTsang-ra-mo of Dar-yul during dynastic times, related to Guru Rinpoche.

In the 11–12th cent. it was an area (similar to neighbouring sPras) often inhabited and infested by brigands; cf. e.g. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 624. A number of important sites are associated with Dar-yul: Dar-yul Ko-ru; cf. *bKa' gdams chos 'byung I* (Vol. II) 29.6. sGro-lag (= Gro-mda'? see below) monastery of Dar-yul was associated with Po-to-ba, cf. BA Roerich 268; and with the Bon Treasure-revealer gShen-chen Klu-dga'; cf. Martin 2001: 42.

A leading pupil of the Madhyamaka-pioneer Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags (himself of 'Phan-yul rGyal) was Dar-yul Rin-

sPras,[405]

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chen-grags, i.e. Khyung-po Rin-chen-grags – late 11th century. Cf. *dBu ma byung tshul* 14a1. The latter was also called Yon-tan-grags; cf. *Kun dga' rnam rgyal gsan yig* 322.

In the biography of Atiśa, we encounter a pupil Dar-yul mNgon-shes (Eimer 1979: 267); and a Rva-sgreng tenant was Dar-yul-ba Yon-tan gzhon-nu, cf. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 54a2.

A student of the Ra-sgreng throne-holder dGon-pa-pa was Chu-sgom-pa gZhon-nu snying-po of Dar-yul; cf. *bKa' gdams chos 'byung III* 105; *IV* 50b7. Registered is also a pupil of Pu-to-ba named g.Yang-ngos-pa of Dar-yul.

Like sPras (see next note), it was an area strongly influenced, and later controlled by the sTag-lung seat in Byang, the Central Tibetan mother seat of the ruling Ga-zi family. The Ga-zi line had in Dar-yul and sPras (settling around mid or late 13th cent. in the Dar-yul Bye-ma sTeng-khang or "Upper Residence,") their local mansion. Here e.g. the 8th throne-holder was born (1333) and the subsequent seven throne-holders were all born in dBus, of whom the first five tenants – i.e. the 8th sTag-lung throne-holder Kun-spangs Nam-mkha' dpal-dbyangs (1333–1379 A.D.), the 9th throne-holder bKra-shis dpal-brtsegs (1359–1424/5 A.D.) through the 12th throne-holder Ngag-dbang grags-pa (1418–96 A.D.) as well as the 14th throne-holder rNam-rgyal grags-pa dpal-bzang were all born in Dar-yul and sPras. Cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I*, *passim*; *HSLG* Vol. 4: 101–04. A famous teacher of esoteric rNying-ma cycles for Tsong-kha-pa was one Dar-yul-ba; *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 465–67.

What concerns the modern-day Bye-ma *xiang* which constitutes the core part of former Dar-yul, in the late 14th and early 15th cent., the original Dar-yul Bye-ma estate (hence the name) was registered as the residence of the powerful *mi dbang* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (of Ga-zi), father of the 10th, 11th and the 12th sTag-lung throne-holders; cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 421–22; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 584, *et passim*; App. V: Table 11.2 below. The sTag-lung-pa, no doubt, had opposed the inclusion of Dar-yul and sPras into the Tshal-pa jurisdiction; at least, we have reports of military skirmishes between sTag-lung and Tshal in the crucial 1250's after the *mi sde* territories had been distributed. It may have led to the loss already at that point of both Dar-yul and sPras to sTag-lung.

The 38th throne-holder of dGa'-ldan later was born in Gro-mda' of Dar-yul. A bZang-yul of Dar-yul is also registered; cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 449.9–10 = 'Phan-yul bZang-yul; cf. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 867, 873. A number of early Vinaya establishment disciples came from Dar-yul such as Nyi-sdings-pa Blo-gros grags-pa and the 13th-cent. Dar-yul sNa-mo-ba sMon-lam blo-gros (Nel-pa paṇḍita; author of a celebrated history book).

Hot springs or thermal baths were found in Dar-yul, in present-day Bye-ma *xiang* at Chu-tshan-sgang (loc. at 30°03'N 91°08'E); cf. e.g. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 791. In *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 6a2: Dar sPras are treated as a unity. In the lower part of the Dar-yul phu-chu valley the ancient ['Phan-po] Ngan-lam is located; see App. IV: Chap. 3. Geogr. location of Dar-yul as inserted in Map 1 (= **03**): 30°06'N 91°11'E; cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 58a,b; *HSLG* Vol. 4: 48.

* Located in mKhar-rtse *xiang* (29°54'N 91°10'E) in mThong-smon – of lHun-grub county, where the powerful local mKhar-rtse *sde pa* (the ruling lineage whose heads descended from Mongolia) paved the way in the 15th cent. for the erection of the famous Sa-skya seminary and monastery of Nalendra by donating the area as a *mchod gzhis* (see Jackson 2007). Later, in the first part of the 16th cent., the estate was associated with the 'Bri-gung-pa and again later in the 1640's, after the confiscation of 'Bri-gung-pa territories in the wake of their role in the dBus-gTsang conflict, it was donated to the sKyid-shod-pa house as compensation for their loss of the Bye-ri sTag-rtse seat, located close to dGa'-ldan monastery, appropriated by the dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung*. The mKhar-rtse area originally was associated with the rMa clan. Cf. P. K. Sørensen 2007a.

[405] **sPras** (~ Sras, sPrad/Srad, bKras/sGras, Pras)* of 'Phan-yul. It is a locale of great antiquity, in former times covering a larger area. Initially a Bon, but over the centuries gradually also a bKa'-gdams-pa, stronghold often mentioned in connection with the prominent bKa'-gdams-pa master Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal (1027/31–1105 A.D.) born here (hence eventually called sPra[g?]s-pa; whose father was a Bon-po stemming from the influential gNyos clan, a branch or offshoot of the [Kha-rag] gNyos, see Part II: App. II and Table V.7 below); also sNe'u zur-pa (1042/45–1118/19; of the Zhang Tshe-spong clan) stemmed from Thong-ba-sa in sPras (see e.g. Sørensen 1999: 178; also *bKa' gdams chos 'byung III* 105.10,158.15; IV 50b6, 77b3–4; *HSLG* Vol. 4: 89–92, etc.). In the same century, a Kālacākra and Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga transmitter named Bla-ma sGro-ston gNam-brtsegs was born in sPras (*Dus 'khor chos 'byung* 8a5; *Bu ston gSan yig* 44b1–2). Today sPras as toponym is relatively obsolete in current admin. sources, but still occasionally finds usage in the local tradition and in recent pilgrim travelogues, see e.g. *Tshong dpon gnas bskor* 84–85, 200–01; the core area

of the old sPras today roughly corresponds to present-day Seng-ge Valley (i.e. 'Phan-po Seng-ge'i sgang) which is part of the [g]Sum-phreng *xiang*,** situated east of the (old or former) lHun-grub r*dzong*. In the upper part of the valley, [s]Po-t[h]o-dgon is located perched at the top of a hill,*** often in the literature identified as the sPras [s]Po-to-ba; cf. e.g. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 870, 873. See also *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1273–74.

Po-to-ba's birthplace Bra'o-thang or Bra-bo-thang ("Buck-wheat Plain," *var*. Khra-bo-thang, also Bra-bo-sgang; cf. e.g. *Kun dga' rdo rje rnam thar* 415.2–3) of sPras is located in the area (still reg. in 1830 A.D.; cf. *CTZhZh* 164: Bra'o); the locals identify the place with the present-day *Gyamdenthang village (spell. uncertain) of the Seng-ge Valley (today called Seng-ge or Seng-ge-nang: 30°00'N 91°19'E = the area of Po-tho dgon-pa). Her also the late 11th-cent. Brag-rgyab hermitage of sPras is located (originally one of the 10–11th-cent. establishments of rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas of the Klu-mes group; cf. Table V.6 below; here Po-to-ba and sNe'u-zur were ordained, the former under rNgog personally, cf. *Pu to ba rnam thar I* 4b5–6; *II* 2b2–7, 6a7; *rGya bod chos 'byung* 17b2; where he served as steward; it is regularly mentioned in the Po-to-ba literature. Brag-rgyab was allegedly destroyed in 1240, concomitant with the raid on Rva-sgreng and 'Phan-yul rGyal lha khang during the infamous Mongol incursion headed by general Dorta; it is identical with the later rebuilt dGe-lugs-pa monastery of Brag-rgyab (est. by gNas-brtan Ngag-dbang [of Po-to dgon-pa]; i.e. the still existing 'Phan-yul Brag-rgyab dgon-pa) situated in lower Seng-ge. It was visited by the 16th 'Bri-gung in 1536, arriving via Dar-la (*sic* = Chag-la) from sTag-lung. It had its own *bla sprul* line est. in the 18th cent.; cf. the Qing incarnation register *Bla sprul deb gzhung* 358–59. In the late 19th cent., the Brag-rgyab *bla ma* were in charge of the Po-to-ba's *gdan sa*; cf. *rJe btsun Lo chen rnam thar*. Associated with sPras and Po-to-ba was Kha-rag sgom-chung and the latter's teacher sBa-sgom bSod-nams ye-shes (or bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan; himself a pupil of Smrtijñāna; he acted as residential purohita in the family of Po-to-ba and was a transmitter of the celebrated A-ro precepts), cf. Sørensen 2002; *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 200.

Sha[r]-ra-ba, another noted bKa'-gdams-pa master and pupil of Po-to-ba, erected in the western part of the Shar valley the Sha-ra dgon-pa (see Map 4). For a brief survey in the 11–12th cent. of the numerous *mchod rten* receptacles and ossuaries in the 'Phan-yul area situated around Sha[r]-ra-ba's main shrine in Sha[r]-ra-mdo, see Ye-shes shes-rab 1989 and most recently U. Roesler and H-U. Roesler 2004, *Kadampa Sites in Phempo* (incl. an illustrative photographic section); cf. also the visit by Ngor mkhan-chen in 1754 A.D. (*dPal ldan chos skyong rnam thar III* 195–97), where a number of *a ne dgon pa* are registered. Born in Sha[r]-ra Thang-stod of 'Phan-yul was the 2nd sTag-lung Ma-thang tenant O-rgyan mgon-po (1293–1363 A.D.). An A-ra *chos rje* of sPras is listed in *lHo rong chos 'byung* 223.

A Do-bo dgon-pa (of rGyal dist. est. by *dge bshes* Phu-chung-pa; *bKa' gdams chos 'byung III* 110–11) is mentioned for the year 1187/91 A.D., also the 11–12th-cent. sites gZhung-mkhan-brag (upon its summit, a self-originated or natural *caitya* is once said to have towered) and another site related to Po-to-ba was mKhar-thog (in Phod-mdo; cf. *Pu to ba rnam thar I* 8b3–4, 9a3, 10b3–4). Associated with Po-to-ba is also Grab of 'Phan-yul (cf. also *CTZhZh* 13), presently of 'Brom-stod, wherefrom one of his principal disciples descended. sPras was among a number of locations which Atiśa considered suitable as a permanent basis prior to settling for sNye-thang (cf. Eimer 1979: 254), accounting for the area's centrality or former prominence. Possibly pertinent to this is that Char-ma of sPrad [= sPras?] was donated to 'Brom-ston (along with gNam Bye-ma-lung, the area around his birthplace, near Yangs-pa-can; Introduction: Map 1) – where he intended to erect a temple in 1054 – but the local patron refused to grant permission (*Rva sgreng dkar chag* 73) whereupon he went to Rva-sgreng; cf. *bKa' brgyud rnam thar chen mo* 148b3–5. Further, a temple named Gung-gsum of Srad (i.e. sPras) counts among the foundations of sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug (MTP Uebach 139; today no more known in the area).

sPras is variably registered in many sources: The 11th cent. Mar-pa *lo tsā ba* was also associated with Sras of 'Phan-yul, where he sojourned in a place called Sa-dmar; cf. *Mar pa lo tsā ba rnam thar* 49-50; it is here maintained that the locals of 'Phan-yul were regarded as "wicked people of low faith," alluding here possibly to their idiosyncratic or arcane Bon-beliefs or to brigands roaming the area. However, sPras initially had been associated with the activities of Gu-ru Rin-po-che in dynastic times where a chapel was erected; see *lDe'u 2* 345: Sras lha-khang; *lHa 'dre bka'i thang yig* 53.17: 'Phan-yul sPras kyi lha-khang; cf. also *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 606.8–9. As noted above, sPras is presumably the location of the 'Ju-bu-dgon, the monastery which lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa founded in 1187 at the invitation of the locals of Phrad-tsam (?= sPrad). This may in fact constitute the background for the subsequent inclusion of the area

into the Tshal-pa *khri skor* as *mi sde*, the detailed circumstance of which still remains nebulous, or whether we should expect that the Tshal inclusion was merely formal to remain a bone of contention after its confirmation.

Most significantly, from the early 13th cent., the larger sPras in practise constituted a basic territory (and later landed estate) of Byang sTag-lung monastery and their secular rulers (with old sPras possibly extending up until the 'Phags-chu valley located beyond the lCags-la (~ Chag-, Phyag-la) pass (see below Map 4). The sTag-lung seat was raised upon one of the numerous former dwellings of Po-to-ba in the area which also accounts for their lingering interest in Po-to-ba****). In the 13th cent., the sTag-lung area of Byang was nominally under the appanage of Ariq Böge (Qubilai's brother who lost the internal struggle for becoming the rightful Činggisid ruler as Great Qan of all the Mongols in 1260) and the role it played during this spell of Mongol supremacy over Tibet was quite minimal. The originally narrow sTag-lung territory – never constituting a proper myriarchy – was listed as a small fiscal territory (500 *hor dud*; see App. III) which suggests that this minor area only comprised the area surrounding the closer monastic seat, yet it was a seat generously supported by Qubilai too. Their earlier throne-holders were born in eastern Tibet (in and around Bong-ra-steng of g.Yang-stod in mDo-khams), the 8th incumbent of the ruling Ga-zi family being the first ever (1333 A.D.) to be born in the environs of its Central Tibetan mother seat (see below). In the wake of the dramatic division of the sect (into Ya-thang in Central Tibet and Ma-thang in mDo-khams, which eventually would overshadow the Central Tibetan mother seat) in the 1270's, a gradual corrosion of sTag-lung's local influence in 'Phan-yul initially made itself felt, but by the mid-14th century the Tshal-pa presence in the area may have dwindled too. In fact, the revival with unmitigated support from the areas Dar-yul, sPras and Rong began with the 9th throne-holder which must be dated to *ca*. 1370's at a point when Tshal may have lost both Dar-yul and sPras to sTag-lung (cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 570). Much later in the 18th century, the ruling Ga-zi family behind the local sTag-lung hegemony experienced something of a renaissance with the influential *sde dpon* aristocratic mDo-mkhar-ba house (= Rag-shag, Ra-kha-shag, holder of the sTag-lung fiefship; cf. *Ga zi gdung rabs*, *passim*; Petech 1973: 71–79). It was during the later part of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung* period that Ga-zi, through their mDo-mkhar-ba family, would resume control of 'Phan-yul, both the northern Phod-mdo and the southern districts of Dar-yul, Rong-yul (also called Rong-sgar) and sPras. See below. Cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 465.20–466.20; Chan 1994: 567.

Genesis of sTag-lung: Prior to the erection of Byang sTag-lung dgon-pa (1180–81 A.D.) (Location: 30°09'N 91°13'E of lHun-grub *rdzong*), the founder sTag-lung-thang-pa bKra-shis-dpal (*Maṅgalaśrī) (1142–1209/10) in the mid-1170's arrived in Phod-mdo and sPras, to take up his seat in a small hermitage (*gzims khang*); (his followers) being physically (some even mortally) harassed by local malicious brigands of the sPras and Phod-mdo districts (indicative that the area was neither controllable nor yet properly habitable), he suffered all sorts of hardship; after a lengthy detour into the adjacent dBu-ru-lung valley (where he took his final ordination in Sho-ma-ra (see Introduction) in 1172 A.D. and then sojourned in Se-ba-lung, probing the possibility to establish a permanent seat there), he returned to Phod-mdo and sPras and was this time enthusiastically received by a number of local patrons and followers like Zhang A-stag (Zhang-dkar; also listed as root-patron for the 2nd sTag-lung throne-holder; cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 485), *dge bshes* Zhang-ston Khang-mo-che and others (incidentally, all pupils of the bKa'-gdams-pa master sTabs-ka-ba Dar-ma-grags, 1103–74 A.D.) and finally succeeded in erecting his residence in 1180 (*lHo rong chos 'byung* 118.1). The background for his success: during the warring conflict that prevailed locally between the Dar-yul-ba (see prev. note) and the Rong-pa of the adjacent district, he was requested to intervene and, having arbitrated successfully, the local people and patrons of the three areas of bKras (~ sPras), Dar (= Dar-yul) and Rong became and indeed would remain his stout devotees and patrons (a proto-typical story of winning – or being granted – political and religious hegemony due to merit/status-awarding mediation). The founder initially had a seat at Seng-ge-brag (alt. Seng-gling-brag; evidently = gSer-gling, orig. Se-gle adjacent to the later sTag-lung monastery) and also had settled down in the Bla-brang nag-po, or "the Master's Black Residence or Monk Estate." Cf. *Mangga la śrī'i rnam thar* 214.4–248.2; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 463–69; Hazod, 'King Mer-khe'). Rong more precisely refers to the valley and area between Phod-mdo and Klung-shod along the Rong-chu which is the name of sKyid-chu downstream from Phod-mdo *rdzong* at the entrance to sTag-lung valley (already known from the time of Atiśa; cf. also Wylie 1962: 86, 163; BA Roerich 616, *et passim*; Introduction). Geograph. location of present-day Phod-mdo *xiang*: 30°10'N 91°20'E).***** Thus, the three areas (even

before lHun-grub *rdzong* came into existence) from the very outset were considered the *dānapati* homeland (along with dBu-ru-lung (and other parts of the Byang districts), and parts of the 'Dam and gNam-mtsho area) of the affluent sTag-lung-pa, and remained their main field of conversion and power throughout the following centuries up until the 19th century. Numerous localities of the later lHun-grub *rdzong* area were related to sTag-lung (*CTZhZh* 163f.). In fact, the sTag-lung-pa henceforth were the one stable hegemonic presence from the 13th century in the area of the Byang district and the northern 'Phan-yul.

An entry in the sTag-lung founder's biography informs us that, in around 1198 A.D., he tendered to the Bla-ma Zhang seat (= Tshal Gung-thang) substantial donations in form of *mdzo* and *rta*, contributed to the repair of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, and assisted the Tshal-pa in reviving the local custom of alm-distribution to beggars (*sprang 'gyed gsos*) in lHa-sa, etc., an old Bla-ma Zhang charity tradition. These contacts may have heralded the incipient bonds between the two hegemonies, Cf. for details *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 218–20, *et passim*; *Mangga la śrī'i rnam thar* 312.1–6, 357.1–2, 362.4–6; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 456, 467, 473; BA Roerich 616, 617; *Deb dmar gsar*, Tucci 1971: 201; *HSLG* Vol. 4: 34–35. The 14th sTag-lung-pa rNam-rgyal grags-pa (1469–1530 A.D.) was born in sGang-pa of sPras (loc. 29°59'N 91°16'E). An in-depth study of the sTag-lung monastic seat and the ruling Ga-zi family remains a major desideratum (cf. however App. II, and Table V.11.2 below).

During the Phag-gru hegemony, parts of 'Phan-yul were to be incorporated into the newly established lHun-grub *rdzong*. In the same century, 'Phan-yul-ba Nyan-ston Śākya rgyal-mtshan established in sPras the Rin-chen-brag monastery****** (in present-day gSum-'phreng, location: 29°59'N 91°16'E; later a dependency of rGyud-smad grva-tshang; Nyan-ston later ascended the 'Bras-spungs see); the adjacent old rGyab site adhered to this religious estate (*CTZhZh* 165), today abandoned, but Nyang-ston's former activities would herald good relationships with the emerging dGe-lugs-pa (held e.g. by the later 33rd throne-holder of dGa'-ldan, Grags-pa rgya-mtsho). The upper part of 'Phan-yul, in other words a large part of present-day lHun-grub *rdzong* (largely covering Dar-yul, sPras and Rong) throughout the 16–18th cent., as said, was ruled by the *mi dbang* or secular chief of the autocratic Ga-zi house. The sTag-lung see and its estates due to inner conflicts, during the time of the 24th throne-holder, were confiscated by the dGa'-ldan pho-brang government in 1678 and remained in the hands of Se-ra until 1720, when it again was administered by the Rag-shag (mDo-mkhar) family line, headed by the secular chiefs of Ga-zi. Later, by imperial decree in 1781, this noble family, beyond their own estates (in lHun-grub *rdzong*), received the areas of Grom-ma-bar, Rin-sgang (Rin-chen-sgang; loc. 29°58'N 91°09'E of Byang-kha), Sha-[ra-]'bum (30°04'N 91°17'E), gYag-[g]rong (29°54'N 91°13'E of present-day dGa'-ldan Chos-'khor), Sum-phrang, Khang-lho-ga as well as dBu-[ru]-nang. It was during this period (already from mid-17th century) that the area became reorganized. Lower 'Phan-mda' e.g. became part, administratively, of sTag-rtse *rdzong*.

Geograph. location of Seng-ge (sPras) village and Po-to-dgon: 30°00'N 91°19'E (= **04**), acc. to *Xizang Dimingzhi I*, 51a,b; *HSLG* Vol. 1: 89–91. See also Map 4 below.

* Clusters with post-initial *-r-* developing into the omission of the preceding initial labial (*ming gzhi*) consonant, i.e. *spr-* → *sr-*, i.e. a so-called merger, are similarly documented in the variant spellings e.g. of the toponymic pairs sPrad/Srad and sPrag/Srag of Ru-lag and dBu-ru in dynastic Tibet and hence similarly in names such as dBrad/Srad-ston (cf. e.g. Stearns 2001: 227–28).

** [g]Sum-'phrang/phreng ("Three Defiles"? or from *Sum[-mdo?]-'phrang, or "Defile at the Confluence"?) of 'Phan-yul is regularly mentioned in the rel. literature, mainly in the sTag-lung materials from the 13th cent. In the 17th cent. a Sum-phreng *zhabs drung* is registered (along with a g.Yag-[g]rong and mDo-mkhar *zhabs drung* (= the Phod-mdo sTag-lung *zhabs drung* also called Ga-zi *zhabs drung*); all three Ga-zi lines originally had issued from the 8th throne-holder; cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 829–30, 845, 857; *II* 435.4). The hitherto oldest reference to Sum-phrang appears to be chronicled in Bla-ma Zhang's writings (*ZhK I* 244.1 = *ZhK III* (KA) 93b3 – accounting for the area's contacts to Zhang and hence Tshal?) and also in *Ras chung rnam thar* 228 (12th cent.) which reads 'Phan-yul sKras kyi Sum-'phrang, as if Sum-'phrang was part of sPras and not, as of now, sPras of Sum-'phreng. Not insignificantly, it would suggest that sPras indeed earlier constituted a larger area. The district Sum-[']phrang is also mentioned by Padma dkar-po from his visit there in 1591 A.D.; cf. *Pad dkar rnam thar II* 436.1; *IV* 52b2; and by the 5th 'Brug-pa dPag-bsam dbang-po invited in 1605 by a nang so gSum-'phrang-pa; *dPag bsam dbang po rnam thar I* 52b5; see also later *DL5 III* 134a4 and *Ga zi gdung rabs* 422a2. In the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey, it is listed as a private estate; cf. *CTZhZh* 167.

A [g]Sum-phrang (also So-phrang/brang) is similarly found in 1323 (of present-day Central Bhutan) associated with migrants of the another line of the gNyos/sMyos clan which settled there.

’Brom stod-smad,[406]

*** The history of the Po-to dgon-pa, of which we barely possess more than fragmented information, still needs to be written. In the mid-13th century, the monastery and its dependencies were donated to lHa ’Gro-ba’i mgon-po Byang-chub-’od (1189–1259 A.D.) (followed by the successors of his renowned *chos rgyal brgyud* transmission) by the local gNas-brtan line of Po-to dgon-pa, the former was a scion stemming from the descendants of the former royal kings (lHa) and a key figure in the Po-to-ba’s *bka’ gdams gzhung drug* transmission; cf. e.g. *bKa’ gdams chos ’byung I* (Vol. II) 121–125; *VS* 175–76 admits that its subsequent history is unattested and that no detailed record of its *bla rabs* exists. *dGa’ ldan chos ’byung I* 52a1 maintains that gNas-brtan Ngag-dbang-pa (evidently the Po-to see-holders) took hold of Brag-rgyab dgon-pa and upheld the local monk community. Visited in the early 15th cent. by ’Gos *lo tsā ba*; cf. *’Gos lo rnam thar* 6b2–5, 66a3–4, being invited by one *dge bshes* gZhon-nu dkon-mchog.

As to [s]Po-t[h]o dgon-pa, it is merely reports that monks from the Thang-sag dGa’-ldan Chos-’khor monastery (in central ’Phan-yul, below fn. 671) safeguarded – as a dependency – sPo-tho dgon-pa starting with one lHa-sa-ba rGyal-mtshan legs-pa, followed in succession by Ra-sha Blo-bzang dar-rgyas, mNyes-thang Blo-bzang ’jam-dbyangs, Pa-ri mDo-sde rgya-mtsho, lHa-sa Phun-tshogs chos-ldan, rDo-ba Nam-mkha’ bzang-po and in the 1690’s, the famous rTses-dang (= rTsed-thang) dNgos-grub rgya-mtsho held the see. In the 17th century, it turned into a nunnery (still existing) which even today accomodates 50 nuns.

**** Already the 3rd sTag-lung throne-holder Sangs-rgyas yar-byon (1203–72) considered himself – around the early 1240’s – a rebirth of Po-to-ba after he had unearthed books, engraved pots and precious objects related to the latter, from the topmost point of the hill of Bra-bo-thang of sPras; cf. *sTag lung chos ’byung I* 282, 501; *Sangs rgyas yar byon rnam thar* 7a4–5. This was followed by the 16th sTag-lung throne-holder and again later by one of Po-to-ba’s later biographers, the 18th throne-holder, the sTag-lung *dpon rin po che* or *zhabs drung* Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1571–1626 A.D.), the brilliant scholar-saint *cum* politician; both similarly considered themselves a manifestation of Jinaputra Po-to-ba. It reflects an entire incarnation-line; cf. van der Kuijp 2006: 12, fn. 43; *sTag lung chos ’byung I* 732; *dPag bsam dbang po rnam thar I* 53a1–2 (= 105.1–2).

At sTag-lung and at ’Phan-yul Thang-sag (i.e. the dGe-lugs establishment dGa’-ldan Chos-’khor), a large number of relics and pilgrim-sites related to Po-to-ba abound; e.g. his *gzims chung*; an effigy-statue (*sku ’dra*) of him and a statue of his *iṣṭadevatā* Muni as well as a particular ossuarium evidently famous as the “Louse-Dome” or Shig-’bum, the dome for the louse (which had been reborn as the mother of Po-to-ba); see the visits paid by 3rd rJe dPa’-bo Hierarch gTsug-lag rgya-mtsho (1568–1630/33 A.D.) of gNas-nang, during the late 1620’s as reported in *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 145a7, *et passim*. Behind these vestiges of Po-to-ba and the revival of the latter’s physical legacies and his “cult” in the bKa’-gdams-pa master’s homeland, we no doubt should see the strong hand of Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal, who in Po-to-ba saw a sort of “founding figure” behind sTag-lung – recalling that sTag-lung was raised on former Po-to-ba territory and associated with its physical legacy. sTag-lung dgon-pa still today holds the printing-blocks of the 9-fols. biography of Po-to-ba written by Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal, called *Sems dpa’i chen po’i spyod pa nges bstan* (cf. sKal-bzang phun-tshogs 2000: 116). Prior to establishing his Po-tho dgon-pa on sPo-[m]tho-ri, Po-to-ba resided in sTag-lung valley, hence at one point he was known as sTag-lung-thang-pa. To reiterate: In the 12th cent., sPras and sTag-lung or “Tiger Valley” (for the toponym’s pop. etymology, see *Mangga la śrī’i rnam thar* 221.2–4),[+] were earlier considered to refer to the same territories, also accounted for by the alter. epithet occasionally and in fact commonly ascribed to Po-to-ba, namely sTag-lung-pa chen-po, a circumstance which suggests to us that sTag-lung as toponym was *en vogue* already in the late 11th cent.

[+]An interesting etymology is offered in bKa’-gdams-pa sources, where it is argued that the name sTag-lung springs from the name: Birch Tree Valley (*shing stag pa skyes pa’i lung*); cf. *Zhu lan Nor bu’i phreng ba* 384 in *Pha chos* of the *bKa’ gdams glegs bam*.

***** Phod-mdo and a Phod-mdo-ba is mentioned already in the late 11th cent.; cf. Eimer 1979: 305.

****** Rin-chen-brag dgon *gnas gtsug lag khang* was erected during the tenure of the 11th sTag-lung throne-holder bKra-shis dpal-’od in the 1440’s and upon the latter’s approval (and patronage), it was founded by Nyan-ston (who acted as *bla chen*; here later the sTag-lung seat’s 16th–18th throne-holders would be born in 1524, 1536 and 1571 respectively). Cf. *dGa’ ldan chos ’byung I* 31a1–4, 60b4–6; *bKa’ gdams chos ’byung II* 94b2; *bKa’ gdams chos ’byung IV* 58b6–59a1. Since the Ga-zi line was residing as *mi dbang* or ruler over lHun-grub *rdzong*, it appears that Rin-chen-brag too was held or at least politically controlled by the sTag-lung-pa. Cf. *DL6* 703; In *CTZhZh* 145, 164, Rin-brag is registered as a *mchod gzhis* (mentioned for the year 1831 A.D.).

[406] Upper and Lower **’Brom**. The ’Brom district (in present-day ’Brom-stod *xiang* of sTag-rtse county) originally may have been the area of the powerful ’Brom clan. For a survey of the area’s *grong tsho*, see *HSLG* Vol. 1: 30–33. Cf. also BA Roerich 259, 860; Ferrari: fn. 100). An area with a millenium-old history. Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1 (= **05**): 29°42'N 91°23'E; acc. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 92b. See also Map 1b and Map 1b.3. Formerly part of lower ’Phan-yul, ’Brom-stod = ’Brom-thod; cf. *Bod Map* 14; *HSLG* Vol. 1: 7, 16–17, 31.

Glang-ra,[407]

Here is located a former hermitage (*lha khang dmar po*) associated with the 11th century gNyan *lo tsā ba*, called gNyan mGon-phug and here the 'Brom-stod dgon-pa was established. Cf. Ferrari 42, 105; Blo-bzang rnam-rgyal 1999; *HSLG* Vol. 1: 52, 61–62. The gNyan mGon-phug is named after a mGon-po or Mahākāla image which together with the mGon-po phyag-drug of bDe-chen (15th cent.) and the mGon-po phyag-bzhi of Za[b]-lung (12th cent.; fn. 253) form the group of the three highly venerated Mahākāla brother images of sKyid-shod. On gNyan-lo, known as one of the six translators of the 1076 A.D. religious council (Shastri 1997: 873f.), see *inter alia* BA Roerich, s.v. index. Nyan-ston (var. Śākya bzang-po) also erected the 'Brom-sdings. Local people speak of 'Brom-thod-pa, because a *stūpa* of the monastery contains as special relic, the skull (*thod pa*) of 'Brom-ston rGyal-ba'i byung-gnas located in 'Brom-thod *grong tsho*. After more than one and a half centuries as *mi sde* under Tshal, the district of 'Brom is listed as part of the Brag-dkar fief in the 1409 A.D. donation list in *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 315.

In the early 15th cent., the seat of 'Phan-yul Zim-pa sTag-mgo (var. Zin-pa rTa-mgo), whose chair was in the hands of the family of Zur-chen, was located in 'Brom-stod where Zur-chen was born in 1604. Earlier, in the late 16th cent. (*ca*. 1580's), Zing-pa sTag gi dgon-pa and sNang-gsal were 'Bri-gung territories and seats; shortly after, it was occupied by the sKyid-shod-pa; cf. *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 450. During the initial part (1642–1717) of the dGa'-ldan Pho-brang *gzhung* period, 'Brom-stod constituted one of the 18 *rdzong*-estates under lHa-sa Zhol jurisdiction and a *spyi khyab* (governor) was in charge of the district.* Under 'Brom-stod is perhaps also the place of the 'Brom sKyer-chung lha-khang (MTP Uebach 91). Further, 'Brom-stod is also registered as the birthplace of the regicide lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje, at Gung-mo-che (cf. e.g. *HSLG* Vol. 1: 68; however, according to another tradition he was born near the place of lHa-lung dgon-pa in lHo-brag; cf. e.g. *dBus gtsang gnas yig* 253; Chos-'phel 2002: 136). In *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 6a2, 'Brom Glang Yer (see the next notes) are listed as an unity.

* The 18 *rdzong gzhis* of the Zhol administration (est. 1675) refer largely to the sKyid-shod area and are listed as

[**1**] 'Bras-bu-gling (= rTse[s]-thang 'Bras-gling? Sa-skya seat, cf. *Sa skya gdung rab*s 540, 761)
[**2**] Grva-bzhi (= Gru-bzhi)
[**3**] Glang-ru (i.e. Glang-ru close to lHa-sa (*Xizang Dimingzhi I* 12a4) or the Glang-ra district; see fn. 407)
[**4**] lHo-mos (?)
[**5**] 'Brom-stod
[**6**] Tshal
[**7**] bDe-chen (= bDe-chen *rdzong*)
[**8**] Chos-lung (fn. 253)
[**9**] Sle'u[-chung] (see fn. 426)
[**10**] rNam-sgang (rNam-rgyal-sgang *gzhis ka*)
[**11**] Shel-grong (in 'Phrang-'go; see fn. 428; Map 1a below)
[**12**] gNam (= rNams of sKyid-smad; see Map 1a)
[**13**] lCang (= lJang of sKyid-smad; Map 1a)
[**14**] mNyes-thang (in sKyid-smad)
[**15**] sGrags (below fn. 427)
[**16**] Phreng-'go (fn. 428)
[**17**] Lum-pa (to the west of 'Phreng-'go)
[**18**] gDong-dkar (in sTod-lung-mda')

Cf. e.g. Duojie Caidan 1995: 189; *HSLG* 1: 7f.; bShad-sgra 1991: 60–61; *Dungkar tshig mdzod* 1783a; *Lhasa Intervies* 1–2.

[407] It refers to the present-day **Glang-ra** village (loc. between Yer-pa-mda' and Shar-phyogs), the place of the Glang-ra Byar-dgon, a branch of Yer-pa; cf. *VS* 154; *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 602.2. It is nowadays registered as village community (*grong tsho*) under the 'Brom-stod district (see prev. note) of sTag-rtse *xian* (*HSLG* Vol. 1: 30; = **06** of Map 1) comprising of 146 individuals in all (formerly being serfs under rGyud-smad grva-tshang religious estate).

The site Glang-ra lCags[= lCang]-gseb (= Glang-ru lCang-gseb; cf. *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 515) served as residence of many visiting hierarchs. Glang-ra dgon-gsar (dGe-lugs) in the same area was erected by dKa'-bzhi Kun-dga' mgon-po in the 15th century. Glang-ra was in 1497 A.D. still part of the (Phag-gru-controlled) Brag-dkar *rdzong* fiefship or dependency (est. in the mid-14th century, fn. 542; Table V.12.2) and in the late 15th cent. ruled by the *mi dpon* and *chos rgyal* Sri-gcod rgyal-po; cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 168; *'Bri gung kun dga' rin chen rnam thar* 93–95; *DL2* 366, 487.

Yer-pa,[408]
lDan,[409] [**31b**],

In the period 1500–1520, it was under the 'Bri-gung-pa after the Brag-dkar governor had broken with the dGe-lugs. The latter house was in the mid-16th cent. absorbed by the powerful dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa (fn. 542; Table V. 12.3).

Conspicuously, *DL5 III* 134a1–2 reports that mThar-rgyas (cf. below fn. 713) in 1679 A.D. was part of Glang-ra. Registered in the 1830 Tax Survey as rel. estate of 'Bras-spungs (*CTZhZh* 15). Glang-ra is apparently the Glang-ru *rdzong gzhis* of the later dGa'-ldan pho-brang government (cf. previous note) where during the same spell, a Rags-kha chu-skor of Glang-ru estate (cf. also *DL5 II* 58a5 in the 1660's) and Glang-ru Klu-sdings were founded.

[408] **Yer-pa** is a montainous area north-east of lHa-sa with the famous and ancient complex of hermitage-temples, cloisters and retreats of Brag Yer-pa situated in the upper part of the valley. Geograp. location as inserted in Map 1 (= **07**): 29°44'N 91°16'E. The first foundation (i.e. the Yer-pa Them-bu lkog-pa'i lha-khang) is said to go back to Srong-btsan sgam-po's consort Zhang-zhung-bza' Khri-btsun (*alias* Li-thig-sman). *Ka khol ma* 270.11–12; see most recently TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 199. The *rGyal blon ma* 288.1 mentions a Te'u-skyog (= Them[-bu] lKog[-pa] above?) where the Zhang disciple sGom-pa Mar-pa (= i.e. Mar-lung-pa Byang-chub seng-ge (1153–1241), a.k.a. Mar-pa 'Ja'-sgom, Mar-lung *lha btsun* or Thon gyi *sprang po* or *ban chung* (the beggar or small monk of the Thon clan) who met Zhang around 1171 A.D., see *Mar lung rnam thar* 59b6, 61b5f.) established the Dharma.

For a description of Brag Yer-pa, considered the "life-pole" (*srog shing*, *yaṣṭi*) of Ra-sa'i gtsug-lag-khang and highly significant for the later cultic history of lHa-sa, see *Yer pa'i dkar chag*, *passim*; *dBus gtsang gnas yig* 98–101; *HSLG* Vol. 2: 106f.

Located in the Yer-pa district are *inter alia* also the sPos-dga' retreat founded by Mal Yer-pa and the dGa'-ldan-gling hermitage est. by the 11th Tshal Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba* (see above *GT* 18a). After more than one and a half centuries as *mi sde* under Tshal, Yer-pa is listed as part of the Brag-dkar governorship (under the Phag-gru) in the 1409 A.D. donation list in *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 315. Today, the former estate Yer-pa-mda' *gzhis ka* as *grong tsho* is part of 'Brom-stod district (see above). In the 17th cent., Yer-pa (-phu, -mda') and sPos-dga' were under 'Phan-yul Za-dam (cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 80b1f.). At Yer-pa, a speaking Munendra statue once adhering to lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje was brought to Gung-thang by the 9th Tshal *dpon*. A *gzhis ka* Gling-ma is registered in Yer-pa-mda' (1605 A.D.) ; cf. *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 100b1. For the different versions of the seminal source denoted *Yer pa dkar chag*, cf. sKa-ba 2004.

[409] The present **lDan** refers to the lDan valley (lHan, lDan-ma) situated to the east of Ba-lam. It is evidently identical with the imperial mDan of the *Dunhuang Annals* where the site is registered for the year 678 A.D (DTH 15.32: mDan; *TDD* 233.18: mNgan); see also following note.

The area is known from the biography of the 11th century Rva *lo tsā ba* who founded a hermitage on the sNgon-po-gdong mountain in lower lDan-lung of Upper sKyid-shod (cf. *Rva lo rnam thar* 270; *gShin rje bshed chos 'byun*g II 94b). Confirmed by local tradition which identifies the ruins of Mount rDzong-ri situated at the entrance to the valley as the former residence of the master. The locals also speak of a Rva-lo foundation called "Ma gonpa" (today no more extant) and of a Rva-lo *sgrub khang* situated in Upper lDan. According to the *gShin rje bshed chos 'byung II* (*op. cit. ibd.*) Rva-lo passed away in lDan; the same text says that parts of his remains was inserted into a *stūpa* in lower lDan, later brought to 'Bras-spungs in the context of the foundation of this monastery (1416 A.D.). In addition to the Rva-lo sites, a number of ancient places worth mentioning in this area include: the place Glang-dar (some call it rGyal-po Glang-dar-ma) marked by some trees within a walled enclosure (the trees are said to have been planted at the spot of a great *stūpa* which was transferred to Tshal Gung-thang by Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang); the ruins of Bya-glag *rdzong* in central lDan which according to the locals go back "to the time before Buddhism" (the place is named after the *bya glag* [or *glag*] eagle; possibly related to the well-known dynastic district of Glag[s]; see following note); finally most impressive is a large complex of ruins in Upper lDan, a place referred to as "Peding ani-gonpa" (i.e. dPal-sdings A-ni dgon-pa nunnery). It was formerly affiliated with the Shar ruins which are situated in the lower section of the valley and which are seen as the site of a former bKa'-brgyud monastery. The nunnery is probably a chronologically later establishment which followed a local bKa'-brgyud tradition, more precisely a Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition as it is suggested by Bla-ma Zhang's presence in the local tradition. It is feasible that behind one of these sites is the old lHa-phyug-mkhar, the important branch institution of the early Tshal-pa localized by the sources in eastern Ba-lam

Glags Ba-lam,[410]

(Ba-lam shar, the neighbouring valley) where, however, no traces of a larger monastery are to be found. (Ba-lam shar is perhaps to be read as the Shar [place of lDan] in the [Glag] Ba-lam district; see Hazod 2004). A religious seat lDan-rdzong is registered for the 14th cent. which acc. to context refers to the lDan of sKyid-shod (BA Roerich 693).

A lDan-lung (*Deb dmar* 140.1: lHan-lung) is mentioned as a dependency of the Ru-thog-pa (above 22a). In lHan (= lDan) a temple was founded in the late 8th or early 9th century (cf. MTP Uebach 117) which, however, rather refers to the lDan-yul of Myang-stod in gTsang where later the *phyi dar* settlement of lDan Ba-so-thang was established (*Bu ston* Szerb 78; BA Roerich 77–78, 202). After more than 150 years as *mi sde* under Tshal, lDan of sKyid-shod is listed as part of the Brag-dkar governship in the 1409 A.D. donation list in *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 315. It is also registered as part of a monastic estate in the 1830 Land-Tax Census (*CTZhZh* 25; cf. also *HSLG* Vol. 1: 34 which lists the lDan *grong tsho* as part of the dGa' ldan *bla spyi*; other parts belonged to Kun-bde-gling; the latter (with its local dependancy of bKra-shis-ljong; fn. 542) had many estates in the area between lHas-phu (in Upper Gru-bzhi) and lDan). The lDan *mi sde* is inserted at the level of Bya-tshang in lower lDan: 29°40'N 91°24'E (= **08** of Map 1); *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 88a; see also Map 1b.3.

[410] **Glags** and **Ba-lam** were once royal places located in the Upper sKyid-shod region, often mentioned in the sources as a toponymic compound, Glags Ba-lam, occasionally also Ba-lam Glags. Cf. MTP Uebach 112, 113 (fn. 611); Uebach 1988: 507–508; TBH Sørensen 255, 371, fn. 1211; P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 41; Hazod 2004; Dotson, *forthcoming*. Ba-lam is known as one of the eastern toponyms of the lHa-sa *sa dpyad* and is mentioned (together with Glag[s]) in the Vairocana exile story which gives a description of the traditional route leading from bSam-yas to the sKyid-chu. The Glags Ba-lam district represents here the eastern entrance to the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone (see App. IV: Graph 1 and Chap. 3.3). In connection with Guru Rinpoche, Grom-pa of Ba-lam; see *lHa 'dre bka' thang* 56.10, 58.20; cf. also *lDe'u-2* 345.16. Today Ba-lam is still used as toponym locally, whereas the toponym Glag[s] has disappeared. The Ba-lam is located due east of bDe-chen *rdzong* (the administrative center of today's sTag-rtse county) and is divided into two side valleys, Ba-lam-shar (also Shar Ba-lam) and Ba-lam-nub (also called Ba-ra). The 1830 A.D. Tax Survey (*CTZhZh* 25) still refers to Ba-lam-shar and -nub. It appears to have once designated a greater area, including at least the place of bDe-chen at the entrance to Shing-tshang (cf. the form bDe-chen-rtse of Ba-lam, fn. 547). Ba-lam of Glag[s] in the 11th cent. became the seat of a branch lineage of the Yum-brtan *brgyud* (CFS Gyalbo *et al.* 191). The area was *inter alia* the home of sBa gSal-snang (8th cent., below fn. 442) and of the "Glag Pa-lam-pa" Klu-mes Tshul-khrims shes-rab (early 11th cent.), both of whom erected temples there. Klu-mes is also known as Klu-mes 'Brom, perhaps a reference that the 'Brom-stod (his actual birthplace?) was once registered as part of the Glags Ba-lam district. sBa gSal-snang is said to have founded two temples in his homeland, one in Glags-mda' (Glags-mda' lha-khang, later a settement of the Klu-mes group) and one in Phur-lung. The latter is also known from the sources as Klags [= Glags] Phur-lung (cf. fn. 195; Part II: Table V.6). Phur-lung refers to the western side-valley of Upper Shing-tshang which allows us to conclude that Glags was formerly the name of the Shing-tshang valley (situated due west of Ba-lam), or otherwise that Shing-tshang was part of a once greater Glags [Ba-lam] district. Today one hardly finds references in the local tradition which would corroborate the former historical significance of Glags Ba-lam, as is evident from the sources. As mentioned, the names of the important Tshal-pa schools of lHa-phyug-mkhar and Ro-skam in the locality of Ba-lam are not traceable in this area. Some nameless ruins are to be found in Phur-lung. In the upper Ba-ra valley there are the ruins of the mTsho-dgon-pa (said to be a former Bon-po site), while in Shing-tshang village is the abandoned dGe-lugs seat of Tshe-chu-dgon.

In Ba-lam, sKyi-bo Tshul-'phags was born; cf. *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung I* 55. *VS* 156 lists the monasteries of Ba-lam-nub Chos-rdzong and Ba-lam Chos-'khor which obviously are no more extant. As stated by the locals nowadays the only functioning religious site in the Ba-lam district (apart from gSang-sngags-mkhar, fns. 542, 547) is represented by the Maṇi lha-khang situated in Ri-lnga village of Upper Ba-lam-shar; a particularly artistic jewel which contains old and undamaged (and still undated) paintings referring to bKa'-gdams-pa and rNying-ma-pa traditions. For a historico-geographical discussion of the Glags Ba-lam district, see most recently Hazod 2004. In Map 1 the Glags Ba-lam estate (which we read here as one unit) is inserted at the level of Pad-nag (the main village of Ba-lam-shar): 29°39'N 91°23' (= **09**); *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 81a. See Map 1 and Map 1b.3. After more than one and a half century as *mi sde* under Tshal, Ba-lam is listed as part of the Brag-dkar fiefship (of 'Brom-stod) in the 1409 A.D. donation list in *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 315.

Lo[411] Byang-ji,[412]
Sri,[413]

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[411] **Lo**, east of Zhogs, an area primarily associated with sPyan-snga Tshul-khrims-'bar (1038–1103) who here founded the highly significant Lo-dgon-pa in 1095 A.D. (*VS* 171.13ff.; *bKa' gdams chos 'byung I* 316–324). It is known as the site of the gNam-gang mchod-pa, one of the Four Great Offerings of Central Tibet (*dbus kyi mchod pa chen po bzhi*). See TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 290; below fn. 519. *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 605.17–18 locates it in Mal-gro, which reflects an earlier geographical division. Today it belongs to Thang-dga' *rdzong* of sTag-rtse county (cf. *HSLG-1*: 50; *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 110–111; *CTZhZh* 133). sPyan-snga-ba, a descentant of the dBa' clan, was born in sNang-ra-sgang of Nyan (*bKa' gdams chos 'byung I* 316). sNang-ra-sgang is a village south of Lo-dgon, Nyan was – acc. to the locals – the former name of the Lo valley. A visit to the area in June 2007 (Hazod, Ngodrop Tsering) leads to its identification as being the ancient Nyen-kar, known as the seat of the pre-imperial ruler Zing-po-rje sTag-skya-bo, and the dominant residence place of the Tibetan emperors in the 7th and early 8th cent. (see Introduction: fn.7; Fig. 3–5; below Map1b.1). In Zhang's biography, a Lo-yul is listed which he arrived at after passing 'Phan-yul (*ca*. 1155 A.D.). See *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 27b2–3; cf. also App. III (Tshal-pa Rescript). This is apparently the Lo of sKyid-shod which in contemporary sources is also given as Nyan (cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung* 206.15; BA Roerich 612).

In Lower Lo, Sems-dpa' chen-po Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1392–1470 A.D.) founded the dGe-lugs monastery of Phag-mo-dgon. He erected in the same period other dGe-lugs seats such as bDe-mo-thang, Nyi-sdings, Chums Grong-gsar, all located in Chums (or Chu-mda'), east of Lo (Part I: Map 1b); see their earlier abbatial successions in *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 50a1f., 60a5–6; see also *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 123; Chos-'phel 2004: 246f. In dBu-ru Lo, the pupil of 'Bri-gung Rin-chen phun-tshogs, Grags-pa tshul-khrims *alias* Lo-pa *rtogs ldan* was born. Geograph. position of Lo-dgon (above Bal-mo village): 29°54'N 91°36'E (*Xizang Dimingzhi* 90a) as inserted in Map 1 and Map 1b (= **10**). See however next note.

[412] **Byang-ji** may refer to Byang-phyi [Chos-lung] mentioned above (fn. 253), or to the place of the Sribs-mda' temple, also called Byang-byi (~ -phyi) Sri-mda' (founded in the 11th cent. by the group of 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan), which – as suggested by Uebach – is feasibly identical with the 'Phan-yul sPyang-byi'i lha-khang (MTP Uebach 146-47, 151, fn. 944). Nevertheless, it shall be argued that it refers to a place east of lHa-sa, being identical with the birthplace of the Byang-ji ston-pa Shes-rab-'bum, the author of an important, yet still non-extant historical treatise (see TH Martin no. 62). In *Rlangs* 219.17, we find Lo Byang-ji mentioned as a distinct unity, which therefore may indicate that the *mi sde* in question must be read as Byang-ji of Lo (in sTag-rtse district), and thus not as two *mi sde* districts, i.e. Lo and Byang-ji. In the early 17th cent., the 30th dGa'-ldan throne-holder was active as *bla ma* at Byang-ci? where he established a *grva tshang* anew. In the biography of Zur-chen, we find the seats of Zing-pa (on this site in lower 'Phan-yul (related to the Zing-po-rje ruler of ancient Ngas-po), see *HSLG* Vol. 4: 70), sNang-gsal (in gZhogs), Byi [= Byang?] Phyi-lung and Zur-ru Brag-dkar. In Map 1, the place is anyhow inserted at the level of present-day Byang-phu of Lo: *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 90a: 29°50'N 91°32'E (= **11**).

[413] The locale **Sri** (var. dKri, Kri) has an old history. It refers to the place of the Sri yi rGya-phibs, the temple founded by 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan after the appropriation of the dynastic temple of dKar-khung (= sKar-c[h]ung at Ra-ma-sgang) and the erection of the bsNams/rNams-khang temple of Zhal. MTP Uebach 146–147; Part II: Table V. 5. Atiśa, on his way from bSam-yas to lHa-sa made a halt in the rGya-phibs temple of Sri (Eimer 1979: 26). Sri and Zhal are mentioned together in *Mar lung pa rnam thar* 67a2-4 and in Zhang's writings where it is said that the two districts constitute the heart territory of (the now fully obsolete geographical designation) Ngan-lam Ral-gsum, the latter a toponym which refers to the imperial Ngan-lam, the clan from 'Phan-yul, who evidently also had a branch settlement in this section of central sKyid-shod (fn. 12; App. IV: Chap. 3.2.2). Zhang often referred to himself as Zhang-sgom of Sri of Ngan-lam. *ZhK III* (Cha) 256a3, b2 mentions Sre-gad (*sic*) which is clearly corrupt for Sri-zhal.

The valley is situated to the east of Zhal (foll. note), and traditionally forms the eastern border of the Tshal Gung-thang district. Nag-mo of Sri mentioned in *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 62b4–5. At the entrance of the Sri (~ dKri) valley, at the foot of Mount Srin-mo brag-phug (Seng-ri brag-khug[= phug] in *Xizang Dimingzhi I*, 14a) there are some traces of ruins, a place which the locals call rG[v]a-lo-phug-dgon, referring to a site either associated with the Zhang teacher rGva *lo tsā ba* or with rGva-lo rNam-rgyal rdo-rje (see below fn. 403). The 9th Tshal *dpon* successfully diverted the river-water that flowed from Sri and Zhal district and which threathened Tshal Gung-thang, *Tshal rnam* 23a4. In the late 15th cent., a

Zhal,[414]
Byang sGal-sde *tsho lnga*,[415]
Nyang-bran,[416]
Dog-bde,[417]

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member of the Zur lineage established the Kri-lung dgon-pa, a site chosen by him after he had beheld the valley from the rGod-dkar Pass. Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 46b5–47a6. dKri (= Sri) in more recent times (beginning 20th cent.) was part of Gung-thang bla-brang private estate related to the noble house of Khe-smad and of the Tshal dBus-gling (*HSLG* Vol. 6: 172). For Sri, see also below 40b. In Map 1 the *mi sde* is inserted at the village of rTen-mkhar: 29°38'N 91°14'E (= **12**).

[414] **Zhal** refers to the valley and village of Zhal situated south-east of Gung-thang. Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1 (= **13**): 29°38'N 91°13'E. In this same area the Re'u-chung-dgon hermitage is registered in the writings of Bla-ma Zhang and a gNam-khang (= rNam[-rgyal]-khang) is mentioned, the latter probably related to the 'Bring foundation of Zhal gyi rNams-khang (see prev. note). It is the place of the highly significant Bla-ma Zhang retreat of Byang-mkhar (fn. 62). From here paths lead to the holy mountain of sMin-drug rdza-ri and the area of sGrags. Zhal Bla-grong estate was in more recent time a part of Gung-thang bla-brang and associated with 'Bras-spungs (*HSLG* Vol. 6: 172).

[415] The five [village] communities (= [*grong*?] *tsho*) as a compound is probably to be read as The Five [village] Communities of the **Byang** and **sGal** district. Byang here perhaps refers to a place in Upper sTod-lung (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 96, 100). *DL3* 89a3 mentions a sTod-lung sGal-po. It was at sTod-lung sGal-po that the Rin-spungs *sde pa* in 1575 A.D. set up his camp with a myriad of troops, a military step that prompted the personal attendant and uncle of the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (three years later = the 3rd Dalai Lama), *sku zhang* Kun-bzang-rtse, to expell them after the Rin-spungs army made their foray into the Central Tibetan territories, and after they had conquered and occupied sGal-Byang-sMon *gsum* before reaching sKyid-shod (*DL3* 89a1–3; see also TPS Tucci: 46). Elsewhere the compound is also given as sMon Byang Gad of sTod-lung (cf. *gSo rig sman khog 'bugs* 357) with sMon and Gad (= sGal?) here referring to present-day sMon-grong (also sMon-mkhar) and Gad-po south of (old) bDe-chen *rdzong* in Upper sTod-lung. Alternatively, sGal is the Gal-te-la (var. Gal-ta-la) known from the *dBa' bzhed* (and *sBa bzhed*) account on Padmasambhava's arrival in Central Tibet. The master travelled from sNye-mo to sNams (probably the gNam of Yang-pa-can) and then, passing through Gal-ta/te-la, he arrived at sNying-drung (of 'Dam-gzhung) (P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 53). It is the name of a hill close to sNying-drung (sNying-grong). See Bellezza 1997: 28; Hazod 'King Mer-ke.' In Map 1 the *mi sde* (= **14**) is inserted at the level of sMon-grong (see Map 3).

[416] **Nyang-bran** is mentioned together with Dog-te (see foll. note) in the context of the geomantic structure of the lHa-sa area (TBH Sørensen 256; App. IV: Graph 1); today constituting a northern suburb of the expanding town. It is the area where Pha-bong-kha is located (*Shel dkar me long* 4b; TBH Sørensen 261) – considered the Tibetan Devikoṭi – one of the 24 holy sites. At Pha-bong-kha, Srong-btsan sgam-po made the *lha sa'i sa 'dul*. Etymologically, it is claimed that Nyang-bran toponymically stemmed from "the subdued area (*bran*) appropriated by the imperial monk-ascetic Myang/Nyang Ting-'dzin bzang-po (*nyang ting 'dzin bzang po'i bran du gyur pa'i yul*)." Occasionally mentioned in the literature, a Nyang-bran-pa Chos kyi seng-ge was teacher to Phag-mo gru-pa – he may be identical with Nyang-bran-pa Chos kyi ye-shes who together with Phya-pa Chos kyi seng-ge was ordained in the presence of Zhang Tshe-spong-pa Chos kyi bla-ma in the rNgog transmission.

Two sites in Nyang-bran are related to Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas and the Zhi-byed school: Gar-ri-dgon (Ga-ri bSam-gtan-gling; in 1708, 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa here erected a seat) and Brag-ri ri-khrod (the latter associated with Srong-btsan sgam-po). Cf. Bya-rigs 1995, 2003; *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 30–36; Chos-'phel 2004: 58–59). Chu-bzang is located east of Pha-bong-kha, here the *sa skyong* or *sde pa* Nyang-bran Grong-smad-pa ruled the later powerful private estate, wherefrom e.g. 'Phrin-las rgya-mtsho (d. 1667), whose nephew was sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, descended. Cf. *VS* 427; *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 74–6; A [*mi*] *sde*-district, see *Se ra chos 'byung* 162. In Upper Nyang-bran, the settlement of dGa'-ldan-pa is to be found; it is related to the original estate of the sKyid-shod dGa'-ldan-pa (cf. Table V.12.1). Today Nyang-bran is a *xiang* (i.e. rural district center) under lHa-sa City District (*Lasa shi chengguan qu*). For Nyang-bran, see also *HSLG* Vol. 6: 99–100, 171. Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1 (= **15**): 29°42'N 91°06'E.

[417] This refers to the **Dog[s]-sde** [~-te] (also Dor-[s]te/bde; *Maṇi bka' 'bum* and *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 96 has the older? form Do-ri) valley north of Se-ra. Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1 (= **16**): 29°42'N 91°09'E. See

sTod-lung *phu mda'*,[418]

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also Map 1b.2. It formerly constituted one of the four cardinal points of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone (App. IV: Graph 1). A site and area of great antiquity. Dor-te (~-ste) was known to form one of the thousand districts of dBu-ru, and the two neighbouring *stong dpon* were divided between the local rMa and sKa-ba clan (*lDe'u-2* 258.15, 261.3) which, however, may refer to Dor-them of 'Bri-gung (cf. MTB Uebach 50, 51, fn. 129; TBH Sørensen: 256). Cf. also *Ka khol ma* 213.18–19. In Bla-ma Zhang's writings one of his *yon bdag* (i.e. Phyug-po rJe-btsun) stemmed from mTshar-nag (alt. or better: 'Chor/'Char-nag) of Dor-te/bde'i sGo-phu located within the so-called lHa-sa'i sde-bzhi zone (e.g. see *ZhK II* etc.). The same text (so also *sNa phu rnam thar* 17a1–2) reports about an influential *yon bdag* of both Zhang and Gling ras-pa in the 1180's denoted Jo-sras mGon-seng of lHa-sa sGo-phu or Upper Corridor. This may explain the subsequent inclusion into the later Tshal *khri skor* domain. In addition, several old hermitages mentioned in connection with Bla-ma Zhang and the early Tshal-pa are to be found in this area, such as Phur-bu-lcog (see *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 79f; *HSLG* Vol. 6: 611f.; Chos-'phel 2004c: 75f.; below Fig. 73), mKhar-rdo (i.e. the later mKhar-rdo ri-khrod bSam-gtan-gling established by mKhar-rdo bZod-pa rgya-mtsho in 1706 (*HSLG* Vol. 6: 63; Chos-'phel 2004: 76) a *dkar chag* to the site from his pen exists), or Ne-chung-ri (also Ne-phyung-ri); see *HSLG* Vol. 6: 65, see also App. IV: fn. 11; below Fig. 76. To the east of mKhar-rdo the small holy lake known as I-mtsho gnas-yul is located, considered subterraneously linked to an ocean under which lHa-sa rests; cf. *sPang rgyan me tog* 1994.3: 13–14. For many centuries, Dog-sde valley (lit. "narrow district" (*dog sde*)?) or "corridor" was the main entrance to lHa-sa from the north. The water of Dog-sde phu-chu river, in spring carrying melting water, was diverted by the 9th Tshal *dpon*.

In the same area, gNas-sgo-gdong and gNas-nang monastery are similarly situated; cf. Bya-rigs-pa 2003; bSod-nams tshe-brtan 1997. One defile leading to lHa-sa was called sGeg-mo-'phrang. Stone quarries in Dog-bde produced building materials for the Potala Palace and other edifices (for illustrations, see Lading 2000: 109f.). The area had formerly been forested with gigantic juniper trees; cf. Brauen ed. 1988: 84–85. In the early 20th cent., it was under the mKhar-thog monastery whose subjects were levied with *'u lag* work. Today Dog-bde is a *xiang* or rural district center under lHa-sa City District (*chengguan qu*). Cf. also *HSLG* Vol. 6: 100–102, 171.

[418] **sTod-lung** valley ("Upper Vale," orig. sTod-klungs; cf. *Padma bka' thang*, Chap. 91 and *DL2* 394, and many Karma-pa writings until the 17th cent., thereafter sTod-lung; divided into sTod-lung-phu and -mda' = sTod-lung-sgang) due west, north-west of lHa-sa, which borders in the north-eastern direction towards 'Phan-yul and in the southern direction towards Chu-shul and sNye-mo. A county district with a complex and eventful history and with changing borders down through history. The south-eastern section traditionally includes the lower bank and hinterland territories of sKyid-chu and streches as far as Thang-stod, a village south of sNon (below, fn. 433), which is said to represent the border between sTod-lung and Chu-shul county (see Maps 1a and 3). This lower part appears to refer to the area of the pre-dynastic sTod-ro (= sTod-lung Ral-gsum) principality (which originally gave name to the district; see App. IV: Chap. 3).

During the imperial time, a sTod-lung lCang-bu lha-khang was built, erected in the wake of 'U-shang-rdo. Localities in the 9th cent. included sTod-lung Lum-pa'i lha-khang, sTod-lung Mong-tra'i lha-khang, sTod-lung lHan gyi lha-khang (cf. *lDe'u-2* 265, 297). Gradually, sTod-lungs became a highly significant region during the early period of the *phyi dar* in Central Tibet with a number of religious settlements, especially of the Klu-mes and 'Bring groups (cf. Part II: Table V. 5). A number of early bKa'-gdams-pa settlements or personages were born or associated with the area: sKyor-mo-lung, Brang (or Beng) Ra-mo-che and dGa'-ba-gdong in lower sTod-lung. Ram-pa of sTod-lung as well as sDings-kha and places in the Mong valley (both in Upper sTod-lung) are foremost associated with the mGar clan (App. IV). In the valley a sGro *gzhis ka* is registered; *DL5 II* 218a1). Cf. Table V.8 below.

Localities in the 11–13th cent. included sTod-lung Thag-ma, sTod-lung Gol-go-lung, sTod-lung Sil-ma, sTod-lung lHa-zhing dgon-pa, Tsha-thog, etc. The Zhang writings mention sTod-lungs Thang-phu (probably the aforementioned Thang-stod). Among the early bKa'-gdams-pa masters, sTod-lung-pa Rin-chen snying-po (1032–1116 A.D.) was born in Ma-brag, where he later erected the bTsan-gro dgon-pa. Here e.g. Bya-yul-ba gZhon-nu-'od (1075–1138 A.D.) and Glang-lung-pa brTson-'grus gzhon-nu were born. In rTsva sGye-mo (in gNam Bye-ma-lung, south-east of Yangs-pa-can), the great 'Brom-ston rGyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas (1004–64) was born (his mother adhering to the Khu clan, the father was a sKu-gshen, or Bon-po adherent). The 'Bri-gung *grub dbang* dKon-mchog tshe-brtan (1830–93) too was born there.

From the 13th cent. onwards, the area seems to have been to a large part controlled by the Karma-pa* who in the

sNye-thang *tsho*,[419]

Yüan-Sa-skya period were not entrusted, at least officially, with administrative recognition. It most obviously already at that point was under the jurisdiction of the Tshal-pa *khri skor*, as alluded to in *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 15a4–6, where the 3rd Karma-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje on behalf of Kun-dga' rdo-rje received title and diploma in 1332 (see also Petech 1990b: 86–87). The clan distribution throughout its history is also complex, with the Khyung-po, dBa's, mGar, sNa-nam, Tshe-spong, Mong etc. A number of *sde pa* or local ruling houses existed in the area, variously pledging loyalty to the Karma-pa and later to the emerging dGe-lugs order. The dGe-lugs establishments (*lam rim grva tshang*), from the 14–15th cent. included the important sKyid-shod dGa'-ba-gdong (see App. V: Table 8 below), sTod-lung Chu-bzang (29°59'N 90°44'E; established by Sher-'byung Blo-gros), Lam-pa (loc. 29°43'N 90°43'E; est. by sTod-lung-pa chen-po Rin-chen snying-po, who also est. the bTsan-gro-dgon), rDe'u-ri (est. by dGe-'dun 'od-zer), gDengs/sDings-ka/lDing-kha (loc. 30°01'N 90°43'E; present-day Chu-bzang *xiang*; see App. IV: fn. 21; see also *DL5 III* 15b1, partly renovated in 1676) as well as Ra-tshag dgon-pa (with a famous Jo-mo (Vajrayoginī) statue; the site located in the Yab valley (orig. called sPang-khung), established by sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug (App. V: Table 6), later appropriated by Sangs-rgyas bzang-po); cf. e.g. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 10b2, 52a3, 61a2f.; *bKa' gdams chos 'byung IV* 83b4, but also gSal-khang *chos sde* (formerly called gZung-'jug-mo-dgon).

At sTod-lung rTse-kha estate (in Yab-mda' *xiang*) the 3rd Dalai Lama was born in 1543 and the influential sNang-rtse *sde pa* was located in present-day rGu-rum *xiang* (below Map 3). The reason behind this may rest with the circumstance that mTshur-phu (in sTod-lung) in this period was, as listed here, under the Tshal myriarchy (cf. also Petech 1990a: 87). For a brief history of the area and the personalities born there, cf. also *HSLG* Vol. 3. The area deserves its own in-depth study. Geograph. location in Map 1 (= **17**). sTod-lung bDe-chen: 29°58'N 90°42'E.

* From the *Shel dkar chos 'byung* 4b (P. Wangdu and Diemberger 1996: 26), we learn that in the 13th century the sTod-lung Tshur-phu district was goverened by the Shes-phrug line (a branch of the still-powerful dBas or dBa's clan) who were closely connected with the Karma-pa through marriage (dBas Shes-phrug dKon-mchog-dpal was married to a daughter of Karma Pakśi) and had a *yon mchod* relationship with their hierarchs (e.g. the mTshur-phu *sde dpon* rDo-je-'bar (original name: Shes-phrug lJang-tsha) with Karma Pakṣi). For this lineage, see now Everding and Dzongphugpa 2006. Other noted local *sde pa* supporters of Karma-pa were the sTod-lung Phyam (or Khyam)-ka *gong ma* or, as noted, the sNang-rtse *sde pa* (all 14–16th cent.; here the 3rd Yangs-can throne-holder *chos rje* Khyam-kha-pa was born, etc.). sTod-lung bDe-chen was donated to Zhva-dmar Karma-pa at the beginning of 1500's; cf. *Kam tshang brgyud pa I* 310a5; App. II.

[419] **sNye-thang** is an area with a millennium-long history; today a *xiang* in Chu-shur *rdzong* of sKyid-smad. Its *tsho* represents village communities in the district of sNye-thang (> sNye-[mo'i] thang; from the late 17th cent. variably spelled mNyes-thang; for an attempted explanation of this toponymic vacillation, see *DL6* 342–43) where the early and famous bKa'-gdams-pa temple of the same name is located associated with Atiśa (Eimer 1979, s.v. index and BST von Schroeder: 860f., 1066 for a part of its sculptural and artistic inventory), called sGrol-ma lha-khang situated in the area of 'Or ('Or-mo). The temple is also called 'Or gyi *gtsug lag khang*; cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 270; *gNyos gyi gdung rabs* 24.1; *Lo ras pa'i rnam thar* 39b2 ('Or may evidently not refer to ['']Bur, the lengthy side valley to the west of the temple of Jo-bo-rje and the name of the old district [s]Kyi Bur (see Part II, App. II: fn. 29). An area with an early settlement history, 'Or-mo is known as the settlement of an 11th-cent. descendant of the Yar-lung jo-bo (the ruling house in Yar-lung stemming from 'Od-srungs (cf. TBH Sørensen 472; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: App. III). Atiśa arrived at sNye-thang upon invitation from his disciple Bang-ston Shes-rab rin-chen (orig. from 'Jang (~lJang, lCang), south of sNye-thang) who then later built the temple of "sNye-thang 'Or" (Eimer 1979: 297). Both sNye-thang and 'Jang (or lCang-rgyab) are recorded as (11th cent.) settlements of a branch of the Yum-brtan *brgyud* (cf. CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 191).

In sNye-thang, the 'Bring *tsho* foundation of sNye-thang Brag-sna bKra-shis was established (cf. *rGya bod yig tshang* 461.15) where rNgog-lo Blo-ldan shes-rab produced a number of translations; see *lDe'u-2* 388.8–9. Here we also find brGya-grong gNas-bcu lha-khang = ? sNye-thang rGyal-grong est. by the 11–12th-cent. rMa *tsho* group headed by rMa Chos kyi Byang-chub. Cf. Table V.6.

Later the dGe-lugs monastic dependencies Brag-sna (= the old Brag-sna bKra-shis; here e.g. the Shar-rtse *mkhan po* Blo-bzang bkra-shis was born), but also Brag-sna 'Phags-sde and Chos-rdzong (both identical? and former Sa-skya seats in lower Rva-stod, formerly Bur-lung Valley; see App. II: Map 2), bKra-shis dpal-sgang, Rin-chen-gling (retreat seat of Klong-rdol bla-ma) and rMog-lcog dgon-pa were situated – the latter is a *ri khrod* (also called rMog-lcog

lHa-’Brug,[420]

Kun-lung) located on the slope of mGon-po-ri towering behind sGrol-ma lha-khang (App. II: Map 2; App. IV: fn. 11) – once est. by *mnyam med* rMog-lcog-pa (1110–70), a one-time pupil of gNyos Grags-pa-dpal of Bur (in the closest neighbourhood to Atiśa’s seat; further ’Od-gsal-gling or also a bDe-chen *a ni dgon pa* (of Sa-skya) were established).

An oft-frequented camp-site in sNye-thang was mKhar-nag-thang, used e.g. by the Karma-pa (cf. *mKhas pa’i dga’ ston* 1191; *Padma bka’ thang* 362), it was here that later the virtual ruler of Central Tibet (period: 1480–1512) Rin-spungs Don-yod rdo-rje had his lHa-sa area seat camped; cf. *Rin chen rnam rgyal rnam mgur* 12a4–6; *DL10* 71–77. gNyan mKhar-nag (= sNye’i mKhar-nag, mKhar-nag in sNye-/mNyes-thang; a local *klu* demon of the sNye-thang area) is said to reside in the place. The adjacent lake mKhar-nag-mtsho of mKhar-nag-thang is regarded as its abode.

In the district, the 1st dPa’-bo Chos-dbang lhun-grub (1440–1503) performed rain-stopping (i.e. preventing flooding) rituals and in the same area the eminently erudite 2nd dPa’-bo gTsug-lag phreng-ba (1504–1566) was born. During the first part (1642–1717 A.D.) of the dGa’-ldan Pho-brang *gzhung* period, mNyes-thang constituted one of the 18 estates or *rdzong gzhis* under lHa-sa Zhol jurisdiction (above fn. 406). Private manorial estates in the area included bDe-skyid-gling-pa and dGa’-thog Pho-brang-pa as well as a Tshong-’dus ’og-pa; *TZhZh* 34; *DL5 II* 58b4; *Ga zi gdung rabs* 418a2. Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1 (= **18**): 29°33'N 90°57'E.

[420] **lHa-’Brug** – originally represents distinct units, lHa and ’Brug, then treated as a unity – is mentioned in the context of *ta’i si tu* Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan’s skirmishes in dBus in the 1350’s; it is e.g. maintained that after the occupation of Gong-dkar, the areas of gTsang-la Yar-gtogs [and] lHa-’Brug including Kha-rag came under his horses’ hooves (*Bod kyi deb ther* 135.18–19; Ahmad 1995: 137f.). From *Grags pa ’byung gnas don chen* 449.12–13, we are informed that lHa[-pa] ’Brug (along with La-stod Thang-chung in gTsang) had been alloted as appanaged territorium to prince Möngke (half-brother of Qubilai) in 1251 A.D. This, along with a preceeding Tshal-warfare with gNam (= the ’Brug-pa) in the mid-1240’s, constituted the background why these districts later fell under Tshal.

An offspring of ’Brug is listed among Zhang’s combatants (above fn. 78). The districts were, always as a pair, mentioned in *Si tu bka’ chems* 106.21, 210.16–17, 270.14–15 = *Rlangs* 203.3–4, 217.14, 361.6–7. Here we are informed that in the wake of the Phag-mo gru-pa take-over of power in Central Tibet in the mid-1350’s, the *mi sde* of lHa-’Brug, gTsang-la Yar-gtogs, Rong-lung-pa were reorganized. The district A-’Brug (= lHa-’Brug) is listed as territorial unity in tandem with the adjacent sNye-stod and sNye-thang rGya-grong in the 1409 A.D. donation list for the inauguratory sMon-lam chen-mo; cf. *Tsong kha pa’i rnam thar* 326. But the *mi sde* thus clearly refers to two of the initially(?) unrelated estates (resp. 600 *hor chen* and 225 *hor dud*) in dBus, subject resp. to the lHa-pa and the ’Brug-pa (*rGya bod yig tshang* 300–301; see also Petech 1990a: 58).

The myriarchy list of the *gNas rnying skyes bu rnams kyi rnam thar* (cit. in Vitali 2002: 103) oddly mentions that lHa-sa (= lHa-pa) formed, together with Bya-yul-ba and sTag-lung-pa, two *khri skor* of the altogether six myriarchies of dBus (see App. III). These previously distinct areas, the larger lHa territory and the markedly smaller ’Brug unit, refer to the neighbouring territories of the lHa-pa and the ’Brug-pa.* It should not be forgotten that Bla-ma Zhang entertained close contacts with both founders, rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa and gTsang-pa rGya-ras. The geographical location of the lHa ’Brug unit in Map 1 (= **19**, **20**) is inserted at the level of the Gye-re and ’Brug-dgon-pa (see the sub-note below).

* The lHa-pa had a number of strongholds throughout Central and Southern Tibet – in the immediate pre-Sa-skya-Yüan spell, the lHa-pa were one of the most powerful ruling aristocratic or gentry houses (boasting old roots) and religious establishments in Central Tibet. Aside from the otherwise rarely mentioned lHa-thel est. by rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa (1164–1224), their main seat was the Ge-re/Gye-re dgon-pa (29°25'N 90°49'E; presently part of the Tshar-pa-nang *xiang* (also Gye-re mTshar-pa-sna; resp. reported already in the early 1500’s or 1600’s and thus also today, cf. *Thang stong rnam thar II* 254; *Mus chen rnam thar* 102.3–4); *rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog rnam thar* 252) of Chu-shur county (cf. e.g. *HSLG* Vol. 8: 38, 61–63)+ initially erected 1231 (completed 1244/46) during the reign of the latter’s nephew lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po (1201–1270 A.D.) (or lHa-pa dBang-rgyal). The seat remained in the following centuries closely linked with the gNyos clan and lHa-pa house, but eventually entertained connections with the emerging dGe-lugs. It remained a lHa-pa estate and stronghold for many centuries. Cf. Part II: App. II for a detailed discussion. In the same county, in present-day gNam (var. rNams or sNams)++ *xiang*, the so-called [Upper gNam] ’Brug dgon-pa (i.e. [b]Se-ba[-lung] Byang-chub chos-gling; 29°32'N 90°48'E) is located (see also Chan 1994: 477), erected by the ’Brug-pa-founder gTsang-pa rGya-ras (1161–1211) in around 1193 A.D. (1189 acc. to Smith 2001: 44, 81; above fn. 78)+++ – during roughly the same period he had erected first the Klong-

sKul-Ching [= ~ -'Phying]-ru,[421]

rdol and the future 'Brug-pa main seat of Rva-lung). In the 10–11th century, the rGya clan and the gNyos clan respectively had received large tracts of land in the gTsang province, between Kha-rag (see below) and Rva-lung towards lHo-Mon (see here Vitali 2004), yet already in the 11th and early 12th cent. skirmishes between the lHa-pa and 'Brug-pa are e.g. documented in the territorial disputes (around 1230–40) in lHo-Mon (i.e. present-day western Bhutan; cf. e.g. Dargye and Sørensen 2001) and it is reported how rGod-tshang-pa (1189–1258 A.D.) called for a truce in Central Tibet after serious warfare between the parties had broken out, in the wake of considerable destruction of religious sites of the 'Brug-pa (not least the Rva-lung main seat) inflicted by the lHa-pa (*rGod tshang rnam thar I* 196–99; *Myang chos 'byung* 19.15–20; this point may be intriguing since rGod-tshang-pa possibly was of gNyos stock), still the gNyos and the sGog [*sic*] people had prior to these skirmishes served as patrons to rGod-tshang (and the 'Brug-pa?); cf. *ibd*. 193–94. The military conflicts reported in his biography can be dated to the late 1240's or at latest mid-1250's. It was rGod-tshang who decided to call for a truce by paying his respect to lHa-pa *rin po che* Rin-chen rgyal-po (1201–1270). Not long after the 'Brug-pa found themselves in conflict with the Shug-gseb-pa; we have reports about military conflicts, arguably in connections with disputes, already mentioned, over territories (*sa cha'i 'khrug pa*) in the mid-1240's between 'Brug-pa and the Tshal-pa which led to the postponement of the completion of Gye-re dgon-pa of the lHa-pa (*gNyos rabs* 47.1). A few years later (around 1260–65 A.D.), their territories in sKyid-smad (for the 'Brug-pa possibly merely referring to the lay territories of gNam district under 'Brug-dgon-pa; in other words corresponding to what much later was known as the 'Brug-sgar monastic estate in this area; cf. *CTZhZh* 176) were attached to the Tshal-pa. The history of this ancient house deserves a separate study.

[+] The sKyid-smad G[y]e-re in Gye-re-lung Valley to be differentiated from the homophonous sKyid-stod G[y]e-re (-phu and -mda'), opposite dGa'-ldan, on the right bank of the sKyid-chu, present-day within 'Brom-stod district of sTag-rtse county; cf. *HSLG* Vol. 1: 33, 60; Akester 2004. Known already in the 12th century in connection with serious flooding episodes; cf. *Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar* 8a1–2. Later, one dKa'-bzhi-pa Kun-dga' mgon-po (*dPag bsam ljon bzang* 603) erected anew a sKyid-stod Gye-re dgon-gsar, which counted as a monastic estate under the later Pho-brang *gzhung* rule and was visited by the 5th Dalai Lama on his way back from China 1653. Here the 33rd dGa'-ldan throne-holder was born. The site in sKyid-stod corresponds to Gye-re'i gnas, a foundation of the 11th-cent. 'Bring *tsho* (Part II: Table V. 6). The name of the toponym may be associated with the dGyer, the founding clan of rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang.[†] G[y]e-re/Gyer Yar-'phrang is the mythic site where the celebrated six-syllable mantra-formula miraculously emerged during the rule of Srong-btsan sgam-po; it is considered the latter's *thugs gter* (cf. TBH Sørensen: 160, 163; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 77a4; *Rva lo rnam thar* 279; *gTer 'byung chen mo* 59.6; *HSLG*, *op.cit*.; see also *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 107–08). In the 1970's, the site was blasted away. It later became a monastic estate dependency of the near-by dGa'-ldan bla-spyi of 'Brom-stod *khul*. Cf. *HSLG* Vol. 2: 96. The local estate subjects as corvée were obliged to embankment building. The 9th Tshal-pa sMon-lam rdo-rje here conducted service to the inscribed Yar-'phrang sanctuary (as well as to the neighbouring Mar-'phrang which accomodated a golden *caitya*); cf. *Tshal rnam* 22b5–6.

[++] In the gNam /sNams district there were many 'Brug-pa settlements: In central gNam, the branch seat of 'Brug [s]Nyams-[g]nang-dgon (today a nunnary; below Fig. 69a, b); in gNam-mda', the Bon-ri with the sNam-ri 'Brug-rgyas hermitages were frequented by 'Brug-pa ascetics (so e.g. visited by Rva-lung Kun-dga' dpal-'byor in 1462). Here two rDo-ring estates were located in the dGa'-ldan pho-brang period: bDe-legs and sKyid-tshal (cf. *rDo ring rnam thar B* 363). The area roughly corresponds to the ancient [s]Kyi rNams registered in the *Dunhuang Annals* (Hazod 2003; Dotson, *forthcoming*); *DL6* 341. For a guide to the gNam main seat, see *gNam Byang chub gling gnas bshad* by the 8th 'Brug-chen.

[+++] *gTsang pa rgya ras rnam thar IV* 20a3, 25a1 says that he erected the 'Brug temple after his successful mediation in the fightings between the [monk?] communities and their local ruler(s) (*sde btsad gnyis*) in the area around 'Brug and sNye-thang, Other maintain that 'Brug *dgon* initially was erected by a 'Jig-rten mgon-po pupil sGom-she; see *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 32.

[†] It remains open whether the two Ge/G[y]e-re in sKyid-stod and -smad have the same etymologies. The sKyid-stod Gye-re may have derived from the name of the dGyer clan (short of bisyllabic dGye-re). See TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index.

[421] Also **bsKul 'Phying-ru**. Possibly to be read as two units: [b]sKul and ['']Ching-ru (= **21**, **22** of Map 1). Speaking for the unity of the toponym into one district is the information in *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 354; but also 'Ching-ru alone, *ibd*., 256) where it says that dMar-ston Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan – a pupil of Pu-rangs Lo-chung gZhon-nu shes-rab – originated from [s]Kul 'Ching-ru (11th cent.). The area(s) are mainly documented from activities in the 10–11th century. A toponym 'Ching-ru (~ 'Phying-ru) is mentioned in Atiśa's biography where the master sojourned for a period and there it appears to be situated not far from gZhung or Dol (*Yongs grags* 162–63; Eimer 1979: 249; BA Roerich 256). Both toponyms are still registered in the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey (registered for Gong-dkar *khul*; cf. *CTZhZh* 46, 49). A Khul-bu is situated between Dol and Grva. Cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 114b; see Part I: Fig. 87a.

Evidently, the territories originally refer to the settlement areas (*tsho ba*), possibly adjacent, and initially established by the 'Bring-group during the resurrection of Buddhism in Central Tibet in the 10–11th century. In these territories, the

The three [regions of] Yar-'brog-sgang [in western lHo-kha],[422]

successive students of 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan, named dMar gSal-ba'i shes-rab and Tshe-spong gSal-'bar, established the monasteries, *inter alia*, of Khe-ldir of sKul and 'Bras-mo lha-khang of 'Ching-ru (cf. MTP Uebach 42, 149; *Kha rag gnyos gdung rabs* 16.5 lists some of these establishments to be the work of gNyos 'Byung-gnas shes-rab; see App. II: Chap. 1 and Table 7 of App. V).

Further, from this area rGya 'Ching-ru-ba Shes-rab dbang-phyug descended (of the rGya clan), a pupil of gNyal/dMyal-zhig 'Jam-dpal seng-ge, respective the 3rd and 4th Gling-stod abbot of gSang-phu. He erected Rva-stod bDe-ba-can in 1205 (located in the mNyes-thang district). 'Ching-phu-ba is listed in *rGya bod yig tshang* as one of the small unrelated estates of Central Tibet during the period of the Yüan-Sa-skya administration, but it probably means '/mChing-phu of bSam-yas (see App. III). In 14th-cent. texts the territorial unit is listed along with the (adjacent?) Gr[v]a-phyi and 'Phyongs-rgyas, and hence bsKul 'Ching [~ 'Phying]-ru [~-du] appears to be located somewhere in this region. In this context, one may also consider that 'Ching-ru refers to the bCings-bkrol in central Grva-phyi (*Bod Map* Verhufen, s.v. index), or to Bying, the valley due east of Grva-phyi (with Bying-klu as the main settlement; *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 18b). It was a disputed area during the Tshal-Phag war in 1348–49 A.D. Cf. *Si tu bka' chems* 104.2, 105.12 = *Rlangs* 200.7, 201.16. The IVth 'Brug-dbang visited 'Phying-ru (both -phu and -mda') in 1633 A.D.

The 5th Dalai Lama mentions a Thod-dkar *gzhis ka* or estate of 'Phying-ru in 1660 A.D. (*DL5 I* 293b2–3) and *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 900 refers to dPal bDe-chen Chos-'khor of 'Phying-ru (presently registered as part of Gong-dkar *rdzong*, close to the village of gNas-gsar-grong; cf. *dPal ldan chos skyong rnam thar III* 389–90; Chos-'phel 2003; the latter originally was a *dben gnas* or hermitage).

[422] The three valleys are occasionally mentioned as an unity or as a triad (just like Gra Dol gZhung *gsum*, see next note), and they were as such a point of dispute between Tshal-pa and Phag-mo-gru in the mid-14th century. Cf. *Si tu bka' chems* 8.20, 72.13–14, 122.1 = *Rlangs* 110.14, 170.3, 217.7 which speaks also of a Ya[r]-'brog sGa-'dra* in this context, perhaps referring to one of the three regions. **Ya[r]-'brog sgang/rnam-gsum** is collectively listed as one of the district units of g.Yo-ru (*lDe'u-2* 258.4; *Nam mkha' dpal rnam thar* 73.3; *Kun dga' dpal 'byor rnam thar* 484.6 and numerous other sources) and is also known from the account of gNya'-khri btsan-po (*lDe'u-2* 235.16; *lHa 'dre bka' thang* 37.14–15). It seems to indicate that the core area of the Yar-'brog district consisted of three parts (i.e. areas around Yar-'brog g.yu-mtsho lake), but these areas still need to be properly defined. Yar-'brog and 'Brog sGa-'dra appear in the sources (cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1315–16). Yar-'brog-sgang dgon-pa is referred to in the 16th cent. Las-'phro gling-pa writings; cf. *Las 'phro gling rnam thar* 229a3f. Yar-'brog-sgang as toponym, is repeatedly listed in the literature, here e.g. the famous 'Brog-mi (993–1074/87) and *gter ston* Ra-shag chen-po were born. Cf. e.g. *gTer ston lo rgyus* 22a5.

Possibly one of them refers to the Bal-yul Gangs-ra area where the early Tshal-pa foundation of the same name was located (see above 254) and which may be identified with the imperial Bal-po (fn. 254) and the later *sde pa* seat of dPal-di (dPal-sde), situated on the north-western shore of Yar-'brog g.yu-mtsho (geograph. location of Yar-gzigs: 29°07'N 90°26'E; where the now ruined *rdzong* towers). sGa-'dra (today also a *xiang*) is situated to the east of the Yar-'brog lake (about 50 kms east of lHun-po-shol). From here paths lead to Lower 'Phyong-po and rGyas-sman as well as to Upper Grva. The same place is also mentioned in connection with the early g.Ya'-bzang-pa, where sGa-'dra designated the eastern fringe of the "sealed territory" established by g.Ya'-bzang-pa Chos kyi smon-lam (1169–1233). Cf. CFS Gyalbo *et al*., fn. 173. As is known, Yar-'brog (also designated as Ya[r]-'brog of the 16 *leb* [?]) formed its own myriarchy (est. post 1290 A.D.), which in the territorial conflicts of the 14th cent. sided with the Phag-mo-gru-pa (see App. III).

The *khri skor* (with sNa-dkar-rtse as its later administrative center) is said to have reached as far as lHo-brag (*Deb dmar gsar* [Tucci 1971: 192f.]). A detailed history of the 14–15th-cent. sNar-dkar-rtse *khri skor* and its *khri dpon* and their changing fortunes is a great desideratum. For its size, measured against the number of *hor dud* (750), it was only a small myriarchy (*rGya bod yig tshang* 301.16–17; Petech 1990a: 58). It's ruling *khri dpon* and *nang so* included Nor-bu bzang-po, Amogha[siddhi] (*Don-yod [dngos-grub]); Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan and his son lHun-grub bkra-shis (mid-15th cent.) etc. as well as *mi dbang* Kun-dga' grags-pa; cf. *DL5 I* 21–22; *Deb dmar gsar*; Ehrhard 2002c: 58–78; Diemberger *et al*. 1997: 112. For the fightings in the neighbouring area around 1550–54 A.D., cf. *Pad dkar rnam thar I* 59b1f. The Tshal-pa *mi sde* is inserted in Map 1 (= **23**–**25**) at sGa-'dra: 28°50'N 91°09'E.

In the Yar-'brog area a host of celebrated sites are found: the 15th-cent. Yar-'brog Yon-po-rdo (*alias* 'Og-min gSang-

chen Theg-mchog bDe-chen-gling) situated on an island in the south-eastern part of the lake (cf. Gling-dpon 1992). On the peninsular Do, in the middle of the Yar-'brog lake, we find the homestead of the rNgog clan. Here the place Do-nang was located where the Jo-nang-pa master bSod-nams grags-pa (1292–1370) was active. Cf. Ehrhard 2002c: 61. For rNgog, cf. *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 343–44; *rGya bod chos 'byung* 22a3–6; *bKa' gdams chos 'byung IV* 78b.

* Here Grva-pa mNgon-shes' disciple gDon-chung ston-pa established the temple of sGa-'dra (Part II: Table V. 5). Cf. *gSo rig sman khog 'bugs* 205. One of the students of Bla-ma Zhang, dKon-mchog seng-ge was born here. Most importantly, sGa-'dra is renowned for its

- sGa-'dra Chu-tshan (also known as Yar-'brog mTho-gang Chu-tshan or Chab-tshan; alt. name sGo-bsdus Chu-tshan), a famous natural hot spring seat (Chu-tshan: 28°47'N 91°10'E) and a cherished resort, visited by a row of religious masters down through time; so 'Gos *lo tsā ba* in 1422; the ailing Karma Mi-bskyod rdo-rje in 1553; *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 25a3–4; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1316; *Mi bskyod rdo rje gsung 'bum II* 656. Here at the hermitage of Kha-brag mGrin-bzang, rDo-rje gling-pa discovered *gter ma* treasuries; cf. *rDo rje gling pa rnam thar II* 67.2–68.5. Also visited by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs (tr. Stein 1972: 291, 308), etc. In the later centuries, it remained a favourite thermal spot, e.g. for the Tibetan nobility for specific treatment (*tsha chu'i 'phrod bzhes*). Cf. *bKa' blon rtogs brjod* 26b5; *rDo ring rnam thar* 247. For some stories and information related to this thermal source as well as to others; cf. gNyal-sman 1989, 1992.

Other renown medicinal and thermal (*sman chab 'phrod bzhes*; often natural (*rang byung*), usually carbonated water with healing properties, esp. against skin and limb diseases) sites in southern and central dBus included, e.g.

- The little-known gSang-yib Chu-tshan in Dog-sde of lHa-sa (see above); *HSLG* Vol. 6: 107. Visited e.g. by the 3rd Dalai Lama, cf. *DL6* 835
- The sTod-lung Tsha-thog Chab-tshan (loc. 30°00'13.3"N 90°45'35.1"E; e.g. visited by bTsong-kha-pa in 1419 and by the Dalai Lamas more regularly, etc.; cf. also *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 787; *Shar rtse chos 'byung* 689; *HSLG* Vol. 3: 56; rDo-phan 1995: 167–69; it is located above the village of g.Yu-thog, east of Chu-bzang in bDe-chen *xiang*; g.Yu-thog was the home of g.Yu-thog mgon-po rnying-ma (above fn. 142); further
- Chu-mig-lung thermal of Upper sTod-lung (loc. at 29°59'N 90°43'E) equally of present-day bDe-chen *xiang*
- Ru-thog Chu-tshan of Mal-gro (cf. fn. 241 above) visited e.g. by 'Jigs-med dbang-po and lCang-skya in 1757 and famous today as a public thermal bath
- 'Ol-dga'/kha (as reported e.g. by *DL10* 55 in 1820 A.D. as well as earlier by Sle-lung) known as rDzing-phyi'i bla-sman (or 'Ol-dga' Chu-tshan) visited by the 5th Dalai Lama; by Pho-lha-nas in 1729; *DL2* 365, 485 speaks of the thermal bath of 'Ol-kha sPang-kha chu-tshan (see mKhas-grub 2005: 83–5); and a thermal bath in
- 'On, e.g. visited by Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang grags-pa prior to his passing. Cf. *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 553; finally,
- Chu-gsum Chu-mdo Byang; cf. mKhas-grub 2001: 449–50
- Dvags-yul Chu-tshan

Further thermal baths were found in

- 'Phan-yul Dar-yul (s.v. above) and at
- Bye-lung-mdo'i Chu-tshan of rTsva sGye-mo (in Bye[-ma]-lung of Upper sTod-lung, i.e. the area where 'Brom-ston-pa was born (above fn. 418); the birthplace is marked by the *stūpa* Bye-lung 'bum-pa); cf. *DL5* II 914–b5, 184a7–b2
- Za-dam Klu-sdings Chu-tshan-kha (here e.g. *sems dpa' chen po* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was born 1554); a site visited by a host of people, reported for 1631, 1666 A.D. etc. (cf. *DL5 I* 63a5, *II* 21a4–22a5); again, at
- 'Bri-gung gTer-sgrom / Ti-sgro Brag-dkar of Zho-stod; the famous "Treasure-Box" site, a cherished thermal and medicinal bath visited already from 12th cent. by a host of dignitaries; cf. *Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar* 8a6; cf. *DL5 II* 6a3; *Ga zi gdung rabs* 404b1; *bKa' blon rtogs brjod* 38; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 79; Loseries 1994; it is located at the foot of the present-day local nunnery of [g]Ti-sgro[m]. In the 'Bri-gung area we have additional termal springs, Lung-bstan, Gong-ma and 'Og-ma Chu-tshan. Further, at
- Rag-stod, the sKyid-khud Chu-tshan (*Sa skya gdung rabs* 257) and southwards in
- Phag-ri Kham-bu-lung (of lHo-brag)
- Yar-klung, at rGya-ri; cf. *DL3* 47a5; bSod-nams 1994
- Chu-tshan-kha of E-stod, at the site of lHa rGya-ri (loc. *ca*. 29°04'N 92°12'E); commonly known as E-stod [Pho-rog] Chu-tshan discovered by sKyes-bu Ye-shes rdo-rje; cf. *DL3* 47a5; bSod-nams 1994; Chos-'phel 2005a: 67.

In lHo-brag of lHo-kha we further have:

- Lung-smad kyi chu-tshan, including the following minor hot springs: O-rog chu-tshan, mThing gi chu-tshan, lHo-nang-pa, Zhal-ngo chu-tshan and lHo-pa chu-tshan; cf. lHo-brag-pa 2006: 84–85.

In northern Central Tibet – often frequented by the sTag-lung throne-holders – other popular thermal sources were

- 'Dam sNying-drung lHa yi dga'-tshal Chu-tshan (loc. at 30°26'N 89°56'E) and

The three [regions] Gr[v]a, Dol and gZhung,[423]

- Gro-ma-lung Chu-tshan of Upper sNying-drung (located in sNying-drung of 'Dam-gzhung county; geograph. position: (30°35'N 90°41'E) *xian*); cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* [A] 1423–25; [B] 566, 753, 759, 872. Evidently already known in the 8th century. See Sato 1975: 13–14. Further,
- lHo-stod Chu-tshan, e.g. visited by Padma gling-pa; cf. his *rnam thar* 393; *DL5 Thob yig IV* 33b2.

In the gTsang province mention should be made of

- Chu-bo-ri sMan-chab (e.g. visited repeatedly by the 5th Dalai Lama in the 1670's),
- Rong Chab-tshan or Rong-chu Tshan-kha (in Rong-chen) was a favourite thermal spring preferably visited by successive Sa-skya and Ngor masters, but later also by the Dalai Lamas, etc.; cf. e.g. *Mus chen rnam thar* 112.2, 182.1, 195.1; *Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar* [B] 49b3–4; *DL6* 308; *Sa skya gdung rabs* (*kha skong*) 656, *et passim*. Its considerable healing properties ensured regular visits (esp. during spring and autumn) for such treatments. A large number of thermal baths are registered for the gTsang province:
- sTag-rtse Chu-tshan in Sa-dga' *rdzong*,
- Chu-gsham Chu-tshan in 'Gram 'Gag-sgo = ? gTsang-po'i lho-'gram Chu-tshan; cf. *Thang stong rnam thar I* 173,
- dKyil-mkhar Chu-tshan,
- Sa-lhan-sgang Chu-tshan in Rin-spungs rdzong, and
- Kham-bu Chu-tshan in Gro-mo *rdzong* also called Gro-mo-lung Chu-tshan.
- Mang-mkhar Chab-tshan is registered, being visited by Paṇ-chen dPal-ldan ye-shes in 1778.

A cultural and a medical-baneological study of thermal springs and baths in Tibet and their importance deserve a separate scholarly treatment.

[423] The three valleys **Gr[v]a**, **Dol** and **gZhung** in lHo-kha south of the gTsang-po (Map 1), in present-day Gong-dkar *khul*; in both historical and geographical works they are in numerous texts given in this form as toponymic triad, for the first time in *dBa' bzhed* 13a (P. Wangdu and H. Diemberger 2000: 57); *bKa' thang sde lnga* 185: collectively listed as imperial-time *stong sde* unit; *Padma bka' thang* (Canto 91 related to the burial of treasures by Gu-ru Rin-po-che); *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1419.8–9; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 441; *DL4* 37a5, 44a6–b1; *Rva lo rnam thar* 240; *bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu* (196.2; Smith 2001: 222), and in a host of other texts. According to one tradition, queen dMar-rgyan, the consort of Khri-srong lde-btsan, was expelled to the lower part of Yar-rgyab Gra-gzhung (i.e. the Grva-[Dol]-gZhung region, which constitutes an essential part of Yar-rgyab (lit. "Behind Yar;" Yar = Yar-stod-mda'), where she founded the temple of sGra-tshad (= Grva-tshad); cf. Aris 1979: 66. According to *bShad mdzod*, the three areas were allocated to the Northern Upper part of g.Yo-ru (*byang stod g.yu ru*), which is a precise designation. The three districts (or parts thereof) remained an object of dispute between different rulers. It was a disputed *mi sde* area in the Tshal-Phag war of 1348–49 A.D.; see *Si tu bka' chems* 72.13–14, 98.9–10, 100.2, 103.17, 105.16 = *Rlangs* 170.3, 194.18, 200.1, 201.19, *et passim*. The areas were considered to belong to the innermost part of dBus (*dbus khog*) and were usually listed as district territorial units of g.Yo-ru (*lDe'u-2* 258.3). On these areas, see also Wylie 1962, s.v. index; Eimer 1979: 249–251.

Grva Dol *phyi nang* were also designated g.Yor-po *phyi nang*; cf. *dPyod ldan yid kyi shing rta* 61a4. The clan distribution in the area down through history remained complex. Some sources claim that the Zhang sNa-nam clan became lords of all three areas, conferred upon them by Mu-rub btsan-po during the Tibetan dynasty. As homeland or appanage and as a royal grant of land of the sNa-nam clan, it would explain the direct link between Bla-ma Zhang of sNa-nam and these southern areas (As said, other main branches of the early sNa-nam-pa settled in Brang-phu and Zhong of sTod-lung-mda', in Upper dBu-ru and in Pa-snam of Myang; above fn. 11). However, contradictory (or rather supplementary) information chronicles that in dynastic times (or in some inter-mediate period), the three areas were donated as reward to the so-called "three brothers of the mNga'-ris sBal-ti/Val-ti clan" (the later rulers of sKyor-mo-lung; cf. Table V.8.4): Seng-ge gung-btsan, sTag-gung-btsan and gZigs-gung-btsan, who allegedly served as military leaders to king Mu-tig btsan-po during a war between India and Tibet and for the service rendered in waging war against China and Mongolia (*sic*) (cf. *sKyor lung chos 'byung* 12bf; the name sBal-ti may ultimately be a corruption for the dPal-sde/de area in Yar-'brog). Finally, and more realistically, we have information that the Shud-phu clan in the 9th cent. were rulers in the three areas in question through Shud-phu bSod-nams seng-ge, the son of *chos blon* dPal gyi seng-ge, cf. *lHo brag grub chen rnam thar* 648.2f.; above fn. 15.

Grva is Dra of the *Dunhuang Annals* (see Uebach 1988; Dotson, *forthcoming*). dKyil-ru of Upper Grva is known as the birthplace of Grva-pa mNgon-shes dBang-phyug-'bar (of the lCe clan) (1012–1090 A.D.), where this famous

son of Grva district later erected a temple, one of the 108 temples which he is said to have founded in g.Yo-ru (i.e. lHo-kha). Most famous is the highly significant and artistically well-preserved g.Yo-ru Grva-thang *vihāra* situated in the lower part of the valley (est. 1081; completed 1093 A.D.; it passed into the hands of Zha-lu *lo tsā ba* Chos-skyong bzang-po *ca*. 1495. It was an active institution until the 16th century; see e.g. *Sa skya gdung rabs* [*kha skong*] 257f.; cf. also Vitali 1990: 39-40; BST von Schroeder 972f.). For the 1280's, U-rgyan-pa (*U rgyan pa'i rnam thar I* 202) refers to a sNye-mdo (and sNye-mdo dgon-pa) of Gr[v]a of dByar-po (= g.Yor-po?).

Grva was regularly visited by the early Tshal-pa and a number of Zhang's direct disciples were descended from Grva. An imperial-time lDom-bu-pa of Grva is mentioned (*Padma bka' thang*, Canto 75). From Grva stemmed Khri-dga', one of Zhang's personal disciples. It was the birthplace of a host of masters: the Grva-ba mNgon-shes' pupil Grva-phyi-ba Rlung Legs-pa'i shes-rab was born in Grva (cf. *rGya bod chos 'byung* 9a1); further: the pupil of Ras-chung, Grva-phyi-ba rDo-rje-'od. Similarly, 'Khrul-zhig Seng-ge rgyab-pa (in the *Man ngag snying thig* transmission) was born in Upper Grva, more precisely in Gad-phreng (= present-day Gad-'og = Gad-'or, loc. 29°12'N 91°18'E, in the 17th cent. it was a *rdzong*; see *Rin chen dpal bzang rnam thar* 21a4) as well as Rog Shes-rab-'od. The celebrated Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa 'Dri-med 'od-zer was born in sTod-grong of Grva-phu (his father was a Ngan-lam btsan-po (?) of the Rog clan, the latter evidently related to the Rog-pa of Upper Grva (in present-day dKyil-ru *xiang*; loc. 29°08'N 91°18'E; a second Rog-pa is to be found in Yar-lung (i.e. the Yar-lung Rog-pa[-rtsa]; *Padma bka' thang*, Canto 69, 92; Ferrari 128, fn. 286; commonly associated with the site where Ma-cig Lab-sgron-ma received gCod teachings; see also *Bod kyi deb ther* 187). In the dynastic period Rog-pa was known as one of the *yul sde* or *yul dpon tshan* districts of the Left Horn Province; cf. CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 240). An U-rgyan Rog-rje gling-pa is registered too.

Grva was also the birthplace of gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646–1714 A.D.); in his biography, incidentally, it is mentioned that the area once adhered to the Tshal-pa *khri skor*. See *gTer gling rnam thar I* 40.2–6; II 20a2–3; *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 703.18–20. The estate and *bla brang* of dPal-'byor rab-brtan was located here too, regularly visited e.g. by rJe-btsun Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1507–65) and Sa-skya-pa A-myes-zhabs (1597–1651 A.D.), different from the estate of Grva-phyi Phun-rab = Phun-tshogs rab-brtan mentioned already in the 1660's (see also *dBus gtsang gnas yig* 257; = ? Phun-rab *gzhis ka* 28°58'N 91°34'E of present-day sPun-gsum of rGyas-sman district; a Phun-tshogs rab-brtan of Byar district exists too). A Yad/Yang-kha of Grva is registered, the site of a local gNyan-dpon; *Thugs sras rnam thar* 12; *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 56a6. From the 14th cent, the area was under the Yar-rgyab ruling house.

Grva is generally divided into Gr[v]a-phyi and Gr[v]a-nang, alt. *stod* and *smad*. Both areas are replete with historical sites and religious establishments. For a general description of the area, see Chan 1994: 367–370, *et passim*; *CTZhZh* 70–75; Chos-'phel 2004c, *passim*. In Grva-phyi, Klu-mes Tshul-khrims founded the temple of 'Tshong-'dus-gnas; BA Roerich 75. It corresponds to the later Tshong-'dus grva-tshang, one of the four celebrated *jo gdan tshogs pa* seats associated with Kha-che Paṇ-chen (see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index), i.e. the Tshong-'dus tshogs-pa (also Bye-ma-rdzing tshogs-pa (Bya/Bye-tshogs). Cf. Chos-'phel 2002: 33f.; for its *mkhan rabs*, see e.g. *rGya bod chos 'byung* 29a2–7; loc. 29°14'N 91°24'E; Dung-dkar however locates it in Bye-rdzings of gZhu of sNye-mo; *DKTshDz* 1491. Another *tshogs pa bzhi* establishment in this area is the Grva-nang rGyal-gling tshogs-pa (geograph. position: 29°11'N 91°19'E). These seats were later associated with the Grva-phug-pa (cf. *DL5 II* 80a6; cf. also the detailed exposé by 'Jigs-med dpal-ldan bzang-po 1992). Close to the latter site is located the dGa'-tshal-sbug.

In the imperial time – associated with Padmasambhava's treasure concealment – we register the sites of Grva sNe-gdong, g.Yu-sgong-brag (the "Rock of the Turquoise-Egg") as well as Grva-phyi Brag-po-che where treasures were concealed. The districts later comprised a number of sites such as the Karma-pa-related dPal-mgon Byams-pa'i-gling *chos sde* (loc. 29°14'N 91°20'E; where e.g. Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (1424–84 A.D.) and Paṇ-chen bSod-nams rnam[-par] rgyal[-ba'i sde] (1401–75 A.D.) were active; see Ehrhard 2002b and 2002c, *passim*; Tucci 1956b: 148).

Still other sites registered in the area include: Ri-bo rnam-rgyal close to the village of lCe'u-smad (loc. 29°12'N 91°19'E; est. by dGe-'dun rgyal-po, pupil of bTsong-kha-pa; cf. *bKa' gdams chos 'byung II* 96b3–4; *VS* 226) and bDe-ba-gling (est. by 'Od-zer bkra-shis); again, Grva-nang sDings-mo/po-che mchod-khang as well as the Cog-grva sDings-po-che namesake monastery (an old 'Brug-pa and gTsang-pa rGya-ras seat; for its precise location; see *Rin chen dpal bzang rnam thar* 20b6–21a3) est. 1578/80 A.D. by the 'Brug-pa master Phug-pa Rin-chen dpal-bzang (1537–

1609/17); cf. e.g. Cog-grva 1997–98. Rin-chen dpal-bzang incidentally was the 1st Cog-grva sDings-po-che throne-holder (stemming from a royal Mi-nyag clan who settled in Grva-phyi after the 1227 A.D. diaspora); he was born in lHa-rgya-gling *gzhis ka* of Grva-nang; cf. *Rin chen dpal bzang rnam thar* 4b3f. In Grva-phyi a Chu-bzang dgon-pa is registered as monastic dependency of Cog-grva.

In Upper Grva-phyi, Chos-sdings dgon-pa (seat of the Byang-bdag clan, originally from the royal Mi-nyag line of the main seat Ngam-ring of La-stod Byang ruling house est. in the 13th cent.) and seat of the formidable *mi dbang* bKra-shis stobs-rgyas and his son Ngag gi dbang-po; 1580–1639 A.D.); further Grva-nang Dar-rgyas Chos-sdings/gling (loc. 29°13'N 91°19'E; birthplace, as mentioned, of gTer-bdag gling-pa of the gNyos/sMyos clan; visited e.g. by *thugs sras* Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan in the mid-16th cent. (here *chos rje* dPal Don-grub resided), and here he met 'Bri-gung Rin-chen phun-tshogs; cf. *Thugs sras rnam thar* 10–13). In dBen-tsha of Grva-nang (in Upper dBus or dBus kyi stod), rDo-rje gling-pa was born (1346–1405 A.D.) into the Khu clan (called the Khu-rje); cf. *rDo rje gling pa rnam thar II* 13.3f.; *gTam zhing lo rgyus* 1. The adjacent rNying-ma-pa key seat of sMin-grol-gling monastery was founded 1670 by gTer-bdag gling-pa. gTer ston O-rgyan gling-pa (b. 1323) was born in Yar-rje of Grva-nang (the birthplace present-day is known as Grva'u-yus) and also the influential rNying-ma-pa master 'Dri-med kun-dga' (b. 1347) was born in Khyung-dmar of Grva-phyi (e.g. *Nor bu'i do shal* 256). A Grva-nang Gad-pa-kha of Yar-klung is listed; cf. *DL5 III* 158b2. Finally, dignitaries like the 35th dGa'-ldan khri-pa, etc. were born in this district too. A famous wood-carving artist guild was the Grva-phyi dGos-dgos; cf. *DL5 II* 247b3. Finally, the Tshal-pa monastery of rTag-can was founded in Grva-phyi (above fn. 244). A *sgrub sde* Don-grub mThong-smon-rtse of Grva is listed for 1601 A.D.; *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 83a3.

Dol (west of Gr[v]a) corresponds to the royal residence of Dold (more precisely Mar-ma of Dold) registered in the *Dunhuang Annals* for 699 A.D. (DTH 18.21; *TDD* 236.6; Dotson, *forthcoming*). It consisted of three sections (*stod smad bar gsum*); cf. *Rva lo rnam thar* 239.12. The valley is also called Grib (cf. Gyurme Dorje 1998: 224) which refers to name of a place in the upper part of the valley (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 110a); hence, it could be identical with the imperial assembly place of Drib-nag (DTH 22.36, 23.6; Dotson, *forthcoming*) as already suggested by Uebach (1988: 511; cf. also MTP Uebach 141). A treasure-site related to Padmasambhava, was lCe-bde or lCe-ti of Dol (= lCe-bde-zhol at the entrance to the Dol valley, geograph. position: 29°16'N 91°06'E, present-day of Gong-dkar *xian*); later lCe-sde was headed by *sde pa* dGos-sgos (1606 and 1620 A.D.); cf. *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 20a1–2, 29a–2, 108a1–3.

A number of clans stemmed from the area, so already listed in the 11th cent., we find: 'Ches and '/mTshur (cf. BA 414; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 275), wherefrom e.g. 'Tshur dBang gi rdo-rje was descended (a place called 'Ju of Dol is listed where the latter was active; *Ras chung rnam thar* 286). A 12th-cent. site 'Tshur-chung (similarly related to the 'Tshur/'Chur clan) of Dol is registered; also related to the queen consort of a local king of Yar-lung Thang-chung called mTshar-dgu-skyed, mother to 'Dzeng [Dharmabodhi] in the *'ja' lus* transmission; the latter later was active in 'Tsher-chung (= 'Tshur-chung) of Dol. See *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 191. Both in Dol and the neighbouring gZhung valley a number of temples from the early *phyi dar* period are located, mostly associated with Grva-pa mNgon-shes and his disciples and with representatives of the Lower 'Bring *tsho* (see Table V.6). Atiśa resided there (at dPe-khang of Dol and at Dol-mda'– located close to gTsang-po river, where he erected a dike to stem the water of gTsang-po); cf. *bKa' gdams chos 'byung III* 124, 154–55. Dol-pa Shes-rab rgya-mtsho (1059–1131 A.D.) [of the Rog clan; see above], the early bKa'-gdams-pa master, erected a monastery in [gZhogs] Ya-gad of Lower Dol at a site once visited by Atiśa; cf. *ibid*. 124; *rGya bod chos 'byung* 18a5.

Two of Mar-pa's four chief disciples (i.e. the Eastern and Western Pillars) came from this area (above fn. 72). In Dol, the *dgon pa* of Me-tog mdzes-ldan was established by rNgog Ye-shes seng-ge in the 11th century.

Dol is repeatedly mentioned in connection with the warring activities of the early Tshal-pa, where e.g. the [g]Dol-po *btsad po* have been defeated (below fn. 800). For Dol, it is noteworthy that prior to the 1350's skirmishes, the Tshal-pa had presented a part of the district of Dol as religious estate to Karma Rang-byung rdo-rje (1284–1339 A.D.).*

In lHa-rtse, a small valley between Grva-nang and Dol (see Part I: Fig. 87a), the seat of the Yar-rgyab ruler known as Dol lHun-grub lHa-rtse *rdzong* was located (= lHun-grub-gling ? see *Rin chen dpal bzang rnam thar* 7a1). Further sites in the Dol area: mKha'-spyod-phug as well as local dependencies such as Chos-'khor-sgang; bDe-gshongs (where sGrub-chen Chos-dpal and his lineage resided); Chos-rdzong; 'Phags-sde, bKra-shis rNam-rgyal (see also *DL5 II* 167b7; under

the Yar-rgyab rulers), the Sa-skya convent of gDung-phud (~ rDo/bDun-phud) chos-'khor (Table V.6; below Fig. 88); and Dol lHun-grub-stengs (see *Khams gsum Chos kyi rgyal po rnam thar* 396.7), etc. Innumerable masters came from this area: in the mid-14th cent., a pupil of 'Ba'-ra-ba, Klong-chen Ras-pa Rin-chen tshul-khrims was born in the heart of Dol, at lHa-sna. In the same transmission, the mystic Mon-rtse-pa Kun-dga' dpal-ldan (b. 1408) was born in Khang-dmar-gling of Ba-ri-sgang between Dol and gZhung. In Dol, Las-'phro gling-pa was born. At the latter site, e.g. the 17th-cent. Karma-pa Kun-tu bzang-po was born. Byang-bdag Ngag gi dbang-po (1580–1639) in 1620 was offered Dol-sngon [= Do-sngon?] *rdzong*. An artist (*lha bzo ba*) stemming from Do-sngon executed a statue of Grags-pa rin-chen of the Phag-gru Rlangs family; see Prats 2005: 19. In medicinal literature, a Nyang-khang-pa of Dol-mda' is mentioned.

In the Phag-gru period and especially in the period of mid-15th cent. when an inner Phag-gru war raged (*ca*. 1434 A.D.), the area suffered great destruction and pillaging, e.g. delineated in the biography of Mon-rtse-pa; cf. also *rGyal rtse chos rgyal rnam thar* 285. During most of the late 14th and the 15th century and prob. for a longer period, the three areas constituted landed estates under the control of the powerful local noble ruling house (*sa skyong chos rgyal*) of Yar-rgyab, such as under *dpon chen* Rin-chen bzang-po (and his wife rDo-rje bde-ma) – their main residence was the aforementioned lHun-grub lHa-rtse palace. See the biography of Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (Ehrhard 2002c), later visited e.g. by Padma dkar-po in 1591 (in the mid-16th cent., this Yar-rgyab seat had already been conquered by the sKyid-shod-pa; see Table V.12.3 below; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 428, 441; *Pad dkar rnam thar IV* 58a3–4), by the 4th Dalai Lama in 1606 A.D. (*DL4* 37a4–5) and a host of other dignitaries. In 1611, the three areas were temporarily appropiated by the gTsang forces; see *ibid*., 44a6–b1. In Dol, we find a number of estates; cf. the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey *CTZhZh* 61–69. gSer-stengs bSam-grub-gling gi khang-pa of Dol and gSan-mda' of sBar-mdo in Dol; cf. *DL5 II* 251b6–252a2; *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 83a2. The area is known not least as the (first) residence of rDo-rje Shugs-ldan *alias* Dol rgyal, the disputed dGa'-ldan-pa protector who was "invented" in lHa-sa after the death of the Dalai Lama's first regent bSod-nams chos-'phel (see Dreyfus 1999). The Dol-rgyal temple (to-day no more extant) was located in the western side-valley of lower Dol. Probably in the same period the dGa'-ldan gSung-rab-gling of Dol was founded; it counts among the thirteen great monasteries (*gling bcu gsum*) of the dGa'-ldan-pa, the greater part of which goes back to the period of the 5th Dalai Lama (see App. II), who e.g. also visited a Dol gNas-gsar in 1656 (*DL5 I* 2776b). It is reported that a relic statue of the thousand-eyed and -armed Avalokiteśvara was kept which had emerged miraculously from the cremated pyre of the 3rd 'Bri-gung throne-holder Grags-pa 'byung-gnas in 1255. A 'Gag-grong of Dol is registered for 1697 A.D.; cf. *DL6* 438.

gZhung: In this area we find a number of temples of the early *phyi dar* period associated with the Lower 'Bring group. It cannot surprise us, that a line of the gNyos clan in the 8–9th cent. had settled here (see Table V.7). In the 11–12th cent. it may have been considered part of Yar-'brog area. As treasure-site related to Padmasambhava, Ra-kong of gZhung is registered. From gZhung-phu stemmed one of the disciples of Zhang, lHa-rje Srab[s]-sman Grags-seng (see Table V.5). Here Lo Ras-pa (1187–1250) was born (at Grags-chen or rDo-ra), into the local Lo clan; cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 665; *Mig 'byed 'od stong* 76b5.

Se rNal-'byor-pa and Sangs-rgyas sgom-pa rDo-rje gzhon-nu were born in gZhung. Rva-lo mentions a 11th-cent. Ri-bo Khyung-lding gi dgon-pa as well as sKyid-gshong and gZhung bKra-shis-sgang. Further, the celebrated rNgog site of sPre'u-zhing (the tradition known as rNgog gZhung-pa line)** often mentioned in contemp. literature, arguably for the first? time by Rva-lo (*Rva lo rnam thar* 240, 244–46), who mediated here in local conflict. In Shel-dkar of gZhung, the founder of sKyor-mo-lung *chos sde* (of sTod-lung), sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa (1129–1215 A.D.) was born. The rNying-ma master 'Od-gsal rang-grol and the Karma-pa Bla-ma sMon-bzang-ba were born here. Further, in gZhung the *bzhugs khri* of rJe Mar-pa is located (repaired *ca*. 1480 by the 7th Zhva-nag) as well as bSam-gtan-gling where the learned rJe Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (1424–82) resided and practised.

Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1: Grva at the level of Gr[v]a-thang: 29°25'N 91°20'E (= **26**), Dol at the level of Dol gSung-rab-gling (Wylie 1962: 166): 29°14'N 91°07'E (= **27**) and gZhung at the level of gZhung-grog: 29°08'N 90°54'E (= **28**).

* This donation or grant was conferred upon the 3rd Karma-pa hierarch evidently around 1310 A.D. – on the occasion of the cremation ceremonies of Tshal *dpon chen* dGa'-bde-dpal – apparently without the Karma-pa taking actual possession of it. In 1410 A.D., the 5th Karma-pa De-bzhin gshegs-pa (1384–1415 A.D.) *alias* Halima (descending from the same clan as

The three [regions] E [~ g.Ye], gNyal and Dvags,[424]

Bla-ma Zhang, viz. the sNa-nam Zhang clan, and whose great repute due to his exalted position as imperial preceptor at the Ming-court here may have played a role) and the latter's great teacher sNyug-phu-pa (or gNyag-dbon *alias* mKhan-chen) bSod-nams bzang-po (1341–1433 A.D.) were invited by the Phag-gru ruler Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan to sNe'u-gdong (1411 A.D.) where this grant was reconfirmed. Proceeding to Dol dist., sNyug-phu-ba (var. gNyag-phu-ba/sNyag-dbon; below Fig. 90)[+] erected the monastery of [m]Tshal-min (lit."Not [belonging to] Tshal"?); Ehrhard 2002c: 78 suggests that it had been erected earlier, in 1403. Anyhow, mKhan-chen bSod-nams bzang-po (at one point also abbot of dGe-'dun-sgang-pa) allegedly was installed in Tshal-min as 1st abbot in that year. He later conferred the final ordination on the 3rd Zhva-dmar and he there met Thang-stong. See *Thang stong rnam thar I* 119–20. Another mTshal-min-pa, following bSod-nams bzang-po was *dge bshes* bSod-nams seng-ge? (i.e. mKhan-chen Seng-ge-dpal; cf. also *Phyogs las rnam rgyal rnam thar* 383; *Kun dga' rnam rgyal gsan yig* 75–76, 348 also mentioning one Tshal-min-pa Ngag-dbang bzang-po). Here he e.g. met Rong-ston (1367–1449); cf. *Rong ston rnam thar* 310; *rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog rnam thar*, *passim*.

The seat initially was patronized by the sNe'u-gdong *gong ma* (it henceforth remained a Karma-pa site with its own abbot-line, the [m]Tshal-min *chos rje*: two of its earlier *chos rje* there were Ngag-dbang bzang-po (mid-15th cent.) followed by Chos-grags-pa (tenure *ca*. 1480), as site visited repeatedly by the Gong-dkar rDo-rje-gdan-pa (1432–96 A.D.); cf. *Kun dga' rnam rgyal rnam thar* 67, 168. Here Don-yod dpal-bzang-po and Bla-ma sMon-bzang received their training, and it remained a seat visited by a host of masters such as the peregrinating Thang-stong rgyal-po. It is e.g. registered for the year 1568 A.D. under the site's traditional secular patrons, the local Yar-rgyab *dpon chen* and was e.g. visited by Padma dkar-po in 1591; by Go-shri Grags-pa chos-dbyangs (1617–58) in 1632 A.D., and by a host of other peregrinating dignitaries. The name and area is still listed in 1830 A.D.; cf. *CTZhZh* 65. The site's history deserves an in-depth study.

The original name of Tshal-min (occasionally yet erroneously spelled mTshan-min) itself either discloses a preceding conflict over the area or, rather, it may indicate a confirmation of the new proprietorship. During the same period (early 15th cent.), the sNel-pa governorship (*bdag po* sNe'u-pa Nam-mkha' bzang-po)[++] conferred Mt. Potalaka (i.e. dMar-po-ri) upon De-bzhin gshegs-pa, who also settled there; cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 259.1–8; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1014.7–14; 1174f., 1196.22–23; *Karma Kam tshang I* 237b5–8; *Karma sku phreng I* 113b2–3; *II* 137, 308; see also *Mi sna* 417–19. Here the 5th Karma-pa passed away untimely in 1415 on dMar-po-ri, possibly being poisoned; cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 156.

[+] bSod-nams bzang-po e.g. was famous in the narrative transmission related to the Sixteen Arhats and the *smyung gnas* fasting rituals, the Avalokiteśvara cycles in Tibet. For a *thangka* dedicated to this cycle and depicting him, cf. *RMA* 273 (see also Rhie and Thurman (eds.), *World of Transformation* 120–21). See also V. 8.4 below.

[++] Rather than referring to sNe'u-gdong-pa *mi dbang* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, also feasible as suggested in *mTshur phu dgon gyi dkar chag* 433-34. The hermitage or residence on dMar-po-ri of his later played a role, when the Karma-pa laid claim on lHa-sa in the 1470's and early 1500's as a religious site during their supremacy in dBus. The *thugs dam* relic of *rje* De-bzhin gshegs-pa on dMar-po-ri was a white sandalwood statue of the White Tārā (with the size of a young boy age eight); cf. *Kam tshang brgyud pa I* 294a1–2. Mi-bskyod rdo-rje in 1526 A.D. reports about a speaking image of *drung* Rol-pa'i rdo-rje that requested to be placed in front of the lHa-sa sPyan-ras-gzigs (= Lokeśvara); cf. *ibd*., *II* 14b3–4.

A few years later the same sNe'u/l-pa fiefship – simultaneously catering to the needs of the heads of the schools – donated Dan-'bag in the western lHa-sa area to the dGe-lugs *chos rje* bKra-shis dpal-ldan, where 'Bras-spungs was erected.

** Located 29°12'N 90°58'E of present-day rGya-ri *xiang* of Gong-dkar *xian*. It was an important outpost of the bKa'-brgyud-pa in Yar-lung (located five miles east of rNam-rab Dvags-po grva-tshang). The "Monkey-field" (alt. spel. dPe-shing (*sic*); Kre-shing [*sic*] cf. Chos-'phel 2003) alludes to the genesis narrative of the Tibetan people. Est. by rNgog Kun-dga' rdo-rje (1157–1234 A.D.), the locale was famed as a former *gdan sa* or seat of the rNgog clan,[†] where e.g. the Mar-pa'i *gdung khang rin po che* was to be found; cf. the sPre'u-zhing lineage in BA Roerich 409f.; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 59–66; its mentioning in *Rva lo rnam thar* 240 seems an anachronism; among the rNgog, the learned and influential rNgog-ston *Rin po che* Byang-chub-dpal (1360/1367–1446/49 A.D.)[#] incidentally entered close bonds with the Phag-gru *gong ma* and the 'Brug-pa, and a host of masters was ordained in his presence such as 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal. Among their syllabi, a particularly famous cycle remained the "Seven Maṇḍala Cycle of rNgog" (*rngog dkyil bdun*), the cycle's last transmitter being Byang-chub-dpal; cf. Ehrhard 2002c: 38.

[†] The rNgog clan had originally settled in Yar-'brog Do. Here a pupil of Guru Rin-po-che, rNgog *btsun* gZigs-snang was born; he allegedly served as *sku rim pa* of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan; cf. *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 343–44; BA Roerich 324.

[#] Not consulted but central sources include: Byang-chub-dpal (*Bodhiśrī) is listed as author of the *rJe Mar pa nas brgyud rngog gzhung pa yab sras bla ma'i rnam thar Nor bu'i phreng ba* (13 fols.) and rNgog bSod-nams-dpal, *Bla ma rNgog pa yab sras rim byon pa'i rnam thar Rin po che'i rgyan gyi phreng ba* (cf. *Drepung Catalogue* 017051; 016991). He entertained close bonds with Tshal Chos-'khor-gling Grags-pa don-grub and the 15th Tshal Yang-dgon-pa, as confirmed by *DL5 Thob yig*.

[424] **g.Ye**, **gNyal** and **Dvags** are three large districts in the south-eastern part of Central Tibet with a long history. g.Ye

(dBye-mo [yul-drug], lDe) and D[v]ags count among the „border dynasties“ affinally related to the early sPu-rgyal house (see PT 1286 [*TDD* 197]); gNyal (*stod smad bar*), on the other hand, was dominated by the s/rNi-ba, known as the lineage of sGam-po-pa a distant ancestor of whom is reported to have been married to the daughter of gNya'-khri btsan-po; see *sGam po khri rabs* 3b). The three areas are listed among the territories of the Hülegü appanage (cf. *Rlangs* 110.11–111.2; Sperling 1991: 148f.; App. III: fn. 14), the greater part of which was covered by the Phag-gru and g.Ya'-bzang myriachies. g.Ye and gNyal (or dMyal) were associated with the g.Ya'-bzang *khri skor* (est. *ca*. 1294) whose center was in Upper Yar; the area from Dvags-po (more precisely Dvags-po Krongs-kha = west of sKu-rab at the border of present-day sNang and rGya-tshva *rdzong* = eastern and western Dvags-po) and Bya-yul in the east up to Yar-'brog in the west (fn. 422) formed the "sealed territory" of the g.Ya'-bzang-pa, as proclaimed by the founder Chos kyi smon-lam (CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 78–80; 222). The areas of Dvags-po and E[-yul] as well as lHo-ro lHo-kha (= Lo-ro?), Byar,* Kong-po, Brag-dkar, sNye[-mo?], Ya[r]-rgyab and Mon [mTsho-sna] are mentioned as 'Bri-gung territories which later (after the downfall of 'Bri-gung in 1290) were confiscated by the Sa-skya-pa (cf. Dung-dkar 1991: 51; *Deb dmar gsar*, Tucci 1971: 195). According to *Rlangs* 110.13–14, the people of g.Ye-chung (Lesser g.Ye = the northern part of g.Ye (~E)-yul) belonged to the Phag-mo gru-pa. It is unrealistic to see the extensive areas of g.Ye, gNyal and Dvags-po as appropriated by or held as Tshal-pa estates. The three Tshal-pa *mi sde* rather refer to single settlements located in these areas. As far as Dvags-po is concerned, the *Vaiḍūrya ser po* (202) registers the rDzam gyi lHa-sa-steng monastery founded by Bla-ma Zhang's personal pupil Ye-shes Blo-gros. It is located in the rDzam district of south-western Dvags-po (in present-day rGya-tshva county) and it may be argued that the "Dvags-po *mi sde*" refers to this area.** The monastery may have served here as an outpost of the Tshal-pa, not least in connection with the access to the holy Tsa-ri district. The Tshal-pa are reported to have been involved in the events concerning the opening of the mountain sanctuary (south of Dvags-po), which actually took place in several stages, with the final opening (i.e. the opening of the Northern Door) in the 14th cent. (the latter with the strong support of the ruler of sKyems-stong (see sub-note below) sTag rdo-rje, a patron of the 'Brug-pa – since the time of gTsang-pa rGya-ras the leading school in the Tsa-ri district, a position which was opposed by the Tshal-pa in the period of the opening of the northern route; cf. Huber 1999: 70, *et passim*).

Important religious sites in the Dvags area (-stod, -smad) include the Dvags-po bShad-grub-gling, the Chos-'khor-rgyal or the ancient and highly significant Dvags-lha sgam-po (cf. *Dvags lha sgam po'i gnas yig*, *passim*; Chos-phel 2002: 89f.); further, the prominent Bang-rim chos-sde (formerly bKa'-gdams-pa) is located in dGyer-smad of eastern Dvags-po (not far from the birthplace of the 13th Dalai Lama); it was founded by Sangs-rgyas dbon-gzhon (1171–1264), of the rGya-ma line in Mal-gro (= dGyer clan), pupil of Sangs-rgyas dbon-ston (see App. V: Table 10).

In gNyal, the Tsong-kha-pa disciple Gung-thang-pa mDzes-pa dpal[-ldan] a.k.a. Gung-thang *chos rje* rGyal-sras founded the Gung-thang chos-sde (early 15th cent.), an institution which, it appears, was named after (and related to) Gung-thang where mDzes-pa-dpal had served as abbot (below fn. 649). His seat in gNyal is classified as a dependency of the gNyal *sde drug* (cf. *VS* 212; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 49b), the latter referring to a group of religious sites in gNyal which inlude original bKa'-gdams-pa institutions (rTe'u-ra, Bra-'or and Zangs-chen) and the (bKa'-brgyud-pa) site of mKhar-steng, a foundation of Rong-po rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan (1283–1325) which is reported to became a dGe-lugs institution in the time of Gung-thang-pa mDzes-pa-dpal (cf. *VS* 211; Chos'phel 2002: 96). Perhaps the activities of the Gung-thang-pa followed here earlier Tshal-pa connections in gNyal which currently cannot be documented more precisely.

For a brief survey of the three areas, see Chos-'phel 2002: 81f., 95f.; 2005c; for E-yul and the house of E lHa-rgya-ri, see lHa-rgya-ri Khri-chen rnam-rgyal rgya-mtsho 1999; for its older history, see also Hazod 2006.

The geographical location of the three *mi sde* in Map 1 follow (the Lat./Long. values of) E lHa-rgya-ri 29°04'N 92°12'E (= **29**); gNyal *stod* and *smad* presently located in lHun-rtse *rdzong*: 28°48'N 91°10'E (= **30**) and 'Dzam of rGya-tshva county in Dvags 29°08'N 92°31'E (= **31**); *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 226b, 21b, 206a.

* In the list of the *rGya bod yig tshang* 300.13 Byar (Bya-yul) appears combined with rGya-ma-ba (i. e. rGya-ma *khri skor*); elsewhere the area is mentioned as a separate myriarchy. Cf. Petech 1990a: 57; Thub-bstan phun-tshogs 1996: 539; Smith 2001: 223; Vitali 2002: 103; App. III. On Bya-yul in the 12th cent., see also BA Roerich 1088f.

** According to the locals, rDzam is short for rDza-ma; gTsang-pa rGya-ras, the (first) opener of the Tsa-ri *gnas*, allegedly gave the name to this area after he had found here a [self-created] clay (*rdza ma*) statue.

The former Tshal-pa presence is still known to the local tradition of today. On the initiative of a local *bla ma* there are plans

’Chong-po [~ ’Phyong-po] rGyas-sman[425] and

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to rebuild the rDzam-dgon. Linked to the monastery (*ab* 17th cent. dGe-lugs-pa) was the institution of the rDzam oracle which functioned as the medium of the Tsenmo ngagya (bTsan-mo lnga-rgya[b]?), a local deity with its seat on the rocky mountain behind the monastery). In rDzam one of the four “Bya-khyung ’bab-sa” sites of western Dvags-po are to be founded which refer to ruins of four ancient watch-towers (they are located in Ru-thang (at the entrance to the Ngar-rab valley), in rDzam (where the site is called rDzong lha-kha), in Srin-po-stod (south of rDzam) and in Nye-nang (north-west of rDzam). Perhaps these sites were related to the history of ancient Dvags-yul [Se-mo] gru-bzhi, one of the three pre-imperial principalities which are to be localized in and around the Dvags-po region. The other two: rNgegs (exact location unknown, but arguably not far from rDzam) and mChims-yul (cf. e.g. DTH 80 (*TDD* 197); *lDe’u-2* 225); the latter referring to the sKyems-stong valley (seat of the “sKyems-stong *btsad po*”) situated at the border between Kong-po-stod and Dvags-po in the south-east of present-day sNang county. The valley is known to form traditionally the northern entry zone of the Tsa-ri pilgrimage (in this function often mentioned together with the neighbouring valleys of La-thog (La-thog Zur-mkhar) and sKu-rab rNam-rgyal; see fn. 542). It was also famous for its paper manufacture (i.e. the sKyems *shog*). See Hazod 2006.

[425] **rGyas-sman** (alt. rGya-, rGyal-sman) [and] **’Phyong-po**, usually and most convincingly to be listed as two distinct units (cf. also the list in *Bod kyi deb ther* 107 (below fn. 437), which has ’Phyong-po [and] rGyal-sman). Phying-ba of ’Phyong-po was one of the centers of the early Yar-lung *rgyal po* and it is the location of the tombs of the Tibetan kings. The 5th Dalai Lama was born in ’Phyong-rgyas *rdzong*, seat of the local *rdzong dpon* family stemming from his ancestor Za-hor gZhon-nu bzang-po, minister of Ta’i Si-tu (i.e. *da situ*; lit. “Grand Instructor”) Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (cf. e.g. *Bod kyi deb ther* 163.8ff.). South-west of ’Phyong-rgyas is the rGya[s]-sman (also called sPyan-g.yas) valley, the upper part of which borders on Grva and Grva-phyi (cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 12).

In ’Phyong-rgyas Ro-skam, the 9th Tshal *dpon* erected a seminary. In Upper rGya-sman, Zhang ’Od-’jo-ba (in the line of Bya-yul-ba as throne-holders at the near-by sPyan-g.yas dgon-pa) sojourned and here he also passed away. See also rGya-sman-ri, cf. *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 45b1f. rGyas-sman village (today center of the rGyas-sman *xiang*) is the location of the aforementioned sPyan-g.yas *vihāra* (a.k.a. Phu-thang sPyan-g.yas; loc. 28°58'N 91°33'E), once an important center of the Vinaya and later bKa’-gdams-pa school in Southern Central Tibet. It was founded by Grva-pa mNgon-shes (1012–1090) following the erection of the Grva-thang temple. Cf. BA Roerich 97–101; *VS* 223. The site is also known as one of the three sanctuaries in Yar-lung which are dedicated to three of the Eight Medicine Buddhas, here to Rin-chen zla-ba, and listed among the so-called 18 sanctuaries of Yar-lung (see TF Sørensen and Hazod 99ff.). The famous ’Gos *lo tsā ba* descended from rGya-sman Yang-po, adjacent to sPyan-g.yas monastery, whereto his *yab mes* line had once emigrated, a branch of the ’Gos clan that had arrived from the old imperial-era ’Gos clan land of ’Gos-yul ’Bring-mtshams; cf. *’Gos lo rnam thar* 3a7f. The *mkhan po* sPyan-g.yas-pa gZhon-nu-grags-pa and Yong-tan-sangs were active at Chos-’khor-gling; see *Tshal rnam* 46a3–4, 46b7–47a1.

Two further Yar-lung sanctuaries of rGyas-sman are Rol-sgang sTon-pa mtshan-legs and the cave sanctuary of Ngam-shod Phug-mo-che. Rol-sgang (= present-day Rol-khang; in the text occasionally also given as Rong-skam, Ro-skam, etc.) is a foundation going back to Queen dPal gyi Nang-tshul-ma (late 8th/early 9th cent.); expanded in the 11th cent. under gZus rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan and Grva-pa mNgon-shes (BA Roerich 78, 100; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 100). Phug-mo-che (possibly identical with Phug-po-che, equally associated with Grva-pa mNgon-shes) is situated in the eastern part of the sPyan-g.yas valley (fn. 55 above; see also Part II: Table V. 5). rGyas-sman is also mentioned as the place of Sha-mi sMon-lam-’bar, who sojourned here in the early 12th cent., where he met his teachers sKor Ni-rū-pa and So-chung-’bar, who later was active in Tshal (above fns. 102, 200). The area was the home of the ’Phyong-rgyas rGyas-sman-pa Sangs-rgyas-grags (of rGya[s]-sman sTag-rtse-sa; also Zhing dGa’-ldan-pa resided there, pupil of rMa sMon-lam in the *Zhi-byed* tradition) from the lineage of sG[r]o-phug-pa chen-po (1074–1134 A.D.), the founder of the rDo-thog-thel monastery (rGyas-sman-pa’s chief disciple was sKyi Chos kyi seng-ge, himself the teacher of sMan-lung-pa Śākya-’od (b. 1239) who founded the Srong-btsan sgam-po tomb-chapel in ’Phyong-rgyas). He is said to have received much estate land (*gzhi kha*) and the corresponding edict (*’ja’ sa*) from the Emperor Qubilai after his visit to the court (cf. BA Roerich 154f.; *bDud ’joms chos ’byung* 344–347).

In sKyid-sbug of rGyas-sman, the rNying-ma-pa master ’Od-gsal klong-yangs was born. He renovated the pilgrimage site of rGyas-sman Mig-bzhi (or dMigs-bzhi; seat of the teacher Nam-mkha’ rdo-rje famed in the rNying-ma tradition; cf. *Gu bKra chos ’byung* 209; *Padma gling rnam thar* 365; *’Jigs med gling pa rnam thar* 5; see also *Khams gsum Chos*

Sle'u-chung,[426]

kyi rgyal po 333.3). We shall assume that perhaps a closer relation prevailed between the history of the 'Phyong-po / rGyas-sman and the Tshal-pa *mi sde*. In the 15th cent., rGyas-sman fell under the jurisdiction of the rulers (*sde pa*) of 'Phyong-rgyas *rdzong*. *DL2* 370, 498 registers a dGe-lugs establishment beyond the pass of Upper rGya-sman named bKra-shis chos-gling.

At rGyas-sman dgon-dkar, gNas-brtan Kun-dga'-'bum [= Thang-po-che lHa-ri'i *bla ma*?; cf. *Tshal rnam* 46b5], pupil of bTsong-kha-pa, passed away. For an etym. legend related to the site's toponymy; cf. mKhas-grub ed. 1991: 244–45. In this area, the great 'Gos *lo tsā ba* gZhon-nu-dpal (see above) and lHa-rtse-ba Ngag-dbang bzang-po (1546–1615) were born. Geograph. location of 'Phyong-po and rGyas-sman as inserted in Map 1: 29°01'N 91°40'E (= **32**); 28°58'N 91°33'E (= **33**); *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 76b, 80b.

The Tshal-pa estate[s] of the Phyong-po area were surrounded by the *gzhis kha* belonging to the Phag-gru and g.Ya'-bzang *khri skor*, such as the Phag-gru estates of Thang-po-che to the north of 'Phyong-rgyas, [Tshong-'dus] Brag-kha to the northwest (at the entrance to 'On), lCags-rtse Gri-gu in the south or sNa-mo (here (at Na-mo Chos-rdzong) e.g. 'Gos *lo tsā ba* was active) in the east and the *mi sde* of Upper Yar-stod situated further south-east of 'Phyong-po (see CFS Gyalbo *et al*.). The upper part of Yar-stod formed the core area of the g.Ya-bzang-pa rulers who were feuding with Phag-gru Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan, a dispute which concerned several *mi sde* areas along the Phag-gru / g.Ya'-bzang border region in Yar-lung. Thang-po-che* and the Tshal-pa were allies of the then powerful g.Ya'-bzang-pa who in an assembly held in lHa-sa in *ca*. 1345 A.D. (i.e. during the tenure of Kun-dga' rdo-rje) colluded to confiscate the entire Phag-gru area (including the area of the Yar-'brog *khri skor*), a plan which failed; cf. *Rlangs* 166–167; Petech 1990a; CFS Gyalbo *et al.* 198–202. As mentioned in previous notes, the Tshal-pa had their own conflict with the Phag-gru *khri dpon* (i.e. with Ta'i Si-tu) and among the disputed areas registered for the late 1340's 'Phyong-rgyas is also mentioned (together with Grva-phyi and bsKul Phying-ru; *Rlangs* 200–201; fn. 421).

* Thang-po separated itself from Phag-gru in around 1300 and became an independent myriarchy; cf. Petech 1990a: 56; Czaja 2006. In *rGya bod yig tshang* 301.4, it is listed as a separate estate with 150 *hor dud*. See also App. III.

[426] **Sle'u-chung** (occasionally and falsely Gle'u-chung) is a well-known area in the 'Phrang-po district of present-day Gong-dkar county, already listed on a number of maps (e.g. Verhufen Index 92–93/29–30). The writings of Bla-ma Zhang speaks of a Le'u Mig-chung dgon-pa, which may be a very early 12th-cent. reference to Sle'u-chung, yet this remains doubtful. In *Gling ras rnam thar II* 20b3–5; *III* 401.1–5; IV 261–63, it is reported how during Bla-ma Zhang's warfare (in 'Phrang-po, below fn. 428) in the 1180's the mKhar-chu-pa (see below, fn. 429) destroyed the *dgon pa* of Sle'u-chung. Cf. also *Deb sngon* 778.13–14, 781.5: Gle'u-chung (*lHo rong chos 'byung* 638–639 speaks of Gling-chung, misspelled) = Sle'u-chung. The outcome of the conflict may explain the later inclusion of these areas under Tshal.

When Mongol troops from gTsang later made a foray into dBus in 1640–41 A.D., they arrived at Sle'u-chung via sNye-phu (the area where Shug-gseb is located; see Map 1a); cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 120a2–3 (= 240.2–3). At that point (mid-17th cent.), the Sle'u-chung *rtsa ba* (i.e. *rtsa ba'i mi sde*, the root or core community of a given area), the center of the *mi sde*, was dGe-lugs territory; *ibid*. 136a4f. (=271.4ff.), we are informed that Zur-chen in 1643 A.D. attempted to carry out renovation in the local monastery, considered a former branch establishment of Tshal.

Further: the 'Od-gsal-sgang seat is located in Sle'u-chung. Sle'u-chung was in particular an area famed for their artists.* Later, during the first part (1642–1717) of the dGa'-ldan Pho-brang *gzhung* period, Sle'u as district constituted one of the 18 *rdzong gzhis* under lHa-sa Zhol administration (above fn. 406). Signally, from the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey, it appears that Sle'u-chung (at one point part of the rDo-brag monastic estate) and mKhar-chu were neighbouring sites; cf. *CTZhZh* 22. It thus alludes to Sle'u-chung village in 'Phreng-'go *xiang* of Gong-dkar county. Geographical position as inserted in Map 1 (= **34**) *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 112a: 29°22'N 91°01'E.

* In fact in Tibetan art-history the exquisite gilded *li ma* or cast metal statues were known as *Sle'u chung pa'i li ma* (also abbr. *Sle'u chung ma*). The repute of the clan- or family-based Sle'u-chung metal-work *Werkstatt* in medieval Tibet was almost universal and indeed stretched well back in time. The Sle'u-chung-pa school over the years, clearly did not refer to one single artist (although some of them held higher repute than others as master artists), but evidently to a local family-based atelier. More than that, the Sle'u-chung style and metallurgic mixture remained unique. Universally recognized as master artist *par excellence* (*lha bzo'i dbang po*) in Tibet, among their most famous icons, a wonderful jewel-studded human-sized Vajradhara statue is registered, executed by the expert artist sNe'u (= Sle'u)-chung-pa bSod-nams-dpal in 1456

sGrags,[427]

A.D., patronized by the 13th 'Bri-gung throne-holder Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po at the 'Bri-gung seat. Cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 152–53. The statue is presently kept in the 'Du-khang at 'Bri-gung; cf. dKon-mchog 'phel-rgyas 1987: 65; Ra-se dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho 2003a: 23.

Also at sTag-lung during the tenancy of the 11th throne-holder (1430–60), the same artist erected a Cakrasaṃvara executed according to the system of Vajraghaṇṭapāda (four-faced, twelve-armed, and embraced by four Yoginī); cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 418–19. *DL5 III* 68a3–4 reports a speaking Vajrabhairava statue personally executed (*phyag bzo*) by the Sle'u-chung-pa and personally blessed and consecrated by Tsong-kha-pa. This (or a statue of Tsong-kha-pa himself) seems to be referred to in 1808 A.D. when it was donated to the 9th Dalai Lama by a Cha-dkar *dge slong* (*DL9* [A] 27a4–6, [B] 649–50). The Vajrabhairava statue was installed in 'Bras-spungs, in the sNgags-khang; cf. *Grva pa chen po bzhi chags tshul* 45. A Bhairava statue known as the "Māra-Subduer" is found in the Thos-bsam Nor-bu'i gling of Se-ra; cf. *ibid*. 67. dGe-'dun-grub (in retrospect the 1st Dalai Lama) reports that when in 1459 A.D., he intended to erect the *rigs lnga* statues acc. to the *Guhyasamāja* cycle and a statue of the white rJe-btsun-ma, they were erected by Sle'u-chung-pa (i.e. bSod-nams-dpal), since they considered him the best artisan available compared to other great masters, such as the Byang-pa'i *dpon* bKra-shis rin-chen and his Nepalese artisans. Cf. *DL1* 262, 266 (see also Shen Weirong 2002: 233).[+] In the same or the following year, Gle'u [= Sle'u]-chung master(s?) were active at Rva-lung, where he/they erected an one-cubit size large *gser sku* of the 2nd 'Brug-dbang hierarch's *yi dam* deity; cf. *Kun dga' dpal 'byor rnam thar* 436.5–6; *DL6* 375. For a Yamāntaka statue executed by this workshop, cf. *Paṇ chen chos rgyal rnam thar* 303–04; *Paṇ chen blo bzang ye shes rnam thar II* 51b6 and *PSJZ* 595; and *Sle lung rnam thar* 336a6, 346b1–4 too reports a Sle'u-chung-pa statue of Tsong-kha-pa and further statues of (84) Mahāsiddha once erected by *sprul sku* (= i.e. artist-manifestation, = highly gifted = Ch. *jiangren*, "man of [miraculous] craft")[++] Sle'u-chung-pa and installed at rTse-tshogs (adjacent to sNe'u-gdong). Cf. *Paṇ chen blo bzang ye shes rnam thar I* 48a5. Zur-chen refers to Sle'u-chung Byams-pa-gling and the latter's attempt to renovate the seats in Sle'u-chung would suggest that the Sle'u-chung atelier in the 17th cent. had died out. A silver Bhairava statue (eight-years-old sized) is reported installed in Yangs-pa-can during the reign of the 13th throne-holder. Excellent gold-plated statues of the gSang-bDe-'Jigs triad were set up in the *mgon khang* of 'Phyong-rgyas Ri-bo bDe-chen lha-khang; cf. *dBus gtsang gnas yig* 256. Cf. *Kam tshang brgyud pa* 315b4–5. For the Sle'u-chung-pa more generally, see e.g. BST von Schroeder: 681, 685, 700–02, 972, 996-97 who refers to other Sle'u-chung-ma statues such as a Kalācakra image. See further *Se ra chos 'byung* 164, 191; Jackson 1996: 205. A gilded bTsong-kha-pa statue with the characteristic *dbu lo bubs bzhugs* (i.e. hollow) was manufactured by the famous mid-15th-cent. Sle'u-chung-pa (the image called Sle'u-chung-ma; see below fn. 813 = a bKra-shis rDo-kha-ma statue?) which was the *bsngo rten* for the 'Phyong-rgyas Chu-mig-nas; cf. *DL5 I* 108b1–2. The specific Sle'u-chung style or type of statue was also copied or imitated (*bzo sgros*) repeatedly, for instance in lHa-sa when a jewel-studded Ārya *ldem sku* statue (requiring eight *gser srang* as materials) was manufactured in 1789. Cf. *'Jigs med gling pa rnam thar* 357.

[+] For another Byang-bdag (of Ngam-ring of La-stod Byang) called Nam-mkha' legs-pa and Nepalese Zangs-mgar mkhas-pa artists, see Ehrhard 2002b (fols. 116a–b). Another master Copper-smith was *dpon mo che* Rin-chen bsam-grub who erected a *rten* for Bla-ma dam-pa; *Tshal rnam* 60a3–5.

[++] The usual expression *sprul pa'i sku* for a master artist may derive from the legend of the miraculous manifestation of Viśvakarman, the God of Artists.

[427] **sGrags** (also sGregs) is located to the west of bSam-yas (MTP Uebach 79). lHa-lung of sGrags is reported as the birthplace of King 'Dus-srong mang-po-rje (above fn. 62). PT 1290 (*TDD* 249) reads lHa-lung of sKyi; cf. Macdonald 1971: 317–18. The area is famous for its hermitages often linked to Padmasambhava and Ye-shes mTsho-rgyal (the latter was born in lower sGrags); among them the celebrated cave sanctuary of sGrags Yang-rdzong. Several *sgrub gnas* of Bla-ma Zhang lie in sGrags, such as Ngar-phug, g.Yu-brag, rGad-po-brag of Chos-phu, or Khu-'brug/Khum-phug-rdzong, etc. repeatedly mentioned in his esoteric writings. Cf. *bKa' thor bu* 57.4–5; cf. also Ferrari 46, 117–18; Dowman 1996: 205–215; *Myang chos 'byung* 77: Ri Zangs-mdog of Upper sGrags, birthplace also of the author of *bSam gtan mig sgron*, gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes at Upper sGrags as well as the hermitage of the 9th-cent. rGya 'Jam-dpal gsang-ba. The 9th Tshal ruler sMon-lam rdo-rje established in sGrags a mTho-ris Thar-pa-gling; cf. *Tshal rnam* 23b3–4.

In Upper sGrags, Me-long rdo-rje was born, son of rNal-'byor-pa bSam-yas. A rDzong-mkhar *chos sde* is registered in *Las 'phro gling rnam thar* 103a6. A sGrags-mda' *rdzong* (with a *lha btsun* Chos kyi ye-shes) is mentioned for the 1540's; cf. *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 338.2–3. At sGrags-mda', a Grong-gsar is mentioned in Padma gling-pa's biography and a sPang-chung dgon-pa is registered for 1660 A.D.; cf. *DL5 I* 288b3. The *dgon pa* of Ri-zangs-rdog of sGrags is registered as a branch seat of the early rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang-pa; see App. V: Table 10.

During the first part (1642–1717) of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung* period, sGrags constituted one of the 18

’Phrang-po,[428]
mKhar-chu,[429]

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estates or *rdzong gzhis* under the lHa-sa Zhol jurisdiction (cf. fn. 406). Geographical position as inserted in Map 1 at the level of present-day lNga-bkra, *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 137a: 29°15'N 91°16'E (= **35**). See also below Map 8.

[428] **’Phrang-po** (alt. ’Phrang-m/’go?) designates a village in eastern sKyid-smad which is registered as part of present-day Tshal-sna district of Chu-shul county (*Xizang Dimingzhi I* 116b: 29°25'N 90°58'E; Map 1a). Later a estate dependency of the dGa’-ldan Byang-rtse *grva tshang*. Due south-east of Tshal-sna, the neighbouring ’Phreng-’go (also ’Phrang-po/’go) district is situated along the northern shore of gTsang-po which today is under the jurisdiction of Gong-dkar county. Thus it is not always clear which ’Phrang is meant in the sources; hence two options. A ’Phrang-pa (~-po) is listed in *rGya bod yig tshang* 300.17 together with dGung-mkhar-ba (= Gong-dkar?) among the unrelated estates of the Yüan / Sa-skya administration. They are registered with altogether 70 *rtsa ba’i dud chen* (*dud chen* stands here probably erreonously for *hor dud*; cf. Petech 1990a: 58).

’Phrang-po is an ancient locale, listed as one of the district units of the Central Horn province (App. IV: fn. 58). In the 11th century the area became the domain of a local ruler, stemming from descendants of the Yum-brtan *brgyud* (Gyalbo *et al*. 2000: 191). Copper-ore were early found and exploited at ’Phreng-po’i ri/rdza (*Ka khol ma* 97.14–98.1, 158.11–12). The place is also mentioned in the context of Bla-ma Zhang’s fightings, where he received assistance through Gling-ras-pa *alias* sNa-phu-pa. The locale sNa-phu is located there and it contains a *sku tshab* of Gling-ras-pa (*Zhang rnam thar zin bri*s 57a6). Bla-ma Zhang wrote treatises there, at sPang-lung of ’Phrang-po. He sojourned in ’Phrang-po on invitation of the local *btsad po* (ruler) where he practised in the retreat of sNa-phu. Cf. *lHo rong chos ’byung* 637; BA Roerich 663f.; the advice given to this combatant of Bla-ma Zhang is in Zhang’s esoteric writings (cf. Martin 2001c: 200–01). Among Zhang’s devoted combatants also one *lha btsun* (monk of a ruling house) of ’Phreng/’Phrang-po is listed. sNa-phu (sNa-phu chos-lungs, Na-phu-dgon) which is also known as the place of the Gling-ras-pa (and Zhang) disciple gTsang-pa rGya-ras is located *ca*. eight kms north of rDo-rje-brag of lower ’Phrang-po (to the west the old district of Lum-pa (also Lum-pa lCang-gseb) is located); cf. *dBus gtsang gnas yig* 123.6–7; Ferrari 46; Gyurme Dorje 1998: 225. A ’Phrang-’go *sde pa* Thub-dbang rgyal-mtshan is listed in *Thob yig IV* 130a4. On the celebrated rNying-ma-pa site of Thub-bstan rDo-rje-brag, see e.g. *dBus gtsang gnas yig* 156; DL5 I 319b4–5; Dowman, *op. cit*. 206ff.; Chos-’phel 2003.

The toponym is variously written ’Phrang-’go/-mgo/-po. For the year 1554 and 1591 a ’Phrang-po Seng-ge-sgang is reported, the local people in the 1470’s had donated to the 7th Karma-pa the local rDo-rje brag-rtsa as monastic estate. In ’Phrang-po, the 16th ’Bri-gung Rin-chen phun-tshogs (1509–57) erected the hermitage O-rgyan chos-rdzong (cf. *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 268.2). A famous figure from this area is ’Phreng-po/mgo gTer-ston Shes-rab ’od-zer (*alias* ’Od-gsal sna-tshogs rang-grol; 1518–84), whose politically oriented prophecies eventually led to a ban on his writings by the dGa’-ldan pho-brang government. He erected the Jo-bo ’bum-pa; cf. Chos-’phel 2003 also listing other sites in the area.

During the same period the ’Phreng-sgo/mgo/-po *sde pa* (of the similar-named *gzhis ka*) was Thub-dbang rgyal-mtshan; for details, see *mDo sngags ’byung gnas rnam thar*, *passim*. In the 17th cent., Zur-chen executed wall-paintings at Shel-grong of ’Phrang-’go (i.e. the ’Phrang-’go of mTshal-sna *xiang* mentioned above; see also below Map 1a); cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 133b6f., 137a6–b3 (= 278.6–279.3; cf. also *Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar* [A] 514.6 (= [B] 44b6) which reports on the arrival there and at Lum-pa of the gTsang-ruler Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal in 1618. Prior to the reign of the 5th Dalai Lama, as has been said, it had turned into an estate, which he visited in 12th month of 1652, and again 1662; cf. *DL5 I* 169b6–170a2, 319b3. It seems to refer to ’Phrang-’go *gzhis kha* where the Phan-bde Legs-bshad-gling temple is located as well as Klu-sdings.

The 33rd Ngor mkhan-chen speaks of a ’Phrang-mgo gZhi-ba grva-tshang and a Sa-skya rNam-rab Dvags-po grva-tshang; cf. *dPal ldan chos skyong rnam thar III* 396. Geographical position of ’Phreng-’go (of Gong-dkar county) as inserted in Map 1 (= **36**) 29°21'N 91°08'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 111b.

[429] **mKhar-chu** is evidently not identical with the famous mKhar-chu seat of lHo-brag. Arguably it refers to the aforementioned mKhar-chu which appears in the sources in connection with Bla-ma Zhang’s fighting in the ’Phrang-po district, also known from the history of Gling-ras-pa’s and gTsang-pa rGya-ras’ sojourn in this area (*lHo rong chos ’byung* 637 *et passim*; *Deb sngon* 778–783). It appears to be located somewhere between sNa-phu and Sle’u-chung (= no. **37** of Map 1). The seat was repeatedly enmeshed in warring conflict with the neighbouring Sle’u-chung (see above) in the 12th

Zung-mkhar,[430]
Kha-rag-pa,[431]
Rab-btsun-pa,[432]

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cent. *Deb sngon* also gives the form *pho brang* mKhar-chu Gle'u-chung (= Sle'u-chung) (778.14); elsewhere the same source mentions mKhar-chu of Ngam-shod. Cf. BA Roerich 895 (on Ngam-shod, see below fn. 597). It is probably to be identified with the mKhar-chu/bcu mentioned in connection with sGrags in *Si tu bka' chems* 89.12 = *Rlangs* 186.8.

[430] **Zung [~Zur]-mkhar** is the small valley to the west of bSam-yas; MTP Uebach 79. It is registered in the *Dunhuang Annals* and later sources as residence of Khri Srong lde-btsan; P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 57; Dowman 1996: 219f.; Dotson, *forthcoming*. Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1 (= **38**) 29°18'N 91°25'E.

It was a war zone during Bla-ma Zhang's time – accounting for its inclusion into the Tshal myriarchy. One of Zhang's pupils, the "king" (*btsad po*) of 'Phrang-po (see above) here waged war at Ya-gad; cf. *Tshal rnam* 23a3.

rGya bod yig tshang 303.10–13 speaks of 350 *rtsa ba'i dud* (households) of Zung/Zur-mkhar of the Tshal-pa [myriarchy] which together with 2650 households of the rGya-ma [*khri skor*] were attached to the Sog *'jam* (i.e. postal relay station of Sog), one of the seven major stages in dBus established in 1269 A.D (on Sog, see above fn. 225). On the mail system and its administration during the Yüan / Sa-skya period, see Petech 1990: 61–67. See also App. III.

[431] It is referring to the people of **Kha-rag**, i.e. Kha-rag[s]-pa. North-west of Yar-'brog lake, in present-day sNa-dkar-rtse *xian*. Kha-rag is nowadays a *xiang* (loc. 29°15'N 90°24'E; mod. spelling occasionally and erronenously: Kha-[db]rag, but more commonly – popular etymologically – mKha'-reg; lit. "touching the sky;" yet the orig. form doubtlessly was Kha-rags). In former times, it was located in g.Yor or g.Yo-ru.

In the 8th century, according to the gNyos ethnogenesis the area called Kha-rag became the seat of the gNyos clan; they in the ensuing centuries controlled large stretches of land (see Table V.7 below). The same area is also associated with the Rva and mGar clan (above fn. 372). A number of 'Bring establishments was erected in the 11th century in the area such as 'Brang and Sil-ma (cf. Part II: Table V.6 and 7 *infra*). The holy mountains in the area (replete with perched hermitages) are Kha-rag Jo-bo and Kha-rag Jo-mo (resp. located at 29°14'N 90°20'E and 29°16'N 90°20'E). Here, during a meditation at Kha-rag, gTsang-pa rGya-ras received the vision and prophecy to open the Tsa-ri *gnas* (cf. Huber 1999: 66). For a brief essay on this area with its ancient fortress (*rdzong*) of g.Yul-rdzong and its sGrub-sde dgon-pa, see bDe-chen sgrol-dkar 1988. It seems to be the area of the dynastic temple of Kha-rag yul-rje and the *phyi dar* temple of Kha-rag Labs-so (the latter a foundation of rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas; Table V.6 below).

As a religious site, Kha-rag (often associated with neighbouring gTsang province) is among other things associated with the Po-to-ba companion Kha-rag sgom-chung (*bKa' gdams chos 'byung* 106.2–3; Sørensen 2002; Kollmar-Paulenz 1993; s.v. index). Later, a number of hermitages was erected in the area, such as Kha-rag bDe-chen Thar-pa-gling, founded by 'Bri-gung Chos kyi grags-pa; cf. the eulogy and guide to the site in his *Coll. Writings II*: 439–48.

The Kha-rag mountain range marks the traditional border between dBus and gTsang. A place in Kha-rag (i.e. Kha-rag rDo Bug-pa-can) also once defined the western border of the Phag-gru territories in dBus (below fn. 562). From *Grags pa 'byung gnas don chen* 449.11–12, we are informed that Kha-rag along with Rab-btsun (next note) had been allotted as appanage to prince Böcheg (half-brother of Qubilai). In the *rGya bod yig tshang*, Kha-rag is listed as a separate unit (of 88 *hor dud*) within the Yüan-Sa-skya administration. In the 1350's, it adhered to the gTsang-la Yar-gtogs. Cf. also Petech 1990a: 58. According to the same text (303.16–18), the Kha-rag-pa together with the 'Brug-pa, the people of Gru-gu-sgang* and Gra-ma-thang (i.e. Gr[v]-thang?) provided the services for the Sha-pho *'jam* (postal stage of Sha-pho). Cf. also Thub-bstan phun-tshogs 1996: 541. Geograph. location of Kha-rag in Map 1 follows the position of present-day Kha-rag village: 29°15'N 90°24'E (= **39**).

* This is evidently Gru-gu-sgang of gTsang-la Yar-gtogs (see above fn. 420), similarly listed as a separate estate (registered with 232 *hor dud*), cf. *rGya bod yig tshang* 301.1. In the writings of Bla-ma Zhang, it is called Gru-gu-sgang of Chu-shur (fn. 62), which may indicate that the borders of the latter district had changed down through time.

[432] Referring to the people of **Rab-btsun**, i.e. Rab-btsun-pa. The place alludes to the early *phyi dar* temple of Rab-btsun-gnas, a dependency of bZad kyi lDing[s]-pa'i gnas founded by the Klu-mes student rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas (bZad in Chu-shul; see also MTP Uebach 139; Part II: Table V. 5). bZad in fact partly covered areas in present-day Chu-shur and Gong-dkar *khul*, cf. *CTZhZh* 53 registered thus in 1830. Rab-btsun is regularly mentioned in *Si tu bka'*

sNon,[433]
gSang-phu,[434]

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chems 70.6, 109.13, 122.11–12 = *Rlangs* 168.19, 205.15, where it is clear that it is located not far from Yar-'brog. As a community it constituted one of the minor estates (90 *hor dud*) according to *rGya bod yig tshang* (cf. Petech 1990a: 58). The toponym is otherwise rarely documented and seems to be out of usage today. In Map 1 the *mi sde* Rab-btsun-pa (= **40**) is inserted (with questionmark) at the level of Thod-dkar (due north-east of Yar-'brog-mtso, see Map 2).

[433] The *mi sde* of **sNon** listed here between the Tshal-pa estates of Rab-btsun and gSang-phu evidently refers to the sMon valley due south of gSang-phu-mda' (follow. note), which locally is still known as sNon. The area includes the (dGe-lugs-pa) sites of sBe-ser (29°30'N 91°01'E) and Nyi-ma-thang (29°29'N 91°01'E; commonly sNon Nyi-ma-thang),* two colleges founded in the 14th cent. by gNyal-rgod Rin-chen bsam-grub (the sites were later called Nyi-thang bShad-sgrub Chos kyi bang-mdzod and sBe-ser sPrin-ser Byams-gling *chos sde*; cf. Chos-'phel 2004c: 90–94), being dependencies affiliated with gSang-phu Ne'u-thog Gling-stod monastery (cf. Onada 1990: 1051–3) In the 17th cent., a *mchod gzhis* under the sNe'u district of sTod-lung (cf. *DL5 I* 321a1–3; *DL5 III* 136a1) and a gSang-rgyal of sNon are registered (see also *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 317). A temple of rNon counts among the foundations of the 'Bring *tsho* (MTP Uebach 147), possibly referring to this sNon of sKyid-smad (and not to the sNon *alias* rGya-ma). A toponymic triad is sNon-gSang-rGyal *gsum* in the 1409 A.D. donation-list, which refers to sNon, gSang-phu/mda' and rGyal (= rGya[l]-sde); cf. *Tsong ka pa'i rnam thar* 317–18. In the area, the bKra-shis-gshongs of sNon was later located, which was involved in an estate compensation and transfer to the gSang-phu Dus-mchod-pa in 1674; cf. *DL5 II* 253a2–5. In the 17th cent. a *mchod gzhis* of sNon under the sNe'u district of sTod-lung is registered (cf. *DL5 III* 136a1). The locals speak of two *gzhi kha*: sTag-gdong *gzhi kha* (which belonged to gNas-chung) and Bla-brang *gzhi kha* which belonged to Nyi-ma-thang. A sNon-mda' is known from the Atiśa's *rnam thar* (A-myes Byang-chub (a pupil of Atiśa) consecrated here the Āryadeva *lha khang*), which according to the context appears to be located in (or not far from) Dol, however (Eimer 1979: 251).

sNon (~ rNon, gNon) is written mNon in the *Dunhuang Annals*, listed as assembly place for the year 714 A.D. (*TDD* 238.33; DTH 21.20; Dotson, *forthcoming*). The toponym is related to the ancient mNon clan known as one of the allies of the Yar-lung *rgyal po* Khri Slon-btsan *alias* gNam-ri srong-btsan. The original clan territory appears to be the sNon (or Yar-snon = rGya-ma) where gNam-ri srong-btsan founded a residence and where Srong-btsan sgam-po was born (cf. most recently TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005; on rGya-ma and its religious sites, see also *Rin chen sgang khu dbon rnam thar* 423f., *et passim*; *bKa' gdams chos 'byung III* 155–156; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 58b6; Hor-khang 1994: 37; *HSLG* Vol. 5: 83, *et passim*; Hor-khang 1999: 571–590; App. V: Table 10). The district called gNon-lung-pa counts among the early *yul tshan bcu drug* of dBu-ru (*lDe'u-2* 257.18); it is listed between the *yul dpon tshan* of 'Phrang-po and gSang-phu and thus may refer to the sNon of sKyid-smad. In Map 1 the sNon *mi sde* (= **41**) is inserted at sBe-ser (loc. 29°30'N 91°01'E) in present-day gSang-mda' district of sTod-lung *xian*.

* It is said that it was initially erected by Rva *lo tsā ba*. Cf. *lHa sa dgon tho* 277–280. The locals speak of retreat sites of Rva-lo and Mar-pa situated in the mountains behind Nyi-ma-thang.

[434] **gSang-phu** refers to the upper part of the gSang valley (divided into gSang-mda' and -phu) in sKyid-smad. It is famous first of all for the establishment there of the prestigious and influential college of erudition, the monastery of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog (1073 A.D.), by rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab after spotting the site from sNye-thang; later developed by his nephew, rNgog Blo-ldan shes-rab. For a description of the site, see *lHa sa dgon tho* 240–43; Chos-'phel 2004c: 87–90; App. V: Table 8; for the popular etymology of the name, see *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 47a2f; see also above fn. 192 and below fns. 630, 711. In the dynastic period, gSang (-mda', -phu) represented one of the dBu-ru *yul dpon tshan* (*lDe'u-2* 257.18; App. IV: fn. 58). Geograph. location: gSang-phu-dgon as inserted in Map 1 (= **42**): 29°32'N 91°08'E. From gSang-phu came some of the most stout supporters of Bla-ma Zhang, as reported in his writings, gSang-phu-ba'i Ma-jo sring-gnyis. A not further identified rGya-ra Gang-logs monastery of gSang-phu was the site where lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum passed away. Today it is part of sTod-lung *xian*, since gSang-phu area from medieval times historically was placed under the sNe'u fiefship – even today it is part of the sNe'u *rdzong*. The village Thang-stod south of sNon (prev. note) traditionally is regarded as the southern border of the sTod-lung district.

A list of 1679 of the *lha sde mi sde* under sNe'u *khul* includes: Ram-pa-pa, gSang-phu-gling (-stod, -smad), Nyi-

rGya-sde [435] and
Grib,[436] etc.[437]

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thang and sBe-ser (in sNon, see above), sTar-gdong (= sTar-sdong [khang-gsar]; cf. e.g. *DL6* 459; one old 'Bras-spungs *dge skos* sTag-sdong bka'-bcu Blo-bzang rab-brtan is reported for 1669; see *sMon lam chen mo bca' yig* 338), Chog-gur-pa. Cf. *DL5 III* 136a1–2. The religous sites in the closer environs of gSang-phu sNe'u-thog include *inter alia* the gSang-mda' sKu-'bum lha-khang (a foundation of Blo-ldan shes-rab) or the rNam-rgyal gser-khang (due north of gSang-mda' village), both Sa-skya, the foundation of the latter ascribed to Sa-skya paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (see e.g. *lHa sa dgon tho* 280, 286; Chos-'phel 2004c: 85–87).

[435] **rGya-sde** (or the rGya district) refers to a small area in sKyid-smad, often variably and erroneously written rGyal-s/lde, where the famous dynastic dKar/sKar-c[h]ung monastery was located (TBH Sørensen 576), close to present-day Ra-ma-sgang village (itself mentioned in the 16th century; cf. *Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar* 513.1–2) along the southern bank of sKyid-chu. The reading dKar-chung of rGya-sde is corroborated by the old *Nyang ral chos 'byung* 333.3 (Meisezahl ed.) and *Tāranātha rnam thar* 85a4; *gNyos rab*s 32.2–3: dKar-chung of rGya-ste; *Bu-ston History* (Szerb 1990: 43); see also *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 237–9 and Tshe-brtan dge-legs 1994 for a brief desription of the *lha khang* which today is a nunnery. The toponym seems to be widely out of usage today. The core of the rGya[l]-sde district evidently was the area around Ra-ma-gang (locally also known as sKar-chung-thang, the territory of the *yul lha* called bTsan-mkhar) and may have also included the neighouring sNe'u, both today registered as part of sTod-lung *rdzong*. In the 11th cent, sKar-chung lha-khang became a residence of the 'Bring *tsho* (see Table V. 6); it may also be queried in this context whether the once-imposing 'Bring settlement of rGyang-mkhar (also written rGya-gar/mkhar) was located in this area; it could be related to the site of Gekhar (i.e. dGe-bo-mkhar (fn. 542) = rGyal-mkhar?) in sNe'u where originally the sNe'u *rdzong* was located (but see App. II: fn. 7, which suggests that this is probably not the case). The 12th Gling-smad throne-holder of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog came from this area. In the recent past, the rGya-sde area was a religious estate under the Mantra-college of 'Bras-spungs (cf. *CTZhZh* 17). In Map 1 the *mi sde* (= **43**) is inserted at the level of Ra-ma-gang.

[436] **Grib** of sKyid-smad due south of lHa-sa is known from the lHa-sa *sa dpyad* where it marks the southern horizon of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala landscape (see Part II: App IV, Graph. 1). The mountain in Grib is the seat of the powerful *yul lha* of Grib and lHa-sa protector rDzong-btsan who is noted in the sources as the divine host of Dvags-po sGom-tshul responsible for inviting him to lHa-sa (see fns. 47 and 493; see also App. II: fn. 31). In the 11th century, Grib became the residence of a ruling family from the Yum-brtan *brgyud* and from the early 12th cent. onwards was registered as the home of a branch of the mGar lineage (i.e the lineage of the *yon bdag* and later *dpon chen* of Tshal; on the symbolic representations of the Grib – Tshal relationship, see Part II: App. IV). A Grib-mda' lha-khang is registered for the 11th cent. (see above fn. 231). In Grib we find the settlement Lug-gu, mentioned in the writings of Bla-ma Zhang (above fn. 62). According to the locals the settlement area originally counted 60 families (divided into three, later four *grong tsho*) which – in the language of the Mongol census of 1268 – means approximately 60 *hor dud* of the altogether 3700 housholds of the Tshal-pa myriachy. During the period of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang government, documents report the estate (*gzhis*) of sNe'u Grib, where sNe'u refers to the area of the old sNe'u *rdzong* (historically part of sTod-lung *rdzong*), one of the estates established during the Phag-gru rule in Tibet, as well as the area of Zang-sding/ting of Grib and Ra-ma-sgang (formerly adhering to the rel. estate of Kun-bde-gling). During the tenure of the 8th Dalai Lama, the Tshe-mchog-gling temple was founded (1789 A.D.) in Grib. During the last centuries, Grib is registered as part of the present-day Tshal Gung-thang *xiang*. In Map 1, the Grib *mi sde* is inserted at Tshe-mchog-gling monastery in Upper Grib: 29°42'N 91°08'E (= **44**).

[437] According to *Bod kyi deb ther* (107.2–5 = TPS Tucci 629) *dPon chen* Rin-rgyal received the diploma of authority over the aforementioned, approximately 44 *mi sde* units which *in toto* constituted taxable communities of the Tshal-pa *khri skor*. In this connection he was obliged to restore the dilapitated temples in Upper and Lower sKyid-shod, in sTod-lung, Gr[v]a, Dol, 'Phyong-po, rGyal-smad (= rGyas-sman) and in the three districts of E/g.Ye, Dvags and gNyal. As already noted, some of the Tshal-pa *mi sde* are situated in regions which are associated with and related to (and hence constituted an issue of conflict with) the territories of one of the neighbouring *khri skor*: the etsate[s] Yar-'brog sgang-gsum of the Yar-'brog *khri skor*; the regions of g.Ye and gNyal formed two core areas of the g.Ya'-bzang *khri skor*; Dvags was associated with 'Bri-gung as well as g.Ya'-bzang. See App. III for details.

In a Hen year [1261 A.D.] [*dpon chen* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan again] arrived at Gung-thang. He erected a new great external wall around Gung-thang, as well as the Eastern Residence [gZims-khang-shar],[438] the Grand [Pillared] Courtyard [Khyams-ra chen-mo] of Gung-thang, including the ambulatory ([*b*]*skor khang*). He conducted the [appropriate] consecration [of these edifices] and held an extensive celebration. The happiness of [his] subjects [during his rule] resembles that [of those sojourning in the heaven of] Trāyastriṃśa. He occupied the office of the *dpon sa* for 26 years and passed away in an [Earth-] Ox year [1289 A.D.], at the age of 57.[439]

[6] [*dPon chen* Nyi-ma shes-rab]

His son, *dpon chen* Nyi-ma shes-rab was born in an Ox year [1253 A.D.]; at the age of 17 [i.e. 1269 A.D.] he was elected to the office of the *dpon sa*, at the age of 20 [*ca*. 1272 A.D.] he, in accordance with the earlier tradition, arrived in China as attendant [in the entourage] of Jagannātha Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa [1235–1280 A.D.].[440] Since he was dressed as a monk, he was also known [in this period] as *spyan snga* Nyi-ma shes-rab. The Emperor [Qubilai] being most pleased [with him], he too obtained [from Qubilai] along with inconceivably [many precious] presents in form of silk, brocade and silver amounting to one large *bre*, an edict (*'ja' sa*) which declared that all previous[ly donated] lay communities (*mi sde*), headed by the [larger *mi sde* of] lHa-sa and Gung-thang [*in toto* adhered to his jurisdiction]. He thereafter returned to dBus. [The number of] convertees and the [magnitude of] resources [of prosperity to be enjoyed under his rule] resembles the sky [in extent]. Having served the office as *dpon sa* for 11 years, he passed away at the age of 27, in a Rabbit year [1279 A.D.].

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[438] Cf. e.g. *bKa' gdams chos 'byung II* 31b1; *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 6a2–4; *VS* (*op. cit.*); *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 601.8–13. On the question of the founding date of the sGom-sde, see above fn. 115.

[439] Considering the fact that his son Nyi-ma shes-rab occupied the office of his father at the age of age 17, we must assume that the tenancy of Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan only lasted 16 years (not 26 years): i.e. from 1254 until 1269. If, conversely, he did rule for 26 years i.e. *ca*. 1254–1279, it would forecast an arrangement of dual rule between father and son for this office, an arrangement popular among the following incumbents. *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 6a2–5 maintains Rin-rgyal retired in 1285, at the age of 44 and passed away at the age of 48, i.e. 1288, allowing for his dates: 1241–1288. The same texts claim that Rin-rgyal fathered three sons: the eldest (*gcen po*) *dge bshes* Nyi-ma shes-rab who was ordained as monk. Then dGa'-bde-dpal and finally Rin-chen dbang-phyug (1257–1295).

[440] It can only refer to 'Gro-mgon 'Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan's (1235–1280) second journey to China, which however, started in 1267 A.D., with his arrival at the imperial court in 1268 (cf. Petech 1990a: 20–22). As a nephew of Sa-skya Paṇḍita, on whom was bestowed the temporal rule of Central Tibet, he first travelled to Mongolia 1244 where he (and his younger brother Phyag-na rdo-rje (d. 1267); later Prince of Bai-lan; cf. Petech 1990a: 259) accompanied their uncle on the latter's way to the residence of Prince Köden (meeting him 1247 [after the first messenger had arrived 1243, a letter of invitation then followed in 1244; cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 117f.; TPS Tucci 9–12; Petech 1990a: 8]; on the way, 'Phags-pa took his novice monk vows at Zul-phu (BA Roerich 212; for Zul-phu in sKyid-smad, see Table V.8 below). In 1253, he was sent by Köden to prince Qubilai and became the latter's chaplain. In 1255 he received his final ordination, in 1261 he was granted the title of *gushi*; in 1264, he returned to Central Tibet and Sa-skya (*en route* he stayed *inter alia* at lHa-sa and Gye-re-dgon in sKyid-smad; cf. fn. 420). 1268–75: second journey to China (and eastern Tibet). In 1269 he invented the "'Phags-pa script," in 1270 he became imperial preceptor or *dishi*, a position which he held until 1274. In 1276, he returned to Sa-skya; 1277 he convened the great Chu-mig chos-'khor in gTsang; the convent was in part financed by Qubilai; *Deb dmar* 63, 372; BA Roerich 212). He probably was poisoned, passing away untimely. See Petech 1983: 181–88; 1990: 14–24; Szerb 1980, 1985; Ferrari 150–51.

[**7**] [***dPon chen* dGa'-bde dpal-ba**]

Concerning *dpon chen* Rin-rgyal's [**32a**] [second] son, *dpon chen* dGa'-bde-dpal-ba [*alias* dGa'-bde mgon-po] [1254/56–1310 A.D.], known as an emanation of mGon-po Bya-rog [gdong-can] [i.e. *Kākamukha, the Raven-headed One, Mahākāla], he is clearly prophesied in the [*Blon po bka'i*] *Thang yig*:[441]

> It is sBa-mi gSal-snang[442] of the present time
> Who in the location known as Tshal-thang Bye-ma-thang[443]
> As a caretaker (*dkon gnyer*) [in the future] shall appear
> carrying the name[-component] dGa' [i.e. dGa'-bde-dpal]
> And who will care for food and cloth [for] the monk community.

In accordance with [this prophecy] at the point of his birth, his father and mother were taken by surprise when [signs of wonder] occurred such as the trembling of the earth and the flashing of lightening. Consulting Rin-po-che Sangs-rgyas gzhon-nu [the 7th Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba*] [about these wondrous signs], the latter prophesied: "Since this small child is an extraordinary personage, having been blessed by the great Dharmapāla Mahākāla, this person [in the future] will rule over all [regions within the present] realm, being in possession of power and glory!" [Hearing this, the parents] were [highly] pleased.

Aged five, having been taught to read and write etc., merely by being shown the signs [of the letters] he understood everything [instinctively]. Being in possession of perfect strength and qualities, he was [already] elected to the office of the *dpon sa* at the age of 15. At the age of 18, he went to Mongolia,[444] where he met the Qaγan, who rejoiced greatly [at this meeting]. He was thereafter appointed *spyi dpon* of Tibet followed by [the donation of] inconceivably [many

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[441] Cf. *Blon po bka'i thang yig* (28th *skabs*) 516. See also *dGa' bzhi rnam thar* 17, where the author connects the dGa' name component in this prophecy with the ethnikon dGa'-bzhi.

[442] I.e. dBa' gSal-snang, one of the leading representatives of Buddhism during the time of the foundation of bSam-yas. sBa and sBa-mi are evidently interchangable forms for this famous clan: dBa's, dBa', sBa, 'Ba', rBa, dBas; cf. P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 4–5, and *passim*. It is not entirely clear why dGa'-bde-dpal was considered – beyond possibly a mere mimicry of the role played by dBa' in the founding story of bSam-yas – a rebirth of this famous minister. One clue could be that this Tshal-pa *khri dpon* also conducted renovations at bSam-yas; cf. *bSam yas dkar chag* 74–75. See also next note.

[443] This is either to be read as an alternative or former name for the Tshal Gung-thang district (i.e. the sandy plain of Tshal), or, more likely, it refers to the [Gung-thang] Bye-thang [chen-mo] of the Tshal district which below (*GT* 45a) is described as the place (surrounded by trees) where the enthronement ceremony of the abbots of the religous throne(s) of Tshal Gung-thang took place. In *Tshal rnam* it is also mentioned as the site for the *dpon sa* inauguration ceremony (see fn. 474). According to the locals, it refers to the area around the colleges to the west of the Gung-thang temple complex (below Graph 3; App. IV: Chap. 3.2). Further below (*GT* 57a), the toponym Tshal-thang Bye-ma-can more generally is described as the place where the Gung-thang *vihāra* is located.

A toponym Bye-ma (var. Bye-ma-ri, Bye-ma-lung) is also known from the lHa-sa *sa dpyad* where it denotes one of the geomantic places situated to the East. Cf. *Ka khol ma* 214.2, 215.7; TBH Sørensen 260, 559; App. IV: Graph 1.

[444] Considering the fact that dGa'-bde, as indicated in *Gung thang dkar chag*, *infra*, attained the age of 58, and that he held the office for 43 years, his dates would appear to be: born 1254 A.D, he took office *ca*. 1268 A.D., and passed away 1310 A.D. Hence, his visit to Mongolia should be situated *ca*. 1281 A.D. *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 6b2–3 maintains that he was born 1256 and ruled for 25 years (*ab* 1288) and passed away age 58, in other words: 1256–1312/13.

precious] presents in form of silk, brocade and silver amounting to one large *bre*. He received an edict (*'ja' sa*) which declared that all previous[ly donated] lay communities (*mi sde*) [were to remain under his juristiction]. He then [again] arrived in Central Tibet (dBus). He ruled over [his] entire realm. As the Tshal *mkhan po* and the Srin-po-ri-ba and others would not hand over [their] *mi sde* [estates],[445] he proceeded four times to China and [finally] received all the lay communities (*mi sde*) [as originally laid down in the edict].

At that point the Sa-skya *dpon chen* Kun[-dga'] bzang-ba/ po [rl. 1270–1275][446] [**32b**] acted contrary to the wishes of ['Phags-pa] Bla-ma, and [the latter's] attendant (*nye gnas*) reported these calumnies [of disobedience] to the Emperor Se-chen [Sečen Qan, i.e. the "Wise Qan," Qubilai][447] and as a consequence of this, [the Emperor] dispatched a Mongolian army [along with] Zam-kha [i.e. Sang-go] etc. who [then] executed [the Sa-skya] *dpon chen*.[448] Concerning this too it has been said:[449]

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[445] Srin-po-ri-ba or the one from Srin-po-ri, the sacred hermitage and site on the mountain of Srin-po-ri in sKyid-smad (site of a Sa-skya monastery which goes back to a foundation of Paṇḍita Vibhūticandra in the early 13th century) or, equally feasible, to the Srin[-mo]-phug-ri close to Byang-mkhar in Tshal. The Tshal *mkhan po* (if it means the Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba*) at that time was Sangs-rgyas rin-chen (Part II: Table V.1). The entry alludes to some internal disputes concerning the jurisdiction of the Tshal-pa territories.

[446] Kun-dga' bzang-po was sentenced to death and killed at his fief, the castle (*mkhar*) of Bya-rog-tshang / *rdzong* in 1281 by Zam-kha, cf. BA Roerich 582; *Yar lung chos 'byung* 154–55; *rGya bod yig tshang* 290–91; *'Ba' ra rnam thar* 2–4; *Gung thang rgyal rabs* (Everding 2001,Vol. 1: 96–97); *U rgyan pa'i rnam thar I* 184–86; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 62, 1368–69; cf. also Petech 1998c: 400-01; 1990b: 21f. See below.

[447] Qubilai was considered a manifestation of Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom.

[448] Sang-ko probably was a Tibetan who has gone down in history as a prototypically corrupt high-ranking official. He was head of Supreme Control Commission (*zon zhiyüan*), in 1288, he reorganized as Commission for Budddhist and Tibetan Affairs (*xuanzhengyüan*). From 1282 until 1291, he was in charge of the financial affairs at court. For the details on the events discussed here, see Petech 1990b: 21ff.

[449] The *locus classicus* in a *Thang yig* for these two celebrated hemistichs is the *Padma bka' thang* Canto 92: 564.8–565.4. The two *gter ma* couplets (with *gter shad*) are further cited in fuller form in *gTer ston lo rgyus* 52a4–56a3 (= 393.4–401.3) by Kong-sprul (in reverted order) and in *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 393.18–20 (see also *Sog bzlog bgyis tshul gyi lo rgyus* 218.1–3; and in part in *Klong-rdol gSung 'bum II* 444.8):

1. *de nyid mi gnas mya ngan 'das 'og tu* //
bya rog rdzong du dmag gi khrims rnga brdung //
snying med po rnams gser phye chu la 'bor //
zangs yag brag la sbas pa'i gter ka 'di //
ma bzhag 'don pa'i rtags der bstan nas 'byung //
gter ston gu ru jo rtse zhes bya 'byung /

2. *sna thag sa byas hor dmag bod du 'ong* //
ngan song zer yang de 'dra'i sdug bsngal med //
mi la srid bcad srid srung mang du yod //
sems can sa 'og gnon pa'i dus tsam na //
gnam skos mkhar chur sbas pa'i gter kha 'di //
mi bzhag 'don pa'i rtags su bstan nas'byung /

Both quoted as accompaniment to the life-story of *gter ston* Gu-ru Chos kyi dbang-phyug and Gu-ru Jo-rtse respectively, *ibid.* 393.21–394.11. *Si tu bka' chems* 161.16f. = *Rlangs* 254.20f. offers some background information. It is related that in the year following the [untimely] demise of 'Phags-pa (1235–1280), i.e. 1281 A.D., an attendant of the latter plotted against the *dpon chen* (for an involvement in the death of the former) wherefore the Mongols dispatched a retaliatory army.* They seized Bya-rog (see next note) and executed Kun-dga' bzang-po, though allegedly he was innocent of any charges of betrayal, as some sources purport. During this operation the gold dust was thrown into the water [of gTsang-po]. This phrase either purports, concretely, that precious values were prevented (wasted?) from falling into the hands of the Mongols, or, it may implicitly also indicate that with this episode the Tibetans had inflicted great losses upon themselves. The event later became a topic of dispute between Sog-bzlog and the 5th Dalai Lama.

* For the term *dmag khrims* / *khrims dmag*, army of the law or rather punitive army, see fn. 690 below. Punitive campaigns against rebellious Tibetans were regularly dispatched from the Mongol court; cf. Franke 1981: 301.

"When the drum of the [Mongolian] punitive army (*dmag gi khrims*)
is beaten [i.e. war is waged] at Bya-rog *rdzong*
Faint-hearted men throw gold-dust into the river!"[450]

At that point due to the activities of some *dpon chen* many calamities visited Tibet, wherefore it was a time where [ill-boding] prophecies [like these were heard]:[451]

"The nose-rope had been made by Sa[-skya] [so]
the Mongolian army arrived in Tibet;
Even [compared to] the so-called damned states (*durgati*) [of Saṃsāra]
such sufferings [that visited Central Tibet] have never been [seen before]."

In accordance with this, when then in a Tiger year [1278][452] Mi-chen Zam-kha-ba [i.e. Sang-

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[450] Or Bya-rog-tshang, i.e. "Raven Nest" (Bya-rog alludes to Mahākāla). It constituted a *stong skor* (*qian hu*) or chiliarchy (comprising 832 household and 28 (or: 38) *rta mgo* (var. *rtags mgo*) units; see however below) in the 13th cent. and hence was a Sa-skya base under the Chu-mig myriarchy,* later it was attached to or merged with Tshong-'dus (cf. fol. 24a above; *DL5 I* 22a2–4) in gTsang.** A monastery in Bya-rog-tshang dates back to the mid-11th century and was associated with the rGya clan (rulers of large stretches of Myang-stod) and in particular with rGya Dul-'dzin dBang-phyug brtson-'grus (BA Roerich 78), *alias* dBang-phyug tshul-khrims. In the following century, the teachings transmitted through 'Bre Shes-rab-'bar were taught by gTsang-pa 'Bre-sgur/sku at Bya-rog-tshang. A *dge bshes* Bya-rong tshang-pa (referring to a local Vinaya settlement) is registered for the mid-13th cent., cf. *rGod tshang rnam thar I* 135 and BA Roerich 684, where rGod-tshang sojourned too. In the same or following period, the center of the area as fiefship accomodated the residential camp of the administrator Kun-dga' bzang-po (Sa-skya *dpon chen*, *ca*. 1270–75 A.D.), arguably donated to him as estate. Upon his execution, the estate was taken over by the family of 'Ba'-ra rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1310–91), a member of the rGya clan, thus it was transferred (again?) to the original *yon bdag*. The site apparently is to be identified with the present-day Bya-tshang of Myang-smad (also locally known as Bya-rog-tshang; below Map 9); it is situated due south of the *rdzong* hill of old Pa-snam *rdzong* (= the Bya-rog *rdzong* of the 13th cent.?), more precisely below the sKu-ri, the latter considered the border mountain between upper and lower Myang. Cf. *Deb dmar gsar* (Tucci 1971: 186) which has Nyang-smad Bya-rog *rdzong*; and *rGya bod yig tshang*: dPal-rnams (= Pa-r/snam) Bya-rog-tshang. The Bya-tshang of Pa-rnam *rdzong* is registered to have been occasionally overflowed (or flooded, as recent as 1958); cf. *Rang 'byung gnod 'tshe chu skyon skor* 252–53. The family line issuing from U-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal (1230–1309) had earlier settled in Bya-rog-tshang of Nyang-ro (= Upper Myang), perhaps referring here to the Bya-rog of Ra-lung (in upper Myang-stod; *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 236b: 28°49'N 90°01'E), which again may be the Bya-rog-tshang under the Yar-'brog *khri sko*r that held 28 (or: 38) *rta mgo* (var. *rtags mgo*) units). A Bya-rog-tshang of Grva-phyi is also registered; see BA Roerich 990.

Sources: *Si tu bka' chems* 162.1–2 = *Rlangs* 255.14; 210.5–6 = 302.17; *Rva lo rnam thar* 98; *Yar lung chos 'byung* 131.15; *rGya bod yig tshang* 302–03, 358–59, 485; *U rgyan pa rnam thar I* 7; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 483–84, 734; *Zur chen rnam thar* 65.2–5; *DL5* [B] 28b6; *DL5 I* 22a3–4; *Lung bstan kun gsal* 59.2; *'Ba' ra rnam thar* 2–4; for further sources, see Petech 1988c: 401; 1990a: 25f., 65.

* The centre was in Chu-mig village (south-west of gZhis-kha-rtse; see Map 9), where today a memorial stone situated close to the walls of the Ngor E-wam *dgon* marks the site of the former *khri dpon* palace (loc. 29°08'48,2"N 88°43'31,6"E).

** For other figures such as 57 *dud* for Bya-rog-tshang and the question to which *khri skor* it adhered, see also the 5th Dalai Lama, *gSer shing phun tshogs 'dod 'jo* 89a5–b2; *DL5 I* 22a2–4).

[451] This proverbial prophecy claims that the local Sa-skya *dpon chen* through his actions attempted to become independent of Mongolian hegemonical rule. The idiom "to make/pull the nose-rope or the tether [of the animal]" indicates an attempt to remain or become free and independent. The second couplet is also cited in a number of sources.

[452] The date is still inconclusive. We shall argue for 1290 (rather than 1278 A.D.) as the date.

Petech (1990a: 21, 31, 72) maintains that 'Dam-ri[ng]-pa (here clearly a namesake) was killed in 1267. An episode is rendered (*Grub thob U rgyan pa'i rnam thar I* 171, 187–88, 224–29) where *mi chen* Sang-gha (d. 1291) met O-rgyan-pa (1230–1309 – according to *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung* 73b1–6, he reached the age of 92 and died in 1321 [*sic*]), possibly

go] arrived in Tibet, he convened [the heads of] of all the myriarchies (*khri skor, tümen erüge, wanhufu*), and due to the fact that the [latter's] attendant 'Dam-ri[ng]-pa had inflamed Zam-kha, he carried through many [court] hearings (*rtsa ra mang po byas*) of *dpon chen* dGa'-bde dpal-ba. For this reason dGa'-bde went to China,[453] where he met the Emperor and reported that in Tibet Zam-kha was acting contrary to the law. dGa'-bde-dpal reported: "Although I, the steward of the Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang, the private temple of the Emperor and of [the temples of] the two Jo-bo[-Statues, i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and Ra-mo-che], have not committed any sin even as much as the size of a needle, [Zam-pa], being instigated by the machinations of others, has carried out [court] hearings [against me], etc." [Reporting] thus in great detail, the Emperor was pleased and immediately bestowed upon him the imperial Five-Clawed Dragon [satin] Robe (*na bza' 'brug sder lnga ma*, Ch. **long duan*) etc. and spoke benign words like: "You are [like] a family member [to me]!" etc. When Zam-kha-ba was about to plan killing [dGa'-bde-dpal] after he had brought him to court, he happened to sight the imperial robe under the upper garment that [dGa'-bde-dpal] had taken off, [a sight which] petrified and scared Zam-kha. [Shortly after however Zam-kha himself] was found guilty (*nag phog*) [of abuses and corruption], and dGa'-bde, master and servants, came [into his presence], before [Zam-kha] was to led to the place of execution. [**33a**] Gleefully [they] drank *chang* [whereupon he] sang [the following song of derision and insolence addressed to Zam-kha]:

"Between you and me the difference is extremely great:
You are Mi-chen Zam-kha-ba
I am dGe-'dun Tshal-pa [i.e. the One from the Tshal-pa Monk-body]:
Glorious Joyous Bliss (*dga' bde dpal*) [my name is],
[endowed with] Glorious Mental Bliss (*blo bde dpal*),
[and experiencing] Glorious Happiness (*skyid pa'i dpal*)
Now [the time has come for] dGa'-bde-dpal [to rejoice]!"[454]

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during this visit (i.e. 1280's?) after Qubilai Qan had received news of his fame. In O-rgyan-pa's biography, a number of high-ranking Mongol leaders invited him to visit Mongolia: Mi-chen In-byi-lag = Ičilag, the post-master general (cf. Petech 1990b: 62–63) in Tibet, then Samgha (d. 1291) and lastly invited by Prince Temür Boqa, son of Oqruqchi (the seventh son of Qubilai; cf. Boyle 1971: 244), who had crushed the 'Bri-gung rebellion and who temporarily had Tibet under his jurisdiction after 1290 A.D. Cf. Franke 1981: 300.

The exact date of U-rgyan-pa's invitation and his 1½ months-long visit to Mongolia (at the court of Qubilai) should be situated to 1292.* The same text incidentally reports for the same year that U-rgyan-pa visited Tshal Gung-thang in 1292, where he met Mi-dpon or Chen-po dGa'-bde-dpal; as present to Emperor Qubilai, U-rgyan-pa brought along a *bum pa* containing longevity-water that had been hidden by Guru Rinpoche and later extracted from U-ljang-rdo. For the meeting at Dadu (Great Capital) and Shangdu (Supreme Capital) and his capability to cure the ailing emperor as well as his receipt of a jade seal, see *U rgyan pa rnam thar I* 234–43.

* *U rgyan pa'i rnam thar I* confirms the Water-Dragon Tiger year = 1292, yet simultaneously (and wrongly) chronicles O-rgyan-pa's age as being 73, which *in casu* must be rectified to 63 or the year altered to 1302 (Water-Tiger). We shall opt for the former date, 1292 (confirmed in *U rgyan pa'i rnam thar II* 17b6; III 108.3–09.2, also *mKhas pa'i dga'ston* 917); cf. *op. cit*., 226–229; van der Kuijp 2004.

[453] dGa'-bde mgon-po had probably been taken into custody (in China) by Sang-ko to arraign before the court in the wake of the 1290 incident; cf. Petech 1990b: 31, 72.

[454] That this celebrated song or dictum is sardonic (*rgyags gtam*) is also understood by Nor-brang O-rgyan (1993: 289). Anyhow, this plaidoyer and depiction in favour of dGa'-bde is surely legendary, a concocted fabrication – similar to those written in China about Sang-go (i.e. Sangha) – made after his execution which was carried out on 17.08.1291,

For the sake of the monastic community of Tshal-pa, he seven times went to China. Although Mi-chen Zam-kha-pa and others perpetrated many unsuitable manœuverings, [dGa'-bde] had the Emperor's confidence, and thus he [could] overwhelm his opponents with his brilliance. [He therefore] made [some] jesting remarks while gleefully serving *chang*; when the Emperor observed how adversities were eliminated after all the Dharma-Protectors that had followed in the trail of *dpon chen po* dGa'-bde had arrived, he was surprised and rejoiced greatly. For the *'Cham* [Dance] figures [in Tshal Gung-thang] he annually donated countless presents such as robes, silk brocade and silver amounting to one large *bre* etc.

On the point of returning to Tibet, the Emperor said [to him]: "Formerly [I told] your father Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan [to create a symbiotic patron-priest unity between] Tshal and Gung[-thang] [in a fashion like] covering a valley with a mountain and [I told him] to make a backrest for the [statue of] lHa-chen [in Tshal Gung-thang]. [These] physical legacies have [yet] not been completed, so I urge you to apply your [full] energy to render [such and other] services to my temple!" Presenting him with the outfit [i.e. garment and weapons] of a hero and an edict delimiting the territories [under his rule] (*sa mchod = sa chod, sa mtshams*?), he returned to dBus bringing with him Chinese experts in craftmanship.

In a Dragon year [1304 A.D.?], Chinese and Tibetan experts in craftmanship were summoned. [With their help, he erected] the Great Middle Storey [i.e. Bar-khang chen-mo, situated] above the [Gung-thang] gTsug-lag-khang, as well as four Chapel-Annexes (*glo 'bur*), the Entrance Vestibule (*sgo khang*) both the external and the internal wing, the twelve pitched roofs in Chinese [style] along with their golden *gser 'phru* ornaments [atop the roof]. [Moreover], above the circular winged-shaped [eaves] (*bya 'dabs*) [projecting from the roof-edge] [**33b**] four [small] *lha khang* [were erected in the four directions] inside of which *maṇḍala* of the *Anuttarayogatantra* along with [the corresponding] statues [were erected]. As principal [task] he manufactured, in accordance with the behest of the Emperor, a wonderful throne and the backcloth for the Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po [statue]. In the western direction [of the temple precinct he erected] the private chapel of the Emperor (*gong ma dgos* [= *sgos*] *kyi lha khang*) and the chapel [devoted to a mural representation of] the successive Mongolian Dharmarājas [emperors and rulers], respectively [installed] with many wondrous [extraordinary] [objects] such as costly items (*rin po che'i dpyad pa* [= *dpyad*, *chas*]), etc. Further, he successfully manufactured silver items each worth one thousand *zho*; gold[-plated] items worth one hundred *zho* each. In front of [the statue of] 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che [he manufactured] silver items each worth two thousand *zho* and gold[-plated] items each worth two hundred *zho*. Inside the Grand [Pillared] Courtyard [Khyams-ra chen-mo], in the 340 shelfs 23,500 books of the holy scripture and inside [the distinct] interior *lha khang,* 3,020 gold-written books [were kept] being equipped with brocade wrappings and with book-straps made from identical materials. [He] covered the outer large [open] Square (*bla ye chen mo*) with a stone-paved courtyard. The large Vestibule (*sgo khang*) was equipped with [painted? images] of the Four Guardian Kings [of the Universe] (*caturmahārāja*). Outside the large multi-coloured portal, he erected two stone lions, equipped [the vestibule] with two large pillars, and on the front-side [and aver] the door a bell was hung. Above that he [erected] a *thig*

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cf. Rossabi 1987: 192–99. For Seng-ge's activities in Tibet, cf. *Bod kyi deb ther* 107.15f.; *rGya bod yig tshang* 288–296; Rin-chen bkra-shis 1989; see also Petech 1980b for this figure and the somewhat legendary nature of this story.

khang. The different pillars along both the inner and the outer corridors [of the gTsug-lag-khang he] embellished and fitted with coats of mail and helmets as well as swords and each [pillar was covered] with a tiger-skin. Merely by beholding [the gTsug-lag-khang] any external vile-minded enemy would be terrified and stricken by fear. Having [thus] brought to completion this most wondrous, indeed, in all dBus-gTsang, matchless gTsug-lag-khang along with its Corridor-Halls, he carried out its inauguration and arranged an extensive celebration [of this event].

In a Monkey year [i.e. *sa spre'u* 1308 A.D.] 'Jam-dpal-dbyangs Śākya gzhon-nu[455] was invited from gSang[-phu] Ne'u-thog [to come to Tshal], where he established the Chos-'khor-gling[456] and [thus] founded [there the tradition of] expounding and studying philosophy (*mtshan nyid*). In order to disseminate the Dharma transmission of the Glorious Sa-skya [tradition], he founded the Tshal dBus-gling [Mantra school].[457] [**34a**] *dGe bshes* Do-pa Don-grub dpal-ldan from the Sa-skya shar-ba [school] was invited [to Tshal Gung-thang], where he founded a [Sa-skya] Dharma-College (*chos grva*).[458] Thereafter, having [fully acknowledged the support and service rendered earlier] he rewarded [i.e. remunerated] (*bdag rkyen mdzad*) the *sde bzhi* of Rva-mo-che [in lHa-sa][459] and elected Ro-skam-pa *mkhan chen* bSod-nams shes-rab as *ācārya*,[460] whereupon he established a Vinaya College. In accordance with the successful completion of all these [tasks], the *dPon chen po* [dGa'-bde-dpal again] arrived in China, and having reported the background [to his activities] to the Emperor, [the latter] was highly pleased and presented [him] with inconceivably [many precious] gifts in form of silk, brocade and silver amounting to one large *bre* [given in order to serve] as material resources for whatever costs [would be needed to maintain] the temple [in

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[455] The 14th-cent. 16th *mkhan po* of the Lower Monastery (Gling-smad; actually the 8th throne-holder of this chair) of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog. He occupied the chair at gSang-phu for 27 years, from *ca*. 1326–1352 A.D; see below fn. 630.

[456] Cf. *Yar lung chos 'byung* 134.6f. VS 152.1; BA Roerich 341.

[457] Cf. *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 7a1–3; *VS* 152.1–2; 156.22; *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 601.11–12, which purports that it was established by dGa'-bde; see below 47a.

[458] Cf. *Yar lung chos 'byung* 134.11–12. The Sa-skya college was part of the dBus-gling monastery, the first abbot of which was Do-pa Don-grub dpal-ldan (below Chapter III.3).

[459] Ra-mo-che sde-bzhi/bzhi-sde (i.e. later bZhi-sde-pa dGa'-ldan bSam-gtan-gling) originally stems from what in late dynastic times were known as six chapels (other sources speak of four institutions) erected in the four directions around lHa-sa [Jo-khang], viz. rMe-ru (orig. dMar-ru?, which later developed its own line of abbots), Ke-ru (orig. dKar-ru?), dGa'-ba, dGa'-[ba'i]'od, Brang-khang as well as Brang-khang [m]tha[']-ma (cf. also TBH Sørensen 416).* The commonly transmitted story recounts that the convent called dGa'-ba was later transferred to Ra-mo-che by the Tshal *khri dpon* dGa'-bde bzang-po (i.e. dGa'-bde-dpal) where four so-called mchod *'bul bzhi grva* were established, i.e. minor convents erected to provide ritual and liturgic service for Ra-sa/Ra-mo-che monastery. For a discussion and a brief historical overview of the institution down through history, cf. below Part II: Tables V.7.

Sources: *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 7a2; *VS* 143.14f.; *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 598.10–16; *DL7* 865, 926.; *Chos `byung bstan pa nyi ma* 89a2–3; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1422.10–11; 7th Dalai Lama, *gDong lnga'i sgra dbyangs* 78a3–92a4 (see below); see also the lengthy entry in *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1798–1800; *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 24–6, 37–8; further Larsen *et. al*. 2001: 138, 141; Alexander 2005: Chap. 9; Ferrari 1958: 41, 94; Chab-spel 1982: 37; Chayet 1994: 148; *HSLG* Vol. 6: 41–42.

* Actually only three directions are given: E: dKar-ru and rMe-ru; S: dGa'-ba and dGa'-ba'i od (it may be related to the dGa'-ba'i 'od-phro temple where Atiśa stayed during his sojourn in lHa-sa; according to the context, this was situated in sKar-chung (= present-day Ra-ma-sgang); Eimer 1979: 261); N: Bran-khang and Bran-khang tha-ma. It appears to be related to the Bran[-kha] (Bran-phu) area, the site of the Bran Ra-mo-che, which however is located to the west of lHa-sa; or else it is a corrupt rendering of Nyang-bran, i.e. the area to the north of lHa-sa where Pha-bong-ka is situated.

[460] He is not listed in the chapter on Ro-skam (see above), but obviously was connected with this Tshal-pa institute.

the future]. [dGa'-bde-dpal] even received the following positive verdict [of recognition] (*lung bzang*) [from the Emperor] that said:[461]

"The Sa-skya-pa are my unique Bla-mas;
[But] the Tshal-pa are my unique family members,
so they are protected by my affectionate benevolence."

He [then] arrived in Central Tibet [again]. Subjugating all [territories of Central Tibet] under his sway, he ruled over his huge [local] realm. [During his reign] enjoyable material resources of all wishes [conceivable] fell like rain. The lamp of the Teaching of the monk congregation of Tshal-pa was kindled; the outer enemies were pacified and domestically he safeguarded his subjects with benevolent affection. His fame and renown covered all ten directions of Jambudvīpa. Being blessed by Śrī Vajrapāṇi, he [dGa'-bde-dpal], who was indistinguishable [in might and fortitude] from the *chos skyong* Mahākāla, ruled the office of the *dpon sa* for 43 years, after which he passed away at the age of 58.[462] At the funeral service, respect and reverence were extensively rendered to many tens of thousand of great Bla-mas and monks. [Karma-pa *rje* Rang-byung rdo-rje [1284–1339 A.D.], etc. [appeared at the head of the row of distinguished guests].[463]

During the period prior to and after this *drung chen* [the following events took place]: Since *chos rje* sPos-rgya-ba[464] had significant [meditative] encounters with 'Gro-mgon Zhang Rin-po-che, for two years [**34b**] he contemplated spending all food and wealth, etc. [that he had gathered] successfully and so whatever he received offerings from dBus-gTsang etc. and, furthermore, whatever he had of possessions, he brought to Gung-thang and there uninterruptedly rendered extensive offerings, principally by [providing] 15 *khal* [loads] of butter and butter-lamps amounting to thirteen copper-vessels full of oil [to be used] daily in front of the precious image [of Bla-ma Zhang], etc. Further, for the *Ser rtsi chen mo* [Festival] he had about 20 *stang tse* [~ *stang rtsa*, i.e. extra loads] of brown

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[461] The *locus classicus* for the couplet remains to be identified. But see *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1422.8–10. Interestingly, Siddhiphala *alias* emperor Yinzong (1320–23), from sMon-lam rdo-rje in return for many presents donated to Gung-thang in 1320, was addressed as Tshal-pa'i *nang mi* or "family member." See also *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 48a1–4.

[462] *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 6a4–b4. As suggested above he probably lived *ca*. 1254–1310 A.D.

[463] Cf. *Karma sku 'phreng* 2 61b5–6; *Deb sngon* 622.10–12; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 975.19–21 (which gives the date of the funeral as *lcags khyi* 1310); Schuh 1977: 130. The Tshal *mi sde* district of Dol (see above fn. 423) was presented to Rang-byung rdo-rje as religious estate on this occasion; cf. *Karma sku phreng I* 113b2–3. Cf. also *mTshur phu dkar chag* 373 which wrongly dates the invitation after 1330. He visited Tshal Gung-thang again in 1337 or 1338; on this occasion sizeable distributions were enacted; for details, see *Tshal rnam* 21a–6. 5763 monks were also present.

It is reported that probably during the rule of *dge slong* Tshal-pa (= dGa'-bde-dpal or sMon-lam-rdo-rje?), the Dvags-po ruler bSod-nams rin-chen (1416–66?; of the dGyer/sGer clan) studied at Tshal both Mahāyāna teachings and medical lore (in the latter's line there developed the famous *Zur lugs gsar* known through Zur-mkhar mNyam-nyid rdo-rje and Blo-gros rgyal-po, both from La-thog of eastern Dvags-po; above fn. 424). Cf. 'Bum-kho and Grags-pa 2003: 82–83.

[464] sPos-skya-pa Seng-ge rin-po-che/chen (1258–1313 A.D., the latter dates reflecting the 'Brug-tradition; cf. also *Seng ge rgyal po rnam thar* 324.1). Cf. his biography *rJe sPos skya pa rnam thar* 261.2–4, 280.4–281.4, 285.3 for Gung-thang, which he repeatedly visited (in the period between *ca*. 1285–1300 A.D.) and esp. developed amicable relations to *dpon chen* dGa'-ba = dGa'-bde-dpal.

The biography relates that prior to 1280 at Gung-thang there initially only was a *mchod khang* with the statue of lHa-chen and three *gdung khang* or ossuaries. The *khyams khra* (courtyard) and the *skor khang* or ambulatory were about to be erected during this very period.

sugar boiled and coagulated (*dgor = bsgar*) and to the monks in connection with the *Bu ram khru skor ma* [New-year] Festival and to the Bla-mas and to the master and disciples he thus donated inconceivably [many] presents in form of *mdzo*[-cattle] and horses.[465]

Such regular [endowment] (*de'i rgyun = dge rgyun*?) were also conducted by most great Bla-mas of that time.

Chos rje bCu-gsum-pa [Seng-ge rgyal-po] [1289–1325 A.D.][466] too, recalling the kindness of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, [similarly] wanted to donate [a large amount of accumulated] resources for that purpose, wherefore [he donated] an inconceivably [large amount] of offerings such as 25 *khal* loads of butter and butter-lamps consisting of 13 copper-vessels full of oil [to be offered] on a daily basis in front of the precious image [of Bla-ma Zhang] and in front of Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po; [in addition to this he donated] presents such as mDzo[-cows], horses and [samples of] holy scriptures etc. to the Bla-mas, master and disciples, as well as to the monk community [at Tshal Gung-thang][to be used] for the [local] *Ser rtsi ston mo* Feast. [He thus] carried out many sorts of services.[467] Similarly, [the latter's son] *chos rje* Kun-dga' seng-ge [1314–1347 A.D.] in a Fire Rat year [1336 A.D.][468] [carried out many] forms of services consisting of donating a load that

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[465] Cf. *verbatim rJe sPos skya pa rnam thar* 280.4–281.2. This text mentions the amount of 200 extra loads of brown sugar, not 20. The *Bu ram khru skor ma* possibly was not a festival but a food-charity distribution that consisted of a cubit of brown *bu ram* distributed to each monk. In fact, it refers to the temporary assignment or assistence of his as *dkon gnyer* of Gung-thang for a period of two years that was taken up by sPos-skya (from 1288 he acted as the 5th throne-holder of Rva-lung), probably during the years 1298–1300 (cf. e.g. *Seng ge rgyal po rnam thar* 317.5–318.1). The former text reports that, due to his successful work in providing ample resources, he was considered the best steward since the establishment of Gung-thang in 1175. During his tenure at Gung-thang, he also delivered religious teachings.

At the memorial or commemorative service (*gshegs rdzongs*) of sPos-skya in 1313, most of the larger monastic communities of dBus-gTsang headed by Sa-skya and Gung-thang held a large feast of worship with food (butter and curd) distribution. At Rva-lung, a statue resembling in height the Jo-bo statue of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang was erected as *nang rten*, and at the three 'Brug establishments of 'Brug, mDo-mkhar and Chos-rdzongs, statues the size of the Jo-bo at Ra-mo-che were erected together with a golden statue and a *sku 'dra* of sPos-skya himself; cf. *Seng ge rgyal po rnam thar* 324.1-5. These receptacles too were erected in artistic mimicry of the Ra-sa sanctuaries.

[466] It refers to the 6th throne-holder of Rva-lung, bCu-gsum-pa Seng-ge rgyal-po or Siṃharāja. His bonds to Tshal and to *dpon chen* sMon-lam may date to the period around *ca*. 1320–23, cf. *Seng ge rgyal po rnam thar* 330.4–5. Following the 'Brug-pa hierarch tradition of rendering service to Gung-thang *gtsug lag khang* by offering butter-lamps (*zhu mar kyi zhabs tog*) and in token commemoration of and traditional gratitude towards Bla-ma Zhang, he followed in the footsteps of his predecessor and mentor sPos-skya-pa. The commitments bear witness to the close ties that reigned between Tshal-pa and 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa, a rapport that was initiated with the close relationship between Bla-ma Zhang and gTsang-pa rGya-ras (but see here somewhat contradicting the mention of the 14th-cent. Brug pa / Tshal-pa dispute at Tsa-ri; above fn. 424).

Similar to his predecessor, after his demise, four *gser sku* equalling in size the Jo-bo in the two lHa-sa sanctum were erected and a grand commemorative service was executed, headed by the monasteries of Gung-thang and Sa-skya; ibid. 357.7–358.2 and *Kun dga' seng ge rnam thar* 380.7–381.2.

[467] *Verbatim* from *Seng ge rgyal po rnam thar* 342.1–6. The extensive service rendered to Gung-thang took place *ca*. 1322. However, the same text, *op. cit*., 350.4–5, also seems to indicate that the 6th Rva-lung throne-holder in 1325 went to Gung-thang and served or assisted temporarily as *dkon gnyer*.

[468] The 7th throne-holder of Rva-lung and son of bCu-gsum-pa, 'Brug-pa Kun-dga' seng-ge. In 1323, at the age of eight, he met Bla-ma *dishi* Kun-dga' blo-gros who gave him religious teachings; *Kun dga' seng ge rnam thar* 376.4–6. In 1325, he was invited to Gung-thang and assisted as steward; *ibd*. 380.2–3. In 1340, he attended the spectacular Gung

amounted to ten-thousand [ounces] of churned butter (*mar lcags* [= *mar bcags*] *'dres pa*), presents such as tea and money, mDzo, horses, etc. to the monk community of Tshal and Gung-thang.[469]

During the tenure of the [distinct] *dpon chen* both those before and after [dGa'-bde-dpal], when [especially] high-ranking Bla-mas were invited to Gung-thang, the [successive] *dpon chen* [usually] provided them with a [spectacular] reception of welcome on horse, including [forming] lanes and corteges [of mounted horses] (*kya hrags* = *rkya* [*h*]*rags*)[470] who both brandished and displayed a sheer unending number of splendrous [**35a**] *gser 'phan* standards and [many-coloured auspicious] *bkra shis khra ring* [emblems], etc. Such appropriate traditions prevailed [at Tshal Gung-thang]. Thus during the tenure of these *dpon chen* who [ruled] both prior to and after [the reign of] *dpon chen po* dGa'-bde[-dpal], all the worldly and religious powers [of the Tshal-pa] reached their peak. Thereafter, for many successive generations of *dpon* [rulers], over a period of about 140 years, [the Tshal-pa] were the [true] rulers of the dBus-gTsang [provinces]. The magnificent deeds [executed by these men, which included commitments] such as safeguarding all [the subjects under their rule] with [their] benevolence, just like parents [do towards their own offspring] etc., [these deeds indeed are so wondrous and inexplicable that they] surpass the realm of [verbal] expression. This is [largely due to the fact that] formerly the spiritual sons of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, [namely] the Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge and gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba, master and disciples, bestowed upon Činggis Qan and Qubilai [Se-chen], mother and sons, teachings on the karmic [law on] cause and effect, [as well as delivered] blessing-authorization (*anujñā*) and empowerment (*abhiṣeka*) according to the system of Tshal, bestowed religious explications of the many qualities of the body, speech and mind [aspects] of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che and many prophecies concerning future events. One should know that this is the timely ripening of the fruits [that sprang from] the inexhaustible [number of] seeds [once] planted, [which consisted of] extensive aspiration-prayers [which eventually] turned into [the unique] patron and priest [relationship executed] by way of the respect displayed and religious service rendered etc. to the precious Teaching [of Buddha] – specifically as much as generally – including the monastic community [of Tshal], the holy upholders of the Teaching [of Buddha]. That one simultaneously shall achieve [virtuous] merits when one [greatly] rejoice [over the above feats told] is something that has [already] been proclaimed in all the *sūtra* and *tantra*. Consequently, both Bla-ma Yar-lung-pa and gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba, can [indeed] can be compared to great [auspicious] flag-poles (*dar chen*) [which disseminate and hence] safeguard the space-resembling Teaching of [the school of] Zhang Rin-po-che, through the karmic feats of his disciples in the extremest [i.e. all] directions [of their territories].

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thang *Me tog mchod pa* and there he met Bla-ma Zla-ba seng-ge; *ibd*. 414.3–415.1. The latter's 'Brug-pa teachings were received by *sMon-lam rdo-rje*; cf. *Tshal rnam* 35a3–4.

[469] Cf. *verbatim Kun dga' seng ge rnam thar* 399.5–400.1. It is here clarified that the donation this time consisted of loads weighting ten-thousand lHa-sa ounces (*lha sa srang gi khal khri phrag gcig*) of *mar* and *lcags*, ingredients to manufacture butter-lamps. The reading butter and iron may therefore be preferred, where also other items are listed. Cf. also *ibid*. 412.3–4.

[470] A similar expression, incidentally, occurs in phrases such as *dmag* [*h*]*rags*, *mi* [*h*]*rags*, etc. alluding to army-soldiers and men lined up during battle or during parade and procession; cf. e.g. *Si tu bka' chems* 98.20–99.7 = *Rlangs* 195.7–14 describing the soldiers of the hapless Tshal-pa army in 1348 A.D. Such horse guard of honour in battle or in procession and escort were later expressed with the words *chibs rags*, *chibs bsu*, *chibs skyel*.

[**8**] [***dPon chen* Rin-chen seng-ge**]

[**35b**] After dGa'-bde[-dpal], *dpon chen* Rin-chen seng-ge [followed]. He was born as the [eldest] son of dGa'-bde in a Tiger year [1278 A.D.].[471] At the age of 17, he came to the office of the *dpon sa*.[472] At age 19, following the tradition of his ancestors, he arrived in China. Being favourably received by the Emperor, he was in numerous ways rewarded [for the service rendered] and received presents in the form of silver [amounting to the value] of one [large] *bre*, as well as silk and brocade. He then returned to dBus. His power and resources of wealth resemble [in extent and magnitude] that of the Land of the Gods. He held the office of the *dpon sa* for four years and passed away at the age of 21 years.[473]

[**9**] [***Drung chen rin po che* sMon-lam rdo-rje**]

Thereupon *drung chen* Rin-po-che sMon-lam rdo-rje [1284–1346/47 A.D.] was elevated to the *dpon sa* office. He had earlier [been prophesied] by *rje* 'Ol-kha-ba who [had once] said to Zhang Rin-po-che: "*Bla ma*! As for your monastery, there will eventually come a *dpon* holding the position of a layman and in the end it will be destroyed by flooding!" Thus speaking, Zhang Rin-po-che prophesied: "At that point, I too shall appear and provide assistance!" According to [these prophecies], it is said that Zhang Rin-po-che [later] personally appeared with the intention of disseminating the teaching and worldly power of the Tshal-pa. He was born as the son of dGa'-bde[-dpal] in a [Wood-]Monkey year [i.e. 1284 A.D.]. [Endowed] with the excellent marks and characteristic signs [of a Mahāpuruṣa] and possessing endless qualities such as [the mastery of the five] sciences etc., already at the age of five, he [instinctively] knew how to write and read. At the age 20 [1303 A.D.], he came to the office of the *dpon sa*.[474] In an [Earth] Monkey year

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[471] Provided that he was the oldest son of dGa'-bde, he was born in 1278 (*sa mo stag*) since his younger brother sMon-lam rdo-rje probably was born in 1284. Cf. *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 6b3–5. See however the following notes.

[472] This may refer to the year 1310 A.D., but his age is then not 17 but, rather 20 or 21.

[473] Calculating his birth to 1278, he occupied the office from *ca*. 1294–95 A.D., and passed away 1298, in which case he ruled conjointly with his father – or rather his father stepped down in 1294–5, only to resume the office after his son's untimely death in 1298. The subsequent rule of sMon-lam rdo-rje and his son Kun-dga' rdo-rje (see below) speaks in favour of a dual or joint *dpon sa* tenure, just like the occasionally occurring joint (*sbrel zla*) rule of father and son as *bka' blon pha bu* during the later dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung* period. Following the chronological frame given in our text, the joint rule is corroborated and a strong argument for the joint share of power is the fact that Chen po dGa'-bde[-dpal], father and son[s?] are mentioned conjointly in this capacity in *Gung thang dkar chag* itself (17b *supra*) e.g. for the year 1310. The case of sMon-lam rdo-rje, who was enthroned 1304 A.D., and that of his son Kun-dga' rdo-rje in 1323, also corroborate this dual arrangement, also reflected in the latter's biography. In the case of Rin-chen seng-ge – who altogether was less known as ruler, the first option above suggests that over the years dGa'-bde was assisted by him and subsequently by sMon-lam rdo-rje until dGa'-bde's demise in 1310 A.D. Subsequently, sMon-lam rdo-rje and his son Kun-dga' rdo-rje (ab 1323 A.D.) reigned conjointly – as a close-knit family affair. In that case the first-mentioned one possibly (ab 1328 A.D.) devoted himself increasingly to religious pursuits and left most affairs to his son.

Grand gilt statues of the Rigs-gsum mgon-po, the *thugs dam* of this *dpon chen* (i.e. *dpon chen* Seng-ge) were erected by his successor in around 1337; cf. *Tshal rnam* 20b6–21a1.

[474] However, *Tshal rnam* 11b6–12a3 reports that sMon-lam rdo-rje received Me-rag and Zung-dkar as estates (unidentified) in 1294 A.D. as well as an edict with the title and citation of *drung chen* and in 1301 (*lcags glang*), by command of Emperor Öljeitü (i.e. the Yüan emperor Chengzong, 1294–1307) and the 5th Imperial *dishi* [Khang-gsar-pa] Grags-pa 'od-zer (1246–1303; as *dishi* 1291–1303; himself of the La-stod Byang line – see *Deb dmar gsar* [Tucci 1972: 191–92]), he was officially appointed *dpon sa* of the Tshal-pa *khri skor*, received the golden investiture with two jewels along with the round silver letter (= seal; *dngul yig sgor mo*) of "Domestic Civil Myriarchic Administrator

[i.e. 1308 A.D.], he arrived in China in accordance with the tradition of [all the former Tshal-pa] predecessors.[475] When he met the [new] Emperor, [the latter] was highly pleased, and he bestowed upon him silk and brocade and silver [amounting to] one [large] *bre* as well as issuing the *'Ja' sa Ka'u ling* Edict which made public [i.e. confirmed] that the formerly [donated] lay communities were to remain [under Tshal-pa jurisdiction], as well as [handing over to him] a silver seal, along with gold ornaments.[476] He then went [back] to dBus, where a reception of welcome and a feast beyond imagination were made [in his honour].[477] He distributed wealth (*mang 'gyed*) to the

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[of Tshal-pa]," [or: "Military Commander of the Three Circuits" or alt. indeed of "Civil Administration Population Overseer"] (Tib. *klu dban hu g*[*y*]*un min dzung gun*, i.e. either to be construed as Ch. [*tiandi*] *li guanmin* [*guan*] *wanhu*; [*san*?] *lu junmin wanhu* [*fu*]; or *lu wanhu guanmin zongguan*). Reconstructed, we preferably may read his investiture as *lu wanhu guanmin zongguan* or *wanhu junmin zongguan* (M. **cölge tümen irgen sunggon*) i.e. "Civil Administrator of the [Tshal-pa] Myriarchy on the Route/Circuit [Level]." Cf. also Petech 1990b: 44, 56; *YS* 87.

The same text chronicles that in the tenth month of 1303, being invited by the 10th Tshal throne-holder Śākya-'bum, sMon-lam rdo-rje was officially instated as *dpon sa* of the entire Tshal-pa myriarchy during an inaugural mass ceremony on the Great Plain (Bye-thang) of Gung-thang (*ibd*. 12a1–3). In 1304, he went to Sa-skya to reconfirm the investiture. In the same year, at Sa-skya, he made extensive food distribution offerings; *ibid*. 22a6, 33a2.

[475] His imperial visit included a meeting with the newly installed Yüan Emperor Qaišan (i.e. Külük (Tib. Gu-yug), *alias* Wuzong ("Material Ancestor"); rg. 1307–11). sMon-lam rdo-rje arrived in Dadu (Great Capital) on the fifth day of the first lunar month; the following day, he met the new imperial *dishi* [Khang-gsar-pa] Bla-ma bzang-po Sangs-rgyas-dpal (1267–1314; *dishi* 1305–1313; and for the teachings he received *ibd*. 33b1). He strew flowers in front of a [kesi silk?] woven *thangka* (*btags sku*) of deceased Emperor Öljeitü set up in the Ancestral Palace, in token respect of the role played by the latter who earlier had confirmed the Tshal-pa *khri skor* investiture. On the 7th day of the same month, he finally met emperor Wuzong at the Chon-hyang Palace (*sic* = ? the Guanghan Palace on the Qionghua (or "Jade Flowery") Isle located within the imperial city; built for ceremonial purposes where e.g. decrees were issued), with one Thar-ston Chos kyi 'od-zer* functioning as translator, and bestowed upon him esoteric initiations. During the same period, he made friendship with one Thu-gal The-mur, head or member of the Bureau of Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs (*xuanzhengyüan*; M. *sönjing ön*; Tib. *son ching dben*); for this bureau, see Farquhar 1990: 153–57; *YS* 87; for further details on a number of additional *'ja' sa* issued in favour of Tshal in this and in the following years; cf. *Tshal rnam* 12a2–6, *et passim*.

* Chos kyi 'od-zer, *aliases* Chos-sku 'od-zer or bDag-med rdo-rje was a prominent master at court and had major influence on the pious emperor Öljeitü. He *inter alia* created a Mongolian alphabet; cf. *Hor chos 'byung* (Huth 1896: 60ff.).

[476] For the text, see *Tshal rnam* 12b2–6: Ga'o len hua [ru]. It clearly refers to Gaoliang He or more precisely the Monastery of Da Huguo Renwang Si (also simply named Gaoliang He Temple) located along Gaoliang River at the outskirts of Dadu (Beijing; it in fact was a man-made canal having been erected during the T'ang dynasty). It was built by the Nepalese genius Anige between 1270–74, under the auspices of empress Zhaorui Shunsheng, i.e. Čabi, the wife of Qubilai. Anige's son, Asengge also contributed by sculpturing statues for this artistically affluent imperial temple.

It seems that the *'ja' sa* had been named after and linked up with the temporary abbot seat of *guoshi* (posthum. *dishi*) Tan-pa/lDan-ma Kun-dga'-grags / *Ānandakīrti (1230–1305 A.D.) who had received a decree of tax-exemption from emperor Chengzong in 1294. sMon-lam rdo-rje stayed at this imperial clan temple in 1308. Cf. *Fozu lidai tongzai* (*TT* vol. 49: 2036); *YS* 7–8; see transl. in Franke 1994: 167–69; van der Kuijp 1993c: 283.

sMon-lam rdo-rje also met Prince Gegen (later emperor Yinzong, rl. 1320–23), Yisün Temur (later emperor Dingdi, rl. 1323–28), as well as the Tibetan teachers Sangs-rgyas-dpal, Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan and finally Prince Chos-dpal (see below), the second son of Temür Buqa.

[477] It is unclear how long sMon-lam rdo-rje remained in China, but evidently a few years. Returning to dBus, he was welcomed by the Sa-skya *dpon chen* 'Od-zer seng-ge (rl. 1315–1317, 1325–28). The relationship to Sa-skya during sMon-lam rdo-rje and during part of Kun-dga' rdo-rje's reign had remained amicable, contrary to the preceeding reign of dGa'-bde. Cf. *Tshal rnam* 16b6–7, 47b3–4.

monk-body and to the community.[478] In a Horse year, [**36a**] based upon the presents [donated by] *slob dpon* Chos-dpal,[479] he erected the gold[-thread] draperies (*gser 'phan*) [of a type known as]

[478] For his extensive food distribution, see *Tshal rnam*, *passim*. The donation or distribution of tea or of gifts and money gradually became an institution of sizable proportions in almost all monastic communities in Tibet, in particular from the 15th century onwards. In the mid-1650's, e.g. a list of *'gyed*-items would read: *kha btags*, *dngul*, *rtsam pa*, *mar*, *nas*, *bu ram*, *dar*, *'u zi* and finally *zi ling gi ja*. Another list has, aside form the obligatory *mang ja*, also *gser*, *dngul*, *ja*, *'bru*, *rta*, *bu ram*, *lcags* and *ras*. For a discussion of *'gyed* or *mang 'gyed*, communal wealth distribution, see Ardussi 2003.

[479] Notwithstanding the reference to his status as *ācārya*, it *in casu* obviously refers to Prince (*rgyal bu*) Chos-dpal (Čosbal; Ch. Chousiban), the second son of Temür Buqa (d. 1347; himself son of A'uruγči (1232–97), the seventh son of Qubilai). It was the members of this imperial line from Qubilai who were regarded as "Viceroys of Tibet" (cf. *Rasīid ad-Dīn*; tr. Boyle *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, 244) and that in the first place held direct property and political mandate over Tibet (cf. Petech 1990b: 262–63).

Chos-dpal is mentioned in Chinese sources in the period 1306–31 (see *YS* 107:122; 108:142). His main residence was in Hezhou (Ganzu) where he had been appointed Prince of Zhenxi Wuqing (see the details, Petech 1990b: 264–67; Franke 1990b: 113–14). sMon-lam rdo-rje had met him in China and they accompanied one another as they went back to Central Tibet. At one point – and as a descendant of Qubilai Qan who had been in charge of Tibet since the *quriltai* of 1251 – he played a major role in Central Tibet as highest Mongolian officer *in situ*.

Emperor Buyantu (1311–1320; i.e. Renzong – "Benevolent Ancestor") too bestowed presents upon the Tshal-pa secular ruler and bestowed upon him a golden insignia with three jewel buttons, an edict and a document (*bca' hu*, Ch. *zha fu*) with silver seal. The horse year (1306 / 1318) in *GT* arguably should be emended to the [Wood] Tiger (*rta* = *stag*) year, i.e. 1314 A.D. in this context. Already 1316, sMon-lam rdo-rje received a *bre* of gold to cover the costs for the manufacture of votive balin offerings at the Gung-thang lha-khang donated to him by the Mongol resident Daruγači or "Mongolian Resident Commisioner" [of] Rigs-lnga [*sic*]. In 1319, emperor Renzong again donated 40 *bre* of silver to the private temple of Qubilai, i.e. Gung-thang *vihāra* this time to defray the cost of repairing the lHa-sa *chu rags* or dikes.

Our text (above *GT* 34b) informs us that dGa'-bde-dpal, probably in 1304 in the western direction within the Gung-thang *vihāra* complex (see also Chap. III.2 below) erected a Personal Palace, i.e. a "Memorial Hall or Chamber" devoted to Qubilai Qan. The erection of a worship hall was deemed appropriate since Qubilai was considered a *cakravartin* and a manifestation of Mañjuśrī both by the ruling Sa-skya *Statthalter* and the Tshal-pa. It was he (and his family) within the imperial house who administratively had been in charge of Tibet (since 1251); and its erection was due to his paramount role in cementing the bonds to his Tibetan vassals.

The memorial temple at Gung-thang enshrined a genealogical altar or tablet (*Ahnentafel*) equipped with either statuary or painted portrait(s) of the emperor (*Se chen sku 'dra'i pho brang*), a temple hall which served to worship and to commemorate the Dragon Throne.* A similar edifice in China clearly served as model: The *yingtang* or "Portrait [or Shadow] Hall" – each emperor usually had his personal *yingtang*. In 1263, Qubilai had ordered the construction of an ancestor temple (Taimiao) in Dadu and its eight chambers each housed a tablet of his ancestors, accommodating (like later in Gung-thang) life-like (painted, silk-woven or sculptured) portraits and statues of all former Mongol rulers. A huge portrait of Qubilai was set up in the Wan'an temple of the Baita or White Pagode in Beijing. See Franke 1994: 30–32; see also N. Steinhardt 1983 for a chronology of the seven or eight-chambered Taimiao ancestor temple.

At Dadu, the annual imperial ancestor cult was foremost dedicated to the three Chinese ancestral emperors: Fuxi Shennong, and Huangdi (see *YS* 77), and a genealogical ancestor worship was conducted in the dynastic ancestral Taimiao or Zongmiao Temple. The Mongol Qans already from the time of Činggis Qan had titulated and canonized themselves as paragon Huangdi or "august emperors" in emulation of previous dynasties, cf. e.g. Rossabi 1988: 13–36.

A row of ceremonies and sacrifices to the deceased imperial forebear was regularly conducted in Gung-thang, so e.g. to commemorate the birthday of Qubilai (e.g. on the 27th day of the 9th month (to be emended to the 23rd of the 9th month), so reported for 1323 – it may be an equivalent of the imperial long-life *wanshou qingdian* or "birthday celebrations"); see *ibid.* 14b3–4, 15a12. The personal Qubilai cult (later also including paintings ([*br*]*ri mo*) of other Mongol emperors, such as Gegen) at Gung-thang clearly underscores the often repeated statement that Gung-thang – at least as seen by the Tshal-pa – indeed was Qubilai's private temple (*sgos kyi lha khang*).

"Meaningful to Behold" (*mthong ba don ldan*) and a pitched Chinese-style *rgya phibs* roof for the Brag-lha klu-phug Cave [in lHa-sa].[480] In a Dog year [1310 / 1322 A.D.], after he had received

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Further, in 1320, sMon-lam rdo-rje again met the imperial Prince (*rgyal bu*) Chos-dpal when he received costly presents and equipment. Chos-dpal instituted that permanent butter-lamp service in front of the memorial statue of his great grand-father Qubilai Qan. The relationship between Prince Chos-dpal and sMon-lam rdo-rje was close. Cf. *Tshal rnam* 13a2–b1, 17b1–2. In the same year, the new emperor, the pious Siddiphala (i.e. Yinzong) donated him one *bre* of gold in order to conduct Mahākāla protective or deterrent rites at Gung-thang. He *inter alia* honoured him with the title and investiture of [? *sanlu*/ *chali*] *duyuanshuai* (Tib. *sha ri* [*sic*] *du dben shva*) i.e. "[Central Tibet / Tshal?-pa] Regional Commander" along with an edict and a writ (*zha fu*).

* In China, following the demise of 'Phags-pa, memorial halls (*dian*) too were erected and cult portraits and statues of him were set up in many places (see Ratchnevsky 1954: 494; Franke 1994: 310–11). Tolui (who never ruled) was posthumously conferred the imperial title Yingwu Huangdi and canonized as Ruizong by his son Möngke; cf. Allsen 1987: 38; Ratchnevsky 1970.

[480] As listed in *Tshal rnam* 13b1–3, 18b1–23b4: The draperies were set up by him in Ra-sa, Ra-mo-che and Gung-thang, etc. For this Brag-lha retreat cave associated with Srong-btsan sgam-po, cf. e.g. TBH Sørensen: 297; Larsen *et al*. 2001: 148–49.

The *phyag rjes* or physical legacies left behind by him, as reported in great detail in his biography, were sizable and included a long row of refurbishments, renovations and renewals not only in Gung-thang but all over Central Tibet, *inter alia*: A *bya 'dab* (roofed wing-shaped eaves) at Ra-sa *gtsug lag khang*, a new roof for the mGon-khang and at Ra-mo-che, and a strengthening of the lHa-sa dikes. He repaired the Brag-lha site. He further repaired and refurbished the hermitage (*bzhugs phug*) of 'Phags-pa lCe-sgom, father and son (on him, see Per K. Sørensen 1999) and the Srong-btsan sgam-po *pho brang* (cave chamber) on dMar-po-ri as well as manufactured a host of statues and [wall] paintings in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang itself. Further, he established the Bar-skor circuit of lHa-sa, the Khyams-khra-mo *lha khang*, a *bya 'dab* of the same Khyams-khra, had a *dkon gnyer* Nag-tshang-pa [granary? seat for the Jo-khang stewards] erected; a white tent over the old Bla-ye courtyard [in Gung-thang], as well as expanded the old sKu-'bum chen-mo erected in Gung-thang during the time of Bla-ma Zhang which originally had been square and equipped with four *parisaṇḍa* but with one adjacent chapel temple only. In order to expand it, in the four directions, sMon-lam rdo-rje erected a chapel equipped with statues of basic deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* as well as with a *rgya phibs* roof with murals, etc. He instituted sacrificial services of worship as well as erected a roof over the Memorial Hall containing painted images of Qubilai in the memorial chamber and over the [adjacent] *thugs dam* chamber [within the same complex] dedicated to Emperor Gegen (Yingzong, 1320–23). He also instituted prayer sessions for the One Hundred Syllable Mantra of Vajrasattva (*Yig brgya pa*) there. As outer support (*phyi rten*) of Emperor Gegen, he erected a silver sGo-mangs receptacle and as inner support, a statue of Vajrasattva. He further manufactured at Tshal, an eight-*thangka* set depicting the transmission of the precious bKa'-brgyud lineage. From 1337 until 1347, he successively donated and equipped the mChod-khang chen-mo Hall with grand *gdugs* or canopies and other objects of worship. He further expanded the outer wall (*lcags ri*) around the Gung-thang precinct, differently sized walls in the southern direction. He refurbished the shelves (*kun dga' ra ba*), vestibule (*sgo khang*) equipped with clay statues of the Four World Protectors in Chinese style, along with turrets and a roof. He instituted seasonal worship and sacrifices of commemoration of emperor Gegen on a grand scale, of his predecessors and ceremonies for releasing the summer retreat (*dgag dbye ston mo*) at Chos-'khor-gling, etc as well as at Yang-dgon etc. Further, he instituted an annual distribution of provisions during the summer retreat sessions for practising *sgom chen* who resided in the hermitages located in the mountains situated to the north and south of sKyid-shod. He offered *mang ja* distribution to the monks communities of the *stong skor* of gTsang, requested one sKu-'bum thang-pa to render extensive service to and to repair the bSam-yas *vihāra* and he had teachers and pupils of Tshal-pa commissioned to renovate the temple of 'U-shang-rdo dPe-med bKra-shis dGe-'phel lha-khang after it had burned down; he had the sKar-chung rDo-rje-dbyings lha-khang renovated too after it had been destroyed by sand. He ensured that the Yer-pa lHa-yul *vihāra* was repaired, by one gTsang-ston. Further sites which were renovated include Mal-gro, sTod-lung (mTsho-smad) and 'Phyongs-rgyas Ro-skam. In lHa-sa, he relaunched the annual commemorative sacrifices (*dus mchod*) to Srong-btsan sgam-po [in Jo-khang]. He established in

presents in gold given by the Ya-rtse [i.e. Seṃjā] king [Ripumalla],[481] he erected a pitched *rgya phibs* over the central chapel dome of the Jo-bo [Rin-po-che Statue] and the Thugs-rje chen-po [Mahākaruṇika Statue in lHa-sa 'Phrul-snang],[482] a *gañjira* for the 'Bum-mo-che, as inner support for the Large Golden Statue of his [fore]father [in Tshal] [he erected a Vajradhara Statue],[483] and as outer support a most wondrous gilt dome-receptacle (*gser 'bum*) [a bKra-shis sgo-mangs receptacle]. To the north of the 'Bum-mo-che, he [further] erected a *lha khang* equipped with a pitched *rgya phibs* roof.[484] As *gsung rten* objects he had a precious [set of] the *bKa' 'gyur* consisting of 250 volumes manufactured,[485] whereupon [he] took up residence in dBus-gling [to practise meditation]. Based upon the [costly] presents [donated by] Dar-'bag-pa *Si tu* rDo[-rje] rin-[chen], he manufactured an endless [number] of splendid golden *gser 'phan* draperies [called "Endless Lustre" (*gzi brjid mtha' yas*)].[486]

Age 45, in an Earth Dragon year [1328 A.D.], on the 27th day of the first [lunar] summer-month, he took the *pravrajyā* and *upasaṃpadā* [vows as a fully ordained monk] with *Jo gdan mkhan chen* bSod-nams-dpal-ba functioning as *upādhyāya*, [the ruling] Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba* Byang-chub dpal-bzang-po serving as *karmācārya* and *mkhan chen* Shes-rab mgon-po as secret preceptor,[487] amidst a pious monk-body [consisting of] 24 [monks]. He established dPal kyi Ri-bo of the south[488] and in Tshal he erected the 'Od-gsal 'Phrul gyi lha-khang. Competing with the glorious magnificence of the Ruler of the Wheel of the Three Realms [i.e. Indra] [in terms of glory and repute] and seen

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sGrags a seat called mTho-ris Thar-pa-gling. At Shun-'phrang, he erected a temple. At places of difficult passage such as sNa-bo-gdong (unidentified), he erected rest-places and guest-houses, etc.

[481] *Tshal rnam* 19a4–6; See Richardson 1977: 187; TBH Sørensen: 463; Petech 1980a: 377; Taring, *passim*. The parallel texts corroborate that the Ya-rtse king Ripumalla in 1313 A.D. offered a golden roof (*gser thog*, *dbu thog*) to cover the chapel of Jo-bo Rin-po-che. On the relation between the Ya-rtse rulers and the sTod-Tshal school, see Everding 2000: 365–385.

[482] See Richardson 1977: 168–174. His biography reports how sMon-lam rdo-rje the same year (1322) visited the lHa-sa sde-bzhi [= lHa-sa], and how he saved the life of a sheep about to be slaughtered as well as ransomed other animals (*srog blu mdzad*).

[483] *Tshal rnam* 19a6–b1, 20a6, 42b1, 63a7: he erected a *nang rten* of dGa'-bde-dpal in Gung-thang *vihāra*, namely a grand gilt statue of Vajradhara with backrest. He also erected the gSer-'bum lHo-ma as outer support for the deceased Yang-dgon *rin po che* [i.e. the 10th throne-holder Śākya-'bum] as well as a grand gilt statues of Rig-gsum mgon-po, considered the *thugs dam* statues of the 8th *dpon chen*.

[484] See above.

[485] For the extensive printing and writing activities of Buddhist canonical texts. See *Tshal rnam* 20b1–6.

[486] The Si-tu is otherwise unknown but must have been active at the Mongol court. See *Tshal rnam* 20a5–6.

[487] Cf. *verbatim Tshal rnam* 27a5–b4, 39a6–b1 (listing the mainly Vinaya teachings he received from his ordination teachers). For Jo-gdan mkhan-chen bSod-nams-dpal; see below 36a. Shes-rab mgon-po may be the one listed as a representative of the "Lineage of Ordination" transmitted by Śākyaśrībhadra. BA Roerich 1072. The ordination ceremony was followed by a large *ston mo* and the release of prisoners, etc.

[488] See *Tshal rnam* 22a4–6, 27a3, 42a, 49b2–50b5, 52a1. sMon-lam rdo-rje erected the dPal gyi Ri-bo hermitage in 1322. dPal gyi ri-bo'i gzims-chung thog-kha is also mentioned where he repeatedly resided. It refers to the estate of dPal-ri gZims-khang which is mentioned as seat of the protector Thog-btsan-pa (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 132). The latter is called dPal-ri Thog-btsan-pa in the Tshal-pa tradition and is said to reside on the mountain behind 'Bras-spungs (i.e. the Ri-bo dGe-'phel? but see below 37a, fn. 501). Repeatedly mentioned in the writings of the 5th Dalai Lama.

In fact, sMon-lam rdo-rje in 1335, 1341 and 1344 repeatedly resided in dPal gyi Ri-bo hermitage where he received teachings from Ri-bo-pa. Cf. *Tshal rnam* 45a2–b2.

from the perspective of religion, he also composed countless written treatises such as the *Zhang bka'* [*b*]*rgyud rnams la gsol 'debs byin rlabs rgyun 'phebs,*[489] the *Sems bskyed chen mo* according to the Tshal tradition,[490] and the *Biography* [*rNam thar*] of *mNyam med Śākya ye shes*, etc. too.[491] His fame and renown covered all areas [of Tibet]. The teaching of the Tshal-pa monk-body [**36b**] spread and it is [universally] known that the power [of Tshal-pa] during this period expanded greatly. He executed the office of *dpon sa* for 33 years. He passed away at the age of 64. Just as in former times, *rJe* sGom-[pa] Tshul[-khrims snying-po] had handed over to Zhang Rin-po-che [the responsibility] of both gTsug-lag-khang of lHa-sa [i.e. Jo-khang and Ra-mo-che], and just as [later] *dbon* Dar-ma gzhon-nu, uncle and nephew, or how *dbon* Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub who belonged to the lineage of mGar settled down [there], these *drung chen* too manufactured inside the gTsug-lag-khang statues of the Dharmarāja [Srong-btsan sgam-po along with his two] Queens, father and mother (*Chos rgyal yab yum*), statues and hollow [figures] (*gsob*) of the peaceful and wrathful [forms] of dPal[-ldan] lha[-mo] [Śrī Devī sisters],[492] [and built] the external Vestibule and the Door-Keepers Ma-mGon[493] including a door made from rosenwood [*Acacia catechu*, known as bKra-shis khri-sgo].[494] Putting on display the extensive respect [he held towards these local manufactured statues and images], he build an outer dike [to protect lHa-sa and the temple's objects from flooding] and such feats of his are [indeed] beyond description.[495]

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[489] Full title: *Zhang 'Tshal pa'i bka' brgyud rin po che la gsol 'debs pa byin rlabs kyo rgyun 'bebs*; cf. *Tshal rnam* 4ob4.

[490] Full title: *Zhang 'tshal pa'i lugs kyi kyi sems bskyed chen mo Byang chub lam gyi gru rdzings sems bskyed pa'i cho ga bar pa*, *Sems bskyed pa'i cho ga bsdus pa*.

[491] For his spiritual training and studies; cf. *Tshal rnam* 28b6f. For his scriptural production, see *Tshal rnam* 40b–41a. Most deplorably, none of these most important sources written by sMon-lam rdo-rje seem to have survived. He also wrote a *brgyud pa'i rnam thar tho yig*. Further important texts indited by sMon-lam rdo-rje *inter alia* included: *Bla ma rin po che'i rnam par thar pa Dri ma med par gsal ba*, *rJe btsun Ri bo pa'i rnam thar gSal ba'i sgron me*, *gSan yig Nor bu'i phreng ba*, *Zhang 'tshal ba'i lugs kyi bde mchog ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang bskur rgyas pa'i cho ga Rin chen phreng ba*.

The *Bodhicittotpāda* was based upon the Bla-ma Zhang or the Tshal-pa tradition stemming from Abhayakāra. The *sādhana* and *abhiśeka* of the Saṃvara cycle were based upon the Luipa-system stemming from Bla-ma Zhang. The *rDo rje phag mo* practice transmitted acc. to Bla-ma Zhang. The six-limbed yoga (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*) [of the Kālacakra tradition] acc. to rGva-lo. The Zhang cycle of *Mon pa gdong bka' rgya ma*, etc. It also includes his *gsan yig*, the list of former and contemporary teachers from whom he received a large number of teachings.

Dung-mtsho ras-pa Shes-rab rgya-mtsho (ord. name: Rin-chen bzang-po) is reported to have donated many gifts to sMon-lam-pa and Kun-dga' rdo-rje; *gTer ston lo rgyus* 113b3; *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 523; mKhas-grub 2005: 243–46.

[492] Cf. Richardson, 'The Jo-khang', 259; see also Appendix IV.

[493] The *sgo bsrungs* Ma-mgon (> Skt-Tib. = Mahākāla-nātha and consort). We find statues of Ma-mgon-gnyis in numerous monasteries; so e.g. in mTshur-phu monastery, cf. *mTshur phu dkar chag* 146. The protective or tutelary dual deity form is also called Ma-mgon lCam-dral (*ibid*. 349, 362) which probably is a form of Gur-mgon lcam-dral (Pañjara-Mahākāla, Brother-and-Sister), at the side of this deity appears *inter alia* also the dPal-ldan lha-mo 'Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma, one of the three dPal-lha sisters of lHa-sa and Protectress of Gung-thang. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 49; Willson and Brauen 2000: 345f. A Ma-mgon is mentioned together with rDzong-btsan (of Grib) as the one who invited Dvags-po sGom-tshul to lHa-sa. Cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 448.5–6; a parallel entry in *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* and in *lHo rong chos 'byung* 178.16–17 has dPal lha-mo and Grib rDzong[-btsan], whereas *sGam po pa'i rnam thar I* 269.4 has Chos-skyong mGon-po, Rematī and rDzong-btsan.

[494] Cf. *Tshal rnam* 18b1–19a3; *lHa ldan dkar chag* 17, 25, 27, 29, 44; Taring nos. 13, 17, 30, 31.

[495] Cf. also *Tshal rnam* 14bf., 18b3f. In addition, sMon-lam rdo-rje erected the Bar-skor (= the *nang skor* of the *'Khor sa chen mo*) and the pitched golden roof of Brag-lha klu-sbug; cf. *Bod kyi deb ther* 108.5.

[10] [*Drung chen* Kun-dga' rdo-rje]

Thereupon *drung chen* Kun-dga' rdo-rje [1309–1364/65 A.D.][496] – an emanation of Mañjūśrī – ascended the office of the *dpon sa*. He was born in a Hen year [i.e. 1309 A.D.] as son of *drung* [*chen*] sMon-lam [rdo-rje], Age five, he [already] mastered [the art of] writing and reading and had [intuitively] comprehended all the Dharma-cycles of the Tshal-pa, wherefore he merely [needed] to behold all knowable things (*jñeya*) [i.e. phenomena] to comprehend them [instinctlively]. Age 15, in a [Water] Pig year [1323 A.D.], he was elected to the office of the *dpon sa*.[497] Age 17 [i.e. *ca*. 1325–26 A.D.], he went to China [to reconfirm his appointment], on which occasion the emperor [granted him] an audience and thus [received him] favourably. He was granted one large *bre* of silver, the value equalling eight gold *srang*,[498] silk and brocade and a silver seal, along with golden ornaments and [finally] an edict which proclaimed [i.e. authorized] that the formerly [donated] lay communities [in Central Tibet were still to remain under the Tshal-pa jurisdiction]. He thereupon returned to dBus, where he was [given] a welcome reception and a feast of joy beyond imagination.[499]

He exchanged the great stone-plates of the pavement [in the courtyard] (*rdo bcal chen mo*) and had the wall-paintings [**37a**] along the Bar-[b]skor [alleys] [re-]painted. As [inner] receptacle for his father he erected a grand golden statue, a silver-plated ossuary (*dngul gdung*) [in the form of a] bKra-shis sgo-mangs [shrine], and had a [set of] *bKa' 'gyur* consisting of 260 volumes manufactured.[500] [He thereafter] settled down in dBus-gling [to practise meditation]. He established

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[496] His father was sMon-lam rdo-rje and his mother Jo-mo rDo-rje-'bum of Zha-lu. Cf. *Myang chos 'byung* 167 (one Tshal-pa dPon-mo-'dzoms 'Bum dpal-shi is also recorded who married Zha-lu Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan). According to the Zhva-lu chronicles (TPS Tucci 660), a daughter of a certain mTshal-pa dPon Ka-ra (*sic*) had relations with the Zhva-lu Nam-mkha' mchog-grub dpal-bzang-po. See also *Mi sna* 393–95. In 1351–52 A.D., Kun-dga' rdo-rje, after having relinguished his office, similarly took ordination and henceforth carried the name dGe-ba'i blo-gros. He was considered a manifestation of the celebrated imperial calligrapher lDan-ma rTse-mang (according to a *gter lung* prophecy by Guru Rinpoche).

Interestingly, in almost every Mongolian historiographic treatises, it is purported that it was the Sa-skya Kun-dga' snying-po (alt. Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje), who on behalf of the Tibetans offered his submission to Činggis Qan in 1207, thus establishing the first contact between these peoples. Both candidates for such a connection are untenable and an anachronism and myth – already discussed by a number of scholars, cf. TPS Tucci 9; P. Ratchnevsky 1954: 490; Heissig 1959: 69. The Sa-skya master lived 1092–1158 A.D. and Kun-dga' rdo-rje 1309–64 A.D. There was contact between the Mongols and Tibet in 1207 (see the contact to Činggis Qan addressed above), yet the first proper contact was established in the 1230's only, through the Tshal-pa teacher Grags-pa seng-ge and later the devastating invasion of 1240 into Tibet (both into dBus and gTsang provinces).

[497] Confirmed in *Tshal rnam* 27a3–4: When sMon-lam rdo-rje reached the age of 40, he transferred the Tshal-pa'i *khri skor* to his son. Enthroned during the first month of 1323, for details cf. *ibid*. At that point, *dishi* Kun-dga' blo-gros [rgyal-mtshan] (1299–1327) arrived in Tibet; cf. TBH Sørensen: 57. The *dishi* (appointed 1315 until his untimely demise 1327) returned to China in 1324.

[498] This equivalence is confirmed *Si tu bka' chems* 46.12–13 = *Rlangs* 146.2–3.

[499] The 3rd Karma-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje in 1331 (~ 1333) received on behalf of Kun-dga' rdo-rje, the title of *si tu* (Instructor) and the triple-jewelled (= *nor bu gsum*?) seal of first rank official (Ch. *yipin*[*guan*]; Tib. *ping gcig pa'i dam kha rim gsum pa*); cf. *Tshal rnam* 15a5–7; Petech 1990b: 86–87; van der Kuijp 2004: 30–37. The first rank here seems impossible. The imprints of seals issued to minor vassal rulers were mandatory in use in connection with all official correspondence and documents.

[500] For minute details behind the erection of sanctuaries following sMon-lam rdo-rje's demise; see *Tshal rnam* 59bf.

[the hermitage of] Ri-bo dGe-'phel.[501] His power and his wealth were beyond conception. Having executed the office of the *dpon sa* for 28 years,[502] he handed over the office to his younger brother Grags-pa bshes-gnyen. Based upon prophecies from his *yi dam* and [spurred by other] dream-signs, he took his full ordination as a renunciate [in the presence of] Don-zhags-pa Sangs-rgyas rin-chen, with whom he had earlier a close connection. [Kun-dga' rdo-rje] received the name dGe-ba'i blo-gros, and so Don-zhags-pa became known as *mkhan chen* Sang[s]-rin-pa.[503] The latter had also preached many teachings in the environs of Gung-thang such as Chos-skor-gling.

This *drung chen* was well-versed in all [fields of knowledge such as] *mantra*, philosophy, *āgama, upadeśa, sūtra* and *śastra,* [and thus possessed] an excellent level of knowledge. The *bKa' 'gyur* compiled by the *drung chen* personally is now known as the Tshal Compilation (*Tshal sgrigs*).[504] At the time when Bu-ston *rin po che* [1290–1364 A.D.] was invited to [Tshal by dGe-ba'i blo-gros] for the revision and consecration of [the edition, Bu-ston said]: "Since I am compelled to give an answer to the Tshal-pa dpon-po [Kun-dga' rdo-rje], it is no suitable that I arrive [there merely] for my own pleasure." Taking along many books, he reputedly studied along the way [to Tshal in order to be well prepared].[505]

Chos rje Karma-pa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje [1340–1383 A.D.] too was invited [to Tshal Gung-thang] where he requested [and received] many teachings of *sūtra* and *mantra.* After explaining [dGe-ba'i blo-gros] [the visions] of his former [reincarnation] rebirth stories, [the Tshal-pa Lord] was filled with faith [in him].[506]

All the *bKa' 'bum* and the *bKa' rgya* [*ma*] texts of Zhang Rin-po-che which had [previously] been scattered in [different] directions, were compiled into one collection, whereupon the transmission of their reading authorization (*lung rgyun*) and the transmission of the writings (*dpe rgyun*) were disseminated in a manifold way. Presently, [**37b**] these utterly pure transmissions of the reading authorization and of the books of *Zhang bKa' 'bum* and *bKa' rgya* [*ma*], which have been

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[501] Ri-bo dGe-'phel hermitage (dGe-'phel ri-khrod) is perched on the dGe-'phel dBu-rtse mountain that towers behind 'Bras-spungs (cf. Ferrari 102; *HSLG* Vol.6: 51; Chan 1994: 156). The mountain, one of the lHa-sa'i Ri-chen-bzhi, is classified as a *bla ri* of the Tibetan people and considered the seat of the 'Bras-spungs protectress rDo-rje grags-mo-rgyal. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 190, 483; App. IV: fn. 11, *passim*.

[502] 1323 + 28 = 1350 or 1351 A.D. During his tenure, Tshal is said to have reached the culmination of its power, so *Si tu bka' chems* 47.16–19 = *Rlangs* 147.7–8.

[503] Cf. BA Roerich 1023. gZhon-nu-dpal lists him among the holders of the Avalokiteśvara teaching cycle stemming from rTsa-mi and Ba-ri *lo tsā ba*. He later came to sPyan-g.yas ("the strictest monastic college," as he calls it) where he died.

[504] Cf. H. Eimer 1983: 10. It refers to the *ma phyi* or original version of the Canon manufactured by Si-tu dGe-ba'i blo-gros at Tshal Gung-thang. It was commonly known as *Tshal pa bka' 'gyur*. The Tshal *spar ma* ed. of *bKa' 'gyur* purportedly was kept in 'Bras-spungs; cf. *DL5 I* 213b6; *DL5 Thob yig IV* 146a1–3.

[505] Cf. also *Bod kyi deb ther* 108.15–18, *DL5 Thob yig IV* 146a1–3.

[506] Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (the later 4th Zhva-nag Karma-pa) came to Gung-thang on invitation of *si tu* dGe-blo-ba (i.e. dGe-ba'i blo-gros, *alias* Kun-dga' rdo-rje) in 1358 A.D.; cf. *Deb sngon* 591.10-12 (BA Roerich 498); *lHo rong chos 'byung* 244; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 954, 957; *mTshur phu dkar chag* 382–83, 392–93. See also Schuh 1977: 143. The text in *GT* is almost identical with the wording in *Deb sngon*. The visit paid by the young Rol-pa'i rdo-rje to Tshal (similar to the visit and audience with *ta'i si tu* Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan, *Deb sngon*, *ibd*.) were "visits of legitimation," where the young Karma-pa sought confirmation for his coming candidacy and position as the 4th Karma-pa.

transmitted through the Omniscient Great 5th [Dalai Lama], continue uninterruptedly and this is [not least] due to the kindness of this [*dpon chen*].[507] Among the chain of compositions [of Kun-dga' rdo-rje], he made a commentary on 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che's *gSol 'debs dGos re skong ma*.[508] Since the passing of 'Gro-mgon, 160 years have passed.[509]

Furthermore, he assumed responsibility extensively in a wide range of [areas within the field of] the Buddhist teachings and [also] within worldly affairs such as composing innumerable written treatises, the *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar,*[510] the *Tshal pa'i deb ther chen mo* [i.e. *Deb ther dmar po*] and its *Supplement* [known as] *Deb ther mKhas pa'i yid 'phrog,*[511] etc. The [number of] converts, [the extent of] wealth and of resources [amassed during his tenure] were all boundless as the sky. He passed away at the age of 57 [1364 A.D.].[512]

[**11**] [***sPyan snga* Grags-pa bshes-gnyen**]

Thereupon *spyan snga* Grags-pa bshes-gnyen,[513] who was the younger brother of Kun-dga' [rdo-rje], took over the office of the *dpon sa* for six years.[514] After his power had expanded, he even ascended the see of Yang-dgon.

[**12**] [***Drung chen Rin po che ta'i si tu* dGe-legs bzang-po**]

Thereupon *drung chen Rin po che ta'i si tu* dGe-legs bzang-po [1342–1390/1391 A.D.] [appeared]. He was born as son of *drung chen* Kun-dga' rdo-rje in a Horse year [i.e. 1342 A.D.].[515] Age 13, he

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[507] *lHo rong chos 'byung* 203–04 (cf. also *ZhK*, *passim*) lists the earliest transmission of the different parts of *bKa' rgya ma* through Dar-ma gzhon-nu and his pupils. For the details of the initial Mss-compilation executed by Kun-dga' rdo-rje and transmitted through the 5th Dalai Lama, cf. the lengthy exposé of the transmission of the *bKa' 'bum* and the *bKa' rgya ma* in *DL5 Thob yig II* 88b6–99b2.

[508] This refers to the commentary to Bla-ma Zhang's abbreviated biographical sketch called *dGos 'dod re skong ma*, made by Kun-dga' rdo-rje and written 1353 with the full title *'Gro mgon rin po che'i rnam thar bsdus pa dGos 'dod re bskong ma'i grel pa* contained in *ZhK II* 532.1–575.4.

[509] 193 + 160 = 1351–52 A.D.

[510] Due to a most fortunate coincidence, this utmost rare biography written by Kun-dga' rdo-rje has recently surfaced in Beijing and thus made available to scholarship: it must be the same *dbu med* Ms which Dung-dkar purports he once consulted; cf. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 509. The title of the unique work is *dPal ldan dge sbyong chen po zhes pa Tshal pa drung chen sMon lam pa'i rnam thar kun dga' rdo rjes mdzad pa* (Ms 1b1–79a6). bSod-nams don-grub in his *Bod kyi lo rgyus deb tho* 333 incongruously and evidently falsely (as confirmed during an interview with him in lHa-sa 2002), lists a *Tshal pa drung chen sMon lam rdo rje'i rnam thar* written by one dPon Sangs-rgyas bzang-po (non-extant).

[511] A major source for the early and intermediate Central Tibetan and Tshal-pa history. The text is deplorably still not accessible, but must have been in circulation in the 18th cent. since it apparently was consulted by 'Jog-ri-pa. Significantly, the existence of a Ms-copy of this utmost rare historical text is confirmed by Dung-dkar Rin-po-che who states that he personally inspected and made use of this *Deb dmar* Supplement called *mKhas pa'i yid 'phrog*, a text in the possession of the office of the "Political Consultative Conference of TAR" (Bod rang-skyong-ljongs chab-srid gros-tshogs) in lHa-sa; cf. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1698–99.

[512] See e.g. Dung-dkar's edition of the *Deb dmar*, 1981.

[513] *Mi sna* 394 renders his name as Grags-pa shes-rab.

[514] I.e. he ruled approximately from *ca*. 1351 until 1355–1356 A.D.

[515] He was evidently also addressed as dGe-sbyong-ba in a number of sources (see fn. 138 above). dGe-sbyong evidently does not refer to dGe-ba'i blo-gros as suggested by *mTshur phu dkar chag* 383. It appears that this form was used for Kun-dga' rdo-rje and sMon-lam rdo-rje. He was prophesied in *Blon po bka'i thang yig* 521–22 as a

was elected to the office of the *dpon sa* [*ca*. 1354 A.D.]. Winning the favour of the Great Emperor of the East (*shar gong ma rgyal po*) [i.e. Toγan Temür, rl. 1332–1368]), at the same time he was granted the title of *si tu* [Grand Imperial Instructor], as well as a silvery seal (*dam kha*), presents in form of silver amounting to one large *bre*, brocade and silk and a decree which proclaimed [i.e. reconfirmed] that the formerly [donated] lay communities [in Central Tibet were still to remain under the Tshal-pa jurisdiction]; and [finally he received] wondrous golden butter-lamps for the Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po. He erected a huge gilded statue for [his deceased] father, quite a number of *gser 'bum*, as well as an extensive [number] of [relics] of the three [aspects of body, speech and mind] such as a *nang rten* for [his uncle] *spyan nga* Grags-pa bshes-gnyen [**38a**] and the gNas-brtan lha-khang of the bDe-yangs [college]. Having established retreat centers in Ra-kha-brag,[516] and in Rag, etc. he founded numerous monastic communities and he established anew excellent relics of the [aspects of body, speech and mind].[517] For the monk-body too carried

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manifestation of Nāropa (and of Bla-ma Zhang): *nā ro pa zhes paṇḍi ta / thub bstan stong dang bzhi brgya na // lha sa'i dkon gnyer zhig tu skye // dge ba'i mtshan can rta lo pa // sangs rgyas chos la rjes yi rangs // chos mdzad rnams kyi 'tsho ba sbyor // bla ma zhang gi sprul pa 'byung /* Cf. also *Si tu bka' chems* 107.2–3, 108.9–10 = *Rlangs* 203.5, 204.12–13, which reports that *si tu* dGe-legs-pa in 1350 A.D., barely nine years old, was taken [Mongol-style] hostage (*bu gte*), and secured as pawn for security for a short period in the warring conflicts in Central Tibet. Cf. also *mTshur phu dkar chag* 392.

[516] The "copper mine mountain" of Ra[g]-kha-brag (~ Ra-kh/ga-brag; other readings: Rva-kha, cf. *lHa sa gnas yig* 74 for this etymology) situated in the Dog-sde area, north-east of lHa-sa (see e.g. *Ka khol ma* 97.13, 157.11; *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 538; *lHa ldan dkar chag* 5.8; App. IV: Graph 1). The hermitage was est. by this Tshal *dpon* but was later appropriated by the sNe'u-dpon Nam-mkha' bzang-po followed by the dGe-lugs-pa. Tsong-kha-pa himself and e.g. his disciple and biographer Ku-cor *rtogs ldan* (i.e. Sangs-rgyas dpal-bzang) (1386–1445 A.D.?) are reported to have gone into retreat at Rag[s]-kha cave in 1407–09; cf. *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 287, 305.3–5; Kaschewsky 1971: 154. Following the passing of Tsong-kha-pa in 1419, the following year a grand commemorative offering was conducted by Byams-pa *chos rje* at Ra[gs]-kha-brag/Rva-kha-brag cave sponsored by sNe'u governor Nam-mkha' bzang-po. Cf. *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 576; Tsepak Rigzin 1993: 60. This event served as a forerunner for the later annual dGa'-ldan lnga-mchod chen-mo celebrated on the 25th day of the 10th lunar month. The hermitage complex accomodates a lNga-mchod-khang.

To the left and the right of the hermitage, we find recluses of main disciples. It was safeguarded by sGrub-khang dGe-legs rgya-mtsho accounting for why Ra[g]-kha-brag hermitage was re-established 1707 and later counted among the cherished retreat sites belonging to Se-ra monastery (Se-ra sGrub-khang-rtse; see e.g. *Se ra chos 'byung* 612–15). It belongs to a number of *ri khrod* sites situated in the hills north of Se-ra, such as the Se-ra-rtse sGrub-khang, Brag-ri, the eastern and western Ke'u-tshang *ri khrod* and the hermitages of Phur-bu-lcog and mKhar-rdo (i.e. the later mKhar-rdo bSam-gtan-gling monastery). See *Sle lung rnam thar* 360a2; *Grva sa chen bzhi chags tshul* 10; *HSLG* Vol. 6: 55–64; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1885; *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 83; Ferrari 42–43, 103 and especially, Chos-'phel, *lHa sa gnas yig* 72–78. The latter two were known as retreat sites of Zhang Rin-po-che (above fn. 417). The place Ra[g]-kha is occasionally mentioned in the lit.: *rDo ring rnam thar* 198; Petech 1972: 59.

[517] Rag[s] (from "Embankment") is the name of a village not far from the entrance to the valley leading to Yer-pa (cf. *Kyichu Map* in Taring; Aufschnaiter 1956). One speaks also of Rags-phu and -mda.' The place thus appears to be identical with the site of the Rags-btsun dgon-pa situated in Rags-phu (a nunnery, related to the mDo-mkhar family hence their secondary clan-name Rag[s]-kha-shar/shag (east of Ra[gs]-kha); Rags-kha'i gling-kha; cf. *HSLG* Vol 6: 66; *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 12a: 29°41'N 91°13'E; a Ra-shag *sprul sku* line existed). The 5th Dalai Lama, upon his return from China in 1653, arriving via 'Phan-yul and 'Brom-stod, was welcomed at Rag[s]-mda' by crowds of monks; see also *DL7* 441; *Ga zi gdung rabs* 407a3. The present Rags village may be related ethymologically to the "[water-]embankments" (*chu rags*) which once stood here (see App. II). It has been suggested that the name orginally corresponds to the old *yul dpon tshan* of Rakśa (personal communication P. Wangdu; see App. IV: fn. 58).

Khri byang rnam thar 7a2, 115b2–3 and *Shar rtse chos 'byung* 834–49 conversely records a (different) Ra[gs]-skor

out on a regular as well as an seasonal basis ritual services and he manufactured anew most wondrous *'chams* costums for the protector Ma-mGon[518] which gave the impression that it in reality embodied gnosis (*ye shes pa*). During the *Me tog mchod pa* festival[519] [the *'chams sku*] was brought onto the stone-paved courtyard in front of the silken appliqué *gos sku* [wall *thang ka*]. It is said that this was the filled statue of lHa mGon-po [i.e. Mahākāla] that earlier had been installed in the Rag gi dgon-pa[520] and only later installed in the Chos-skor [~'khor]-gling [school]. His power and his wealth [in limitlessness] resembled the vastness of space.

In an Ox year [1361 A.D.], [his oldest son] *tre hos* dPal-'byor bzang-po was born, in a Horse year [1366] [the latter's brother] *spyan snga* Legs-pa rgyal-mtshan [i.e. the later 13th Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba*] was born and in a Sheep year [1367 A.D.] [the youngest son] Drung-slob-dpon-pa Legs-ldan bzang-po was born. [*Ta'i Si tu* dGe-legs bzang-po] executed the office of *dpon sa* for 17 years.[521] Prior to and after [the tenure of] this [ruler], rGyal-sras dNgul-chu Chos-rdzong-pa Thogs-med bzang-po [1295–1369 A.D.], dPang *lo*[-*tsā-ba*] *chen-po* [Blo-gros brtan-pa] [1276–1342 A.D.][522] and *lo chen* Byang[-chub] rtse[-mo] [1303–1380 A.D.][523] etc. were successively invited

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or Rags-mgor of sTod-lung (= Rva-skor located in sBang-mtsho of bDe-chen *xiang* (loc. 29°52'N 90°46'E), where the 85th dGa'-ldan throne-holder and the 2nd Khri-byang Blo-bzang tshul-khrims dpal-ldan (1839–1899) were born (former seat of sKyer-sgang-pa and his lineage; also written Rva-skor: 29°53'N 90°46'E in bDe-chen *xiang*; cf. Chos-'phel 2004c: 112–13). Again, both must be differentiated from the Rag-ma of 'Phan-yul mentioned below (see fn. 670).

[518] Cf. fn. 493 above.

[519] The Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa* held during the *sa ga zla ba*. It is classified as one of the "Four Great [Popular] Offerings of Central Tibet" (*dbus kyi mchod pa chen po bzhi*), viz.

1. lHa-sa bCo-lnga mchod-pa, or the "Fifteenth [Full Moon] Offering of lHa-sa"
2. Gung-thang Me-tog mchod-pa, or the "Flower Offering of Gung-thang"
3. Rva-sgreng Khu-byug mchod-pa, or the "Cuckoo Offering of Rva-sgreng"* and
4. Lo gNam-gang mchod-pa, or the "[The Thirtieth] New Moon Offering of Lo Monastery" (see fn. 411 above)

Cf. e.g. bsTan-pa mkhyen-rab 1995: 43. The Flower Offering (*puṣpa-pūjā*) of Gung-thang is said to have been introduced by Bla-ma Zhang. It appears to be rooted in or represents a revival of the dynastic and early post-dynastic tradition of the 'Three Baskets Offerings,' the oratory and public Tripiṭaka recitation introduced during the reign of Mu-ne btsan-po (cf. *Nor bu'i chun po* 152f.; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 290). For a short description of the Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa*, see Richardson 1993: 87f.; 'Brong-dgon 2000, *passim*; Lo Sems-dpa' 2002; bsTan-pa mkhyen-rab, *op. cit*., and Part II: App. IV for details.

* Also erringly 'Khor-yug mchod-pa. For an essay on the Rva-sgreng "Spring Offering," cf. Grags-pa dkon-mchog 1996. The Cuckoo Offering (staged from the 1st until the 17th day of the 4th month) allegedly counted among the four celebrated bKa'-gdams Seasonal Festivals, resp. called The "Eight Month Offering" (Bya-zla mchod-pa), Khu-byug mchod-pa, Me-tog mchod-pa, and the 15th Day of the 10th Month Offering or Nya-drug mchod-pa, included is also the dGa'-ldan lNga-mchod Festival traditionally staged every year on the 25th day of the tenth lunar month; cf. *Tsong kha pa rnam thar* 576–77.

[520] See above fn. 517.

[521] He thus ruled approx. 1355 until 1370–71 A.D. According to *Deb sngon* he however still appears to have been in office in the late 1370's; thus it is said that the "*si tu* dGe-slong-ba of mTshal" together with the official of sNel-pa arranged the reception for bKra-shis dpal-brtsegs (the 9th sTag-lung throne-holder) in 1378. BA Roerich 639. *gTer ston* Sangs-rgyas gling-pa repeatedly visited Gung-thang, for the first time in the mid-1350's and finally in 1367; cf. *Sangs rgyas gling pa'i gter 'byung* 13, 68.

[522] This eminent scholar e.g. wrote the *brDa sprod pa'i gzhung sNying po gsal ba* at Gung-thang in 1339 A.D. See also P. Wangdu and Diemberger 1996: 69.

[523] Other sources give 1315–1392. On his activities in the lHa-sa area, cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 367; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 569–70; BA Roerich 639. Cf. fn. 137 above.

[to Tshal Gung-thang],[524] whereupon [dGe-legs bzang-po] he functioned as patron (*dānapati*) for the extensive turning [i.e. preaching] of the wheel of the expansive and profound Dharma such as the dharma cycles of *Kālacakra*, as well as many dharma cycles of the bKa'-gdams [school]. During that period close to one thousand *vinayadhara* and extremely many householders were given the eye of intelligence [i.e. won insight through these masters], whereupon they were brought to maturation and liberation. Even as a serious epidemic broke out [**38b**] somewhat prior to that, it was brought to an end due to the magic power of these [masters] and many prisoners guilty of henious crimes were also brought to liberation. Having entered the door to the precious Teaching of the Jina, Si-tu personally completed his *upasaṃpadā* vows and thereafter took up residence at the retreat center of Rag. While making [there] spiritual realization the focal [point of his activity], he [finally] passed away at the age of 52.

[**13**] [***Tre hos* dPal-'byor bzang-po**]

Thereafter *tre hos* dPal-'byor bzang-po [1361–1390 A.D.] was elected to the office of the *dpon sa* at the age of ten.[525] Winning the favour of the Great Emperor, he received the title of *tre hos*,[526] as well as received presents in form of a donation of silver amounting to one large *bre*, silk and brocade, a silver seal along with [the aforementioned] edict (*'ja' sa*). His power and wealth were great, and he held the office of *dpon sa* for 21 years. At the age of 31, he passed away.

[**14**] [***Drung slob dpon* [Legs-ldan bzang-po]]

Thereafter Drung slob-dpon [Legs-ldan bzang-po] acted merely nominally as *dpon sa*,[527] he took up residence in dBus-gling where he practised realization for [achieving] complete liberation.

[**15**] [***Tre hos* dGa'-bde bzang-po**]

Thereafter *tre hos* dGa'-bde bzang-po [1386–1409/10 A.D.][528] came to the *dpon sa* office. He was born as son of *tre hos* dPal-'byor bzang-po in a Tiger year [1386 A.D.]; at the age of 11 [i.e. *ca*. 1396 A.D.] he was elected to the seat of the *dpon sa*. He erected as *nang rten* for his [deceased] father a huge golden statue and as *phyi rten* a huge silver-plated ossuary (*dngul gdung*). In commemoration [of the passing] of his father, at the point when the All-knowing Lord [bTsong-kha-pa] for the first time instituted the *sMon lam chen mo* [Ceremonies of] lHa-ldan,[529] he functioned as patron

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[524] In fact a number of illustrious masters were invited during the rule of dGe-legs, such as e.g. Dol-bu-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1292–1361 A.D.) and the 4th Karma-pa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (the latter actually was invited by Kun-dga' rdo-rje, above 37a, fn. 506); cf. Stearns 1999: 32–33.

[525] He thus ruled from 1370 until 1390 A.D.

[526] Also *tre pos*, *tres hor*; cf. TPS Tucci 688 (fn. 123); dPal-'byor bzang-po acted as patron to bTsong-kha-pa.

[527] Although not substantiated, he possibly ruled 1390 to *ca*. 1395–96 A.D.

[528] Tenure *ca*. 1396 until 1409/10 A.D. In *Deb dmar gsar* 107.4–7 and *bSam yas dkar chag* 75 dGa'-lde bzang-po is named Grags-pa bzang-po.

[529] Inaugurated in lHa-sa in 1409 A.D. Cf. the very detailed, itemized exposition of the donors and their donations in *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 295–339; see also Kaschewsky 1971: 158–169. Among the numerous patrons, the key sponsors who provided endowments and donations for the initial implementation of the different activities during the fifteen days of the grand and costly *sMon lam chen mo* ceremonies were, firstly, the overall ruler of Central Tibet, the Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, under whom minor district chiefs like the sNe'u *dpon* lHun-grub rgyal-mtshan, the Brag-dkar *nang so* chief, further the dPon mDzes-pa, Jo-bo Sa-la, bSod-nams-'phel, dGe-'dun-'phel, along with numerous distinct communities successively presented an extensive amount of donations.

(*dānapati*) in accordance with the past incidents on the 13th day of the Month of Miracle (Cho-'phrul zla-ba)[530] – on the very day where once the exalted *dānapati* emperor Shunzi[531] himself had functioned as *dānapati* – Bhagavat [Buddha Śākyamuni] displayed a sheer endless number of wondrous miracles such as having at the end of each ray of light that emanated from the navel of Bhagavat's own body a Buddha manifesting themselves miraculously etc. after which he brought countless gods and human beings to maturation and liberation [**39a**]. [In accordance with this, *tre hos* dGa'-bde bzang-po too] made offerings to the [local] monk congregation and to the two Jo-bo Śāk[yamuni Statues in lHa-sa].[532] For the sake of the [*sMon lam chen mo*] Ceremony, he donated 250 *khal* of *rtsam* [*pa* flour], 120 *khal* of butter, and as basis for the [merit]-transferrence (*sngo rten*) three blocks of tea (*ja sig*), 11 animal torso of dry meat to be used for [the grinding and the preparation of] porridge, four *zho* of gold, 100 *khal* of barley to be used as grain for offering, and for the butter-lamps an extensive amount of butter etc. and [thus] he [was able to] conceal treasuries of resources that served as a field of merit (**puṇyakṣetra*) [for future generations].[533] Being favourably welcomed by the Great Emperor, in continuation of the former [tradition of granting privileges to the Tshal rulers], he received the title of *tre hos* as well as [numerous] presents, etc.

Both prior to and after the [tenure of] these *drung chen* [listed above], [prominent figures such as] Byams-chen chos-rje [*chos gyi rgyal po* Śākya ye-shes] were born into the lineage of the Tshal-pa too.[534] Because of him, the Se-ra Theg-chen-gling was founded [in 1419 A.D.], and there the Tshal-pa *dpon chen* erected anew an excellent statue of Maitreya, more than two storeys high, along with a Maitreya Chapel (Byams-khang), and had offerings made, etc. On a regular basis they endowed offering utensiles too, etc. Thereafter, following the behest issued by mTshungs-med Gung-ru-ba chen-po [Chos-rje rGyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po] [1383–1450 A.D.][535] addressed to Kun-mkhyen Byang-[chub] 'bum-pa [i.e. Byang-chub-'od], the requirement that [he] establish

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The Tshal Gung-thang contributions among these donors: for the commemorative service of the 13th throne-holder *spyan snga ba* Legs-pa rgyal-mtshan, the monk community of Tshal Gung-thang offered donations, as well as did the Yang-dgon-pa privately, Bla-ma Sher-rin-pa of 'Bum-mo-che, the monks of dBus-gling, *slob dpon* Kun-rgyal-ba, and the *gnyer dpon* Grags-pa seng-ge. As delineated in our text above also, in commemoration of *tre hos* dPal-'byor bzang-po, the *tre hos* dGa'-bde bzang-po (cf. *ibid*. 332) donated the aforesaid quantity of items.

A number of prominent scholars visited Gung-thang during his tenure, such as *ta'i si tu* Chos-rgyal Rab-brtan Kun-bzang-'phags (1389–1442), one of the ruling princes of rGyal-rtse, in 1409; *rGyal rtse chos rgyal rnam thar* 43.1–8. Incidentally, that very year Gung-thang is counted among the *rdzong gzhis dgon sde* of dBus, which would suggest that its status at that point was subordinate to the Phag-gru. Gung-thang would serve as model for the *vihāra* of the rGyal-rtse rulers.

[530] The first Tibetan lunar month, the month Buddha Śākyamuni displayed various miracles whereupon he refuted the heretics. Cf. *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 331–32; Richardson 1993: 27–30.

[531] The period in question corresponds to the reign of Ming Chengzi (rl. 1402–1424), Cf. *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 312. Sperling 1983: 339f.

[532] For his religious service rendered to Ra-sa, see *lHa ldan dkar chag* 34–35. The same text (*op. cit*., 11.19–20, 17.7–8, 24.2–3, 28.3, 29.2–3, 44.2–3) repeatedly lists the service, repair-work and installation of religious objects conducted by different Tshal-pa *khri dpon*.

[533] Other sources also confirm the Phag-mo gru-pa as the actual patrons of the (first) lHa-sa *sMon lam chen mo* and other Tsong-kha-pa institutions, represented by *gong ma* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and his governor in sNe'u rdzong, *drung chen* Nam-mkha' bzang-po. Cf. e.g. *Bod kyi deb ther* 174.19; Kaschewsky 1971: 159.

[534] Cf. above 19b, fn. 188.

[535] The third throne-holder at Se-ra, see *Se ra chos 'byung* 44–49; *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 217–18; *VS* 138.

a *grva tshang* was given. He took the gTsug-lag-khang [of lHa-sa] as [financial] basis for the Byams-khang of the Tshal-pa. The way in which the Ser-smad grva-tshang [was established] and how it originated is elucidated in great detail elsewhere.[536] The *tre hos* executed the office of the *dpon sa* for 14 years. He passed away at the age of 25.

[**16**] [***sPyan snga* dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan**]

Thereupon *spyan snga* dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan[537] [followed as ruler], but he again [was compelled] to hand over the lay territories ([*mi*] *sde*) of Gung-thang including the gTsug-lag-khang to [the Phag-mo gru-pa ruler] *gong ma* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan [1374–1432]:[538] On the eighth day of the tenth [lunar] month of a Sheep year [1415 A.D.], when the [new] caretaker (*gnyer pa*) dGyes-rgyal mkhan-po [**39b**] had arrived [at Tshal], Gung-thang suffered [some] damaging incursions from the army [of the Phag-mo gru-pa?]. Until then more than 220 years had passed since the foundation of Gung-thang.[539] Thus it is maintained in the Supplement Volume (*lhan thabs*) to the *Deb ther chen mo* of Tshal-pa [Kun-dga' rdo-rje]. Although, moreover, it appears that four or five generations [of ruling *dpon sa ba* followed *spyan snga* dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan][540] no records of these [rulers] have [as of yet] come to light. [Anyhow] during the reign of the All-knowing Great 5th [Dalai Lama], it is maintained in the *Biography of Zur*[*-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol*] (*Zur rnam*):

> "The Yang-dgon *spyan-snga* sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho[541] sojourned on the throne of Yang-dgon [monastery in Tshal]. Having worked in an extensive manner for the sake of the

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[536] This *grva tshang* is known as Thos-bsam nor-bu'i gling. The 8th Dalai Lama wrote a *bca' yig* to this institution, *Thar lam gsal bar byed pa'i nyi ma*. Cf. *Se ra chos 'byung* 276f.

[537] He later became *gdan sa ba* of Yang-dgon (no. 14), father of the 19th *gdan sa ba* Rin-po-che bSod-nams rgya-mtsho.

[538] The tenure of this mighty ruler of Tibet as the 5th *sde srid* of Phag-mo-gru-pa at rTses/d-thang lasted between 1385–1432; prior to this date he was abbot of rTsed-thang, 1381–85; cf. e.g. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 387–89. The exact date of the Phag-mo-gru appropriation of the Gung-thang complex and its territories which thus heralded its gradual decline – at a period when Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang also was appropriated – is still unknown, but was possibly in around 1410 A.D, (cf. *rGyal rtse chos rgyal rnam thar* 42–43) when the transition in tenure from dGa'-bde bzang-po to dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan took place. We know that precisely *mi dbang* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was the powerful ruler who remained strongly supportive of Tsong-kha-pa (but also of other denominations, such as the Karma-pa, and the 'Brug-pa, etc.) and during the inauguration of the *sMon lam chen mo* in lHa-sa and, not least, he was the key person in the renovation, expansion and donation of religious items, primarily to Jo-khang, but also other holy sites in the area such at Gung-thang; cf. *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 295–339.

In 1433, the 3rd Zhva-dmar Chos-dpal ye-shes (1406–52) visited Gung-thang; cf. *Kam tshang brgyud pa* 246b1.

[539] 1175 plus 220 results either in *ca*. 1393, or, counting from 1187 + 220 years (more tibetico), suggests that the year corresponds to 1415 A.D.

[540] In Thang-stong rgyal-po's biography a Tshal-pa *dpon po* (also called Tshal Gung-thang-pa) rNam-rgyal bzang-po for the period around *ca*. 1445–47 A.D. is registered, pupil of Thang-stong; cf. *Thang stong rnam thar I* 244.18–245.2; *II* 288, 325; *III* 331–38 reports his visit to lHa-sa in 1437 and how the area that year witnessed a major famine with a resultant high death toll. Through the intense prayers of this thaumaturge, the disaster eventually was alleviated.

The Indian (Chittagong) master Vanaratna visited Tshal Gung-thang in 1453, cf. Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho's biography of Vanaratna (Ehrhard 2002c: 48–49).

[541] He regularly turns up in Zur-chen's biography where he is registered as a pupil of Zur-chen. From this source, e.g. *ibid*. 122a5–b2 (= 243.5–244.2), he attended on and rendered service in connection with the funeral rites in the wake of the passing of Zur's father Zur-chen gZhon-nu don-grub (1563–1641 A.D.). The Yang-dgon *spyan snga* himself passed away in 1649 A.D. according to Zur's biography.

Teaching and for living beings, he passed away in an Earth Ox year, being the [23th] year called *virodhin* of the 10th *prabhava*. Since the lineage of mGar sTong-btsan yul-bsrungs expired [with his passing], the territories [under the jurisdiction] of the treasurer (*nang so*) of Yang-dgon were immediately confiscated by bDe-chen[542] without even allowing for

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[542] At thus point the bDe-chen seat was controlled by *sa skyong* bSod-nams rab-brtan. The fortress of bDe-chen-rtse, originally a residence of the Brag-dkar *rdzong dpon* or *nang so* (being different from Bye-ri sTag-rtse of sTag-rtse village, east of Zhogs).* The fortress on Mt. rDzong-ri in present-day bDe-chen (the sTag-rtse county capital) is listed by Klong-rdol bla-ma as one of the 13 great *rdzong* which Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan established at central points throughout the conquered areas of dBus and gTsang (cf. *Bod kyi deb ther* 139.2–3).** It is given as Brag-dkar gSang-sngags bDe-chen rdzong, a name which combines originally two different establishments, the Brag-dkar *rdzong* situated in present-day Brag-dkar-zhol (south of Gru-bzhi, Map 1.b) and the bDe-chen-rtse fortress at the foot of which Tsong-kha-pa founded the gSang-sngags-mkhar monastery (fn. 547). The *rdzong* of Brag-dkar was the original seat and it appears that bDe-chen-rtse only formed a kind of outpost of the early Brag-dkar ruler. bDe-chen *pho brang* or *mkhar* was still in the 1520's in the hands of the "Brag-dkar-ba *yum sras*," but appears already in about 1534 A.D. to have been appropriated by the sKyid-shod-pa; cf. *DL2* 381, 587; *DL3* 46a5–6.*** Thus, from the mid-16th cent. both fortresses adhered to the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod sde-pa local rule, who initially had been retainers of the sNe'u *rdzong*. Under the effective rulers Don-grub rgyal-po and bKra-shis rab-brtan (see below fn. 694), the sKyid-shod sde-pa (with its main seat now in bDe-chen-rtse *alias* sTag-rtse-rdzong) became stout supporters of the dGe-lugs order (in the period of the 3rd Dalai Lama), but they are also registered, at an earlier point, as supporters of other denominations, such as the Karma-pa (cf. e.g. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1169.12–17), sTag-lung-pa and in particular the 'Bri-gung-pa. See also fns. 699, 724; *HSLG* Vol. 1: 1–13. The 4th Dalai Lama visited bDe-chen and Brag-dkar in 1604; cf. *DL4* 33b6–b5. The sKyid-shod-pa lost the bDe-chen estate (after it was ransacked and destroyed) in 1618, the place was looted by the gTsang troops, and after the victory of the united dGe-lugs front in 1621, the sKyid-shod-pa were compensated for the loss of bDe-chen with mKhar-rtse of 'Phan-yul confiscated from the 'Bri-gung-pa. It was, as already said, taken over by the 1st Regent bSod-nams rab-brtan. See also Table V.12.3.

* The ruling line of Bye-ri sTag-rtse – last headed by Shag-pa Tshe-dbang rnam-rgyal – was on the brink of extinction when it through matrimony merged with the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa in 1525; see Table V.12.3 below. It is reported that it was offered to the 17th 'Bri-gung throne-holder (in around 1548 or 1555 by the sKu-rab[s] *sde pa* of Dvags-po.+ but he initially refused; *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 207), it was later approriated by the same 'Bri-gung-pa (seat of mNyam-med Chos kyi rgyal-po) and, after destruction in the early 1600's, it was refurbished in the late 1620's (after the 23rd throne-holder had married a lady of the gTsang *sde srid*), as the seat known as rNam-par rtse'i gzhal-yas-khang. In 1641, the 'Bri-gung-pa lost it to the sKyid-shod-pa; cf. e,g, *Chos grags rnam thar I* 168–170, 205–06; *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 275.

** According to Klong-rdol bla-ma (*gSung 'bum* II 448.2f.) the thirteen administrative centers include:

1. sNe'u-gdong *rdzong* (i.e. the main seat of the Rlangs Phag-mo gru-pa in Yar-lung, the palace was originally founded by *khri dpon* rDo-rje-dpal in 1254 (or 1258); see CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 39); for a new study, see Czaja 2006.

2. Phying-ba sTag-rtse'i *rdzong* (i.e. Phyong-rgyas *rdzong* of 'Phyong-po valley; above fn. 425). The governors descended from the Hor family (*Bod kyi deb ther* 163f.)

3. 'Ol-kha sTag-rtse (in Central 'Ol-kha; cf. *Bod kyi deb ther* 177f. Geographical location: 29°22'N 92°18'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 247a); headed by the Myang clan. The 'Ol-kha governor bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan was patron of rJe bTsong-kha-pa.

4. Byi-ru (= Bye-ri) sTag-rtse of dBus-stod (i.e. the sTag-rtse *rdzong* situated in sTag-rtse village east of Zhogs in present-day sTag-rtse county (App. V: Fig. 74, 75). Geograph. location: 29°50'N 91°29'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 91a; *HSLG* Vol. 1: 1ff).

5. Brag-dkar gSang-sngags bDe-chen *rdzong* (i.e. the aforementioned bDe-chen *rdzong* at the entrance to the valleys of Ba-lam (-shar, -nub) and Shing-tshang. The Brag-dkar governors (headed by the family of the Tsong-kha-pa patron Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po) were from the Myang clan, more precisely from a branch of the Myang lineage in Yar-lung; cf. *Bod kyi deb ther* 171f.; *Deb dmar gsar* 96b; Tucci 1972: 236. Cf. Table V.12.2 below.

6. lHun-grub *rdzong* of 'Phan-yul. The ruins of the old fortress are located above gSum-'phreng village, Geograph. location: 29°58'N 91°15'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 50b; *HSLG* Vol. 4: 1ff.

7. *gzhis kha* sNe'u *rdzong* situated in sNe'u due west of Ra-ma-sgang south of lHa-sa; today no more extant; it was destroyed by the flood waters of sKyid-chu (geograph. position: 29°37'15.7"N 91°03'34.5"E; the original *rdzong*, however, is said to have been located on the neighbouring hill where some remains of ruins are to be found, a site locally known as Gekhar (= dGe-bo-mhar; see Table V.12, fn. 1). The sNe'u chiefs (or the family of Nam-mkha' bzang-po (fn. 562), respectively) are said to came from the sGyer/sGer clan; cf. *Deb dmar gsar* 100b; Tucci 1972: 240).

the autumn harvest to be collected, wherefore [the funding for] the erection of statues and relics etc. became like a drought cloud during spring."[543]

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8. Yar-rgyab Gong-dkar *rdzong* in sKyid-shod-smad (seat of the ruling house of Yar-rgyab (Fig. 81); governorship ruled by the Thu clan (= Thon-mi, the lineage with its original territory in the Thon valley, east of sNye-mo; Map 2); cf. *Kun dga' rnam rgyal rnam thar* 14f.; *Bod kyi deb ther* 178f. Geograph. location: 29°17'N 90°58'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 109b).

9. Chu-shur (~-shul) *rdzong* (i.e. Chu-shur lHun-po-rtse; below Fig. 62. Geograph. location: 29°21'N 90°43'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 114a; *HSLG* Vol. 8: 1ff.).

10. Yar-'brog dPal-di'i (dPal-sde) *rdzong* (located in Yar-gzigs-phu of dPal-di *xiang*; geograph. location: 29°07'N 90°21'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 154a; on dPal-di/sde, see also fns. 254, 422).

11. Rin-spungs *rdzong* of Rong (i.e. seat of the Rin-spungs hegemons of the 15th–16th cent. Their estate was called rNam-sras-gling. The sKyer (= s/dGyer, sGer) clan served as lineage of the Rin-spungs governor; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 25f., *et passim*. Geographical location of Rin-spungs: 29°15'N 89°48'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 339b). See Czaja 2006.

12. rGyal-mkhar sTag-rtse'i *rdzong* in Upper N/Myang (in rGyal-rtse: 28°55'N 89°37'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 209).

13. Pa-[r/s]nam lHun-grub *rdzong* in M/Nyang (west of rGyal-rtse); *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 499, see also fn. 450 above.

Bod kyi deb ther and *Deb dmar gsar* (Tucci 1971: 210) list Gong-dkar, Brag-dkar, sNe'u, 'Ol-kha sTag-rtse, bSam-grub-rtse and lCags-rtse Gri-gu. In a similar way, the Ta'i si-tu's biography (in *lHo rong chos 'byung* 379–80 and *Rlangs Po ti bse ru* 361.5–362.4) which also gives the dates of foundation: gZhis-k[h]a Gong-dkar in around 1350 A.D.; Rin-spungs established in the year of the foundation of the great Dharma college of rTsed-thang, i.e. in 1352 A.D.; in 1354, bSam-grub-rtse was founded (alt. 1360 [*lcags khyi = byi*]); in 1356 sNe'u; in 1357 Brag-dkar (i.e. the *rdzong* of present-day Brag-dkar-zhol); then 'Ol-kha sTag-rtse (est. 1358 A.D.), 'Phyong-rgyas sTag-rtse and Gri-gu sTag-rtse (1359 A.D.). The latter formed one of the 12 *gzhi kha* of the Phag-gru *khri skor* established by rDo-rje-dpal in the 1250's. It is situated at Gri-gu lake, south of 'Phyong-po (CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 31, 39–40). bSam-grub-rtse, seat of the later gTsang *sde pa* is listed by Klong-rdol bla-ma as one of the *rdzong* which have been reconstructed in the same period (see also *Myang chos 'byung* 182). The other ones: lHa-rtse'i *rdzong* of gTsang-stod, rDo-mkhar *rdzong* of sKyid-shod (= gDong-mkhar *rdzong* (cf. TPS Tucci 692), in Lower sTod-lung) and the Srong-btsan sgam-po'i *pho brang* dMar-po-ri (*gSung 'bum II* 448.8–11).

*** The destruction of the old Brag-dkar *rdzong* (App. V: Fig. 67) and its relation to bDe-chen is spoken of in a fragmentary local account: The ruins are called Brag-dkar Phu-mo khang-ba by the locals and said to have been the residence of a powerful mother and her daughter (i.e. the Brag-dkar *yum sras* mentioned above?) who used to send regularly a servant called Dam-can Chos-rgyal (the oath-bound Dharmarāja) to bDe-chen (of Ba-lam) in order to buy meat (for Brag-dkar). At one of his errands, the servant did not arrive in time for which he was scolded by the Phu-mo. The Brag-dkar-ba, however, were not aware that the servant (described as a figure with horns on his head) was the wrathful deity Dam-can who subsequently avenged the insult by destroying the fortress. Later the deity would be tamed by Tsong-kha-pa, the local hero of the story, who made him his personal protector and protector of his religious seat (meaning the neighbouring dGa'-ldan monastery; see Chan 1994: 144) – The ruins are located on a hill above today's Brag-dkar-zhol village (geograph. position: 29°41'N 91°25'E; *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 88a); Not far to the south, the dGe-lugs-pa foundation of bKra-shis-ljongs (the sKyid-shod-pa established there a *bla sprul* line centuries later) was situated which later belonged to Kun-bde-gling of lHa-sa. Today the monastery is abandoned; its chief *srung ma* was the *chos skyong* Shugs-ldan who also functioned as the local *yul lha* of the Brag-dkar-zhol area. Cf. also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 141.

+ The seat of the influential *sde pa* sKu-rab was in sKu-rab rNam-rgyal in the sKu-rab valley, south of gTsang-po river in eastern Dvags-po (in present-day sNang *xian*). For an early mention of sKu-rab[s], see *Rva lo rnam thar* 291.17. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1162.2: *dGyer gyi gdung rigs rgyal chen sku rab pa*. The area is located west of the La-thog valley, the latter known as the origin place of the *Zur lugs* medical tradition (with Zur referring to the old *rdzong* of La-thog Zur-mkhar). The dominating lineage of both areas was the dGyer, which originally constituted a branch of the dGyer-pa of rGya-ma (TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 255, *et passim*). Further to the east is the sKyem-stong valley where the impressive imperial "Lishan tombs" are located (i.e. in Sleb of sKyem-stong); it corresponds to the ancient mChims-yul (see Hazod 2006). Both, the ruling house sKu-rab and sKyem-stong traditionally used to control the entrance to the holy rTsa-ri district. See Huber 1999, s.v. index.

[543] *Verbatim* extracted from *Zur chen rnam thar* 162a2–5 = 324.2–5 (cf. also 122b5–6 = 243.5–6). The only words missing in the original biography is the reference to the year and its corresponding year cycle. It is here added by the author 'Jog-ri-pa. In fact sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho passed away in 1649 (not as here 1589).

[Zhabs-drung Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan]

Again, according to the oral tradition of others, it is said that *zhabs drung* Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan was the last descendant of the Tshal-pa lineage. Corroborating something similar [we read] in the Section *Cha* of *The Biography of the Great Fifth*, *Being an Exquisite Piece of Dukūla Silk* (*lNga pa chen po'i rnam thar Du ku la'i gos bzang*) that in the Water Hen year of the 11th *prabhava*, on the 15th [fullmoon] day of the fourth month, the Tshal[-pa] *zhabs drung* Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan passed away in Lo Sa-ma.[544] Since [he had] no issue, the territories were left for one full year [under the jurisdiction of Tshal] [before they were confiscated]. Thereafter, in addition to the [ensuing] governmental confiscation (*gzhung bzhes*) and after the dismissal as estate administrator (*gzhis gnyer*) of Brag-gdong to Upper rGyal [i.e. rGyal-phu],[545] [still the funding in the form of an endowment] for the flow of merit[-bestowing offerings] (*dge rgyun*) [at different monasteries conducted by the Tshal monks][546] remained intact [throughout the following years] as in former times: on an annual basis, the *Bhairava* [rituals] of rGyud-stod, rGyud-smad and gSang-sngags-mkhar [monasteries] were made,[547] the expenditures in connection with [the ceremonies of] the lHa-sa *sMon lam chen mo* [**40a**], the regular ritual offering services for Ra-mo[-che] and gNas-chung[548] etc., the propitiatory rituals (*bskang gso*) conducted on the 29th [day] each month,

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[544] Reading of the text uncertain, otherwise this Lo is unknown (according to the context it may refer to a place in rGyal of 'Phan-yul (foll. note); a Lo-tsa or Lo-tsag is located close to rGyal lha-khang; *HSLG* Vol. 4: 28; *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 47a). Despite a close reading of the biography of the 5th Dalai Lama, this information has not been traced. The *rab byung bcu gcig chu bya* mentioned here as the date of death of Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan corresponds to 1633 A.D., which evidently is not correct.* Below (*GT* 41a) the text says that Grags-pa died 44 years after sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho (d. 1649, see prev. note), i.e. 1649 + 44 = 1693; in other words the date given by the author of *GT* have to be placed one *rab byung* later, a date which correponds to the events associated with Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan *alias* Tshal-pa Grags-pa as mentioned below (see fn. 551 below).

* More precisely, the death of the Zhabs-drung corresponds here to the *sa ga zla ba* festival of the Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa*, evidently a "corrected statement" by the author of the present text (cf. similarly the case of the dating of the Gung-thang fire). See App. IV: Chap. 5.

[545] rGyal-phu in western 'Phan-yul as district is well documented, whereas Brag-gdong or "Rock-face," hitherto remains unidentified, but may allude to a place in Grib, along the sKyid-chu where once Thang-stong rgyal-po erected an iron-bridge; cf. fn. 732 below.

[546] These passages allude to the widespread tradition of setting up a fund or endowment for the maintenance of ritual offerings at different places. Vital for the survival of institutons and as a well-earned way of enhancing and transferring religious merit (*puṇya*), such funding (of annual or permanent endowments) for the maintenance and support of the liturgic, cultic and religious practice and duties (euphemized as "a stream or flow of merit" – *dge rgyun gyi thebs*, *mchod rgyun btsugs*, *rgyun chags 'dzugs*, *mchod thebs*) gained currency and popularity, especially during the dGa'-ldan pho-brang supremacy.

[547] On the two Tantric colleges in lHa-sa, rGyud-stod and rGyud-smad grva tshang, see above fn. 190. gSang-sngags-mkhar monastery is located at the foot of Mount bDe-chen-rtse (in mid-1600's it was called bDe-chen g.Yul-rgyal-rtse; renovated or rebuilt in 1628–30 while appropriated by the 'Bri-gung-pa) of sTag-rtse in Ba-lam in present-day sTag-rtse *xian*, founded in 1419 by bTsong-kha-pa. Cf. *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 557–58 (as his patron functioned Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po (var. Rin-chen lhun-po) of the ruling house of Brag-dkar; *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 557–58; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 42b2ff.; *VS* 144–45; *Deb dmar gsar* 96b; Tucci 1972: 236; above fn. 542). In another Tsong-kha-pa *vita* (Kaschewsky 1971: 202), it is called the bDe-chen-rtse monastery of Ba-lam. Formerly it was a *sgrub khang* associated with Rva *lo tsā ba*. The first throne-holder was Dar-ma rin-chen, co-seating the dGa'-ldan see followed by mKhas-grub-rje, etc. An unseen *gSang sngags mkhar gyi lo rgyus* was composed by one Grags-pa Tshe-ring mgon-po.

[548] The temple of the state oracle gNas-chung chos-rje (est. in the 17th century). gNas-chung also designates the area around the confluence of the sKyid-chu and sTod-lung-chu.

the financial support for the exchange of the Mt. Meru [*balin* or votive cakes] for the dPal[-ldan] lha[-mo] [deity] and for Gung-thang, the expenditures in connection with the Throne Hall, as well as the allowances of the monks of Yang-dgon including those of Chos-'khor-gling, the financial support for the exchange of the ritual utensils and victory banners [in the presence of] the statue of the Great 5th [Dalai Lama installed] in the niche of the Yang-dgon 'Du-khang and [for those statues installed] in the Gung-thang Tshe-dpag lha-khang, [further] the expenditures for the winter study sessions at Tshal and for the *Me tog mchod pa* Festival, etc. [Thus] on an annual basis for the flow of merit[-giving offerings at different monasteries conducted by the Tshal monks] which obliged them to proceed [to these places], he endowed [financial means amounting to] 28,113 *khal*, six *bre* and two-and-a-half *phul* [measures] of grain annually, [a tradition which was instituted and is intended to last] until the light of the sun and the moon have cleared the darkness [of ignorance in the world]. Having rendered this in prose, it may [also be] said in [an intermediate] stanza:

"Even if the secular power of the sKyid-shod Tshal-pa in the meantime
Had been lost, still the fully pure tradition of [providing endowment for]
the stream of meritorious (*dge rgyun*) [ritual offerings prevails]
[Capable thus of] eliminating the darkness of the world through the light of the sun;
[Its sparkling] rainbow [is even capable of] competing [in brilliance] with
the glorious [lustre emitting from] the lake of virtuous excellence during summer."

According to this apposite saying, it [thus] appears that this very Zhabs-drung belonged to the lineage of the Tshal-pa. During the period of this very *Zhabs drung* too, the reverence [in form of service rendered] those paid to the above-mentioned teaching and teachings-holders was great. In particular, he manufactured a precious image of the All-Seeing Great 5th [Dalai Lama, capable of] "Subduing the Three Realms Through [sheer] Brilliance" (*khams gsum zil gyis gnon*), being one-storey high, and executed in a distinguished way [the rituals associated with the insertion] of mantric formula [and relics] (*gzung*s [*gzhug 'bul*]), as well as its [subsequent] consecration etc. At the time when [this image] was being escorted to the Hermitage of Byang-mkhar[549] [to be set up there] as the most prominent receptacle, inconceivably [many wondrous] signs [manifested themselves]: So even at the utmost narrow [**40b**] precipice along the road such as at gNam-sgo etc.,[550] the precious image – visible to everyone – all by itself made movements, such as bending backwards and leaning forwards (*dgyed gug* [~ *dgur*] *mdzad*) [thereby moving forwards], and so [they] were [finally] able to escort it [to Byan[g]-mkhar] without meeting any obstruction whatsoever [on the way]. When [formally] installed as the principal receptacle, it was [again] as before [standing] erect and majestic, being well-proportioned and immensely lustrous [etc.]; numerous signs like that were displayed which [thus indicated] that the *ye shes pa* [the divine principle of wisdom] in reality [already] rested [in the receptacle].

When, in connection with the commemorative [funeral] ceremony of the All-Seeing Great 5th [Dalai Lama], an excellent Monolith [*rdo ring*] was to be escorted from the Upper Valley of Sri[551] [in order

[549] For this retreat site situated south of Gung-thang, see above fn. 62.

[550] gNam-sgo is one of the hemitages of the Bya[ng]-mkhar mountain retreat area (above, fn. 62). The miraculous story of the image walking all by itself once it negotiated a precipice at gNam-sgo carries strong reminiscence of the legendary transfer of the Jo-bo image of Mi-skyod rdo-rje, the dynastic dowry image of Khri-btsun, on the way to Tibet from Nepal, where it similarly negotiated a precipice independently on foot; cf. TBH Sørensen 209.

[551] This is confirmed in a mural in the Potala in the Bar-khyams gallery (the mural executed 1690–94; see Lading ed.

to be installed] in front of [the place] known as Zhabs-brtan lha-khang [in the Potala], it was about to be left behind since [both] the workmen and knowledgeable experts – whoever – proved unable [to move it]. It was then precisely this very Zhabs-drung [who finally succeeded in moving it] – on account of his excellent intelligence and based upon the miracle of [his] unsurpassed skillful ingenuity which was not [capable of] having been issued from the intellectual creativity of others – he effortlessly managed to bring it to the bank of sKyid-chu river. Then [by binding together] excellent larger stone pieces that resembled beams [brought] from sKam-po Yung[552] into a raft,

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2000: 114; App. IV: Fig. 36). Here the mural scenario is captioned that it was the Tshal-pa *sde pa* Grags-pa = Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan who brought the *rdo ring* from Kri (= Sri).* This Kri'i /Sri'i *rdo ring* is also known as *rdo ring nang ma* (in contrast to the *rdo ring phyi ma*, i.e. the famous "Zhol pillar" outside the Potala)** which elsewhere is described as the pillar (without inscription) that commemmorates the completion of the construction of the *pho brang dmar po* (Red Palace of the Potala complex) in *chu bya* 1693 (see Mig-dmar rgyal-mtshan (ed.) 1987: 16). In the same year the Tshal-pa Grags-pa passed away (above, fn. 544). The description in *GT* which connects the pillar installation with the *dgongs rdzogs* for the Fifth Dalai Lama appears to be contradicting, since the death of the Great Fifth (1682 A.D.) had been made public by the *sde srid* not before 1695.

* The Sri (*alias* [d]Kri) valley situated in the (eastern) part of the Tshal Gung-thang district (above fn. 413). The area including Sri, Zhal and sKam-po-yung (see next note) was, serving as a stone quarry, the sites from where stone materials of different sorts were delivered to lHa-sa. In the local oral tradition (*ngag rgyun*), stories and tales abound how all *rdo ring* or monoliths set up in lHa-sa originated from this area (Wang Yao, pers. communication). Such stories often contain elements of how the same stones were able/made to fly or rather be slung over long distances, thus – reminiscent of the present story – expediting the cumbersome transportation of the blocks of stone. In some accounts the mentioning of a *lug rdzi* or shepherd (see also Part II: App. II, Chap. 2. 2) are found, which similarly refers to "the flying" or "the moving" of stones. The analogy to the shepherd's art of hurling his *'ur rdo* or slingshot over an appreciable distance, in other words to make it "fly" is here obvious. This faculty originally was ascribed to dGe-ba-'bum, the celebrated pioneering dike-builder, around whom stories of magically slingshooting larger stones for building dykes were spun. In actual fact, the "large stones" were transported, like here, in large boats. See also App. IV: Chap. 3.2.2.

** This pillar with the well-known inscriptions dedicated to the general and minister Ngan-lam sTag-sgra klu-gong is similarily called Sri'i *rdo ring* (Richardson 1985:2), suggesting that the monolith originated from this area or perhaps was originally installed in Sri, the latter being the core territoy of the Ngan-lam of sKyid-shod. See App. IV: Chap. 3.2.2.

[552] See also *Bod kyi deb ther* 173 (Nor-brang 1993: 427); *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 239, 522. According to the locals sKam-po-yung (*DL5 II* 3a6 e.g. variably reads sKam-po-yum; and on a mural in the Potala (prev. note) we have the spelling sKam-g.yung, etc.) is often also written or known as [s]Kam-po-lung, see Map 1b.2 (the mountain in the area is called sKam-pa shar-ri, a mountain complex which to the south and east also includes sPang-sgang-ri and Bye-ma gNam-mthong-ri; cf. Tshe-brtan dge-legs 1994). *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 96, 522, 984 lists sKam-lung together with Chos-lung (fn. 253) and Grib. Monks from Kam-yung are mentioned in the biography of Po-to-ba – mid-11th cent.; cf. *Pu to ba rnam thar I* 7a4–5. More pertinently, as part of a number of resource-rich sites in the near vicinity around lHa-sa, sKam[-po-]yung (stone quarry) is listed along with Dog-sde (gold-ore, silver-ore, iron-ore and caloitum; but also stones), gDol-pa, lHa-lung and sDig-rag (i.e. sDig-sna of 'On? but better sTod-lung sDing-kha; *DL6* 421–22; App. IV: fn. 21) (slate) as areas that supplied – on a *'u lag* basis – different sorts of raw materials to be used as building materials.* sKam-yung was earlier a settlement in the mountains south of Shan-kha, but at a later point was abandoned and the settlement transferred to the bank of sKyid-chu; nowadays it belongs to Shan-kha village. *VS* 156.17 mentions the Zhang foundation of sKam-pa-dgon which, it appears, refers to the sKam-po-yung/lung of the Tshal Gung-thang district.**

* The [*ar po*] *sa* [*b*]*rko rdo slog* construction or mining enterprise (evidently initiated by the Pho-brang *gzhung* in mid-17th cent.), as it was called, prompted not only that measures were taken for repair work to pay for the loss due to the exploitation and mining, but also that the concerned local deities (*sa bdag*) of the said areas were propitiated through various pacifying rituals on a regular annual basis to prevent them from causing havoc such as rewarding offerings of fragrant substances (*bsangs brngan*), and *klu gtor* rites, cf. e.g. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 239, 520–22; *DL6* 400, 578, 669, 734, etc. For mural illustrations of the enterprises at these sites (e.g. sKam-[g].yung and sDig-rag), where building materials, mainly stones and marl (*ar ka*), for the erection of Potala Palace were excavated at Pha-bong-ka, gDol, lHa-lung and Dog-sde; *Precious Deposits* Vol. 4: 22–23; see also Lading ed. 2000: 109–114; Liu 1989: 190–91.

they attached [air-filled] bags [made from] g.Yag[-skin] to each end [of these beams], whereupon [the image], without any delay whatsoever, was brought in front of Pho-brang chen-po.[553] Mi-dbang 'Jam-dpal-dbyangs [i.e. the Ruler [embodying] Mañjuśrī[ghoṣa], *alias sde srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho][554] has praised Similar [accomplishments of this very Zhabs-drung] accordingly:[555]

"Escorted thither – how excellent!
A miracle born from the compassion of the Victor [Jina]
The huge stones [brought about] through magic power
Derived from the transformation of the mind of the fortunate ones.
Most wondrous! Carried along by the waters of sKyid-chu in a [sailing] box [it did]
Not sink! Through the ingenuity [of the Zhabs-drung] it safely was escorted."

Thus it has been said.

Similar kinds of [narratives concerning this Zhabs-drung] have not just been transmitted orally, but [in actual fact] have also more reliably reported many times in works like the *dKar chag Thar gling rgya mtshor bgrod pa'i gru rdzing*, etc.[556] Accordingly, the way in which this miracle of [his] skillful ingenuity [operates] indeed matches [the description of similar feats of skillful resourcefulness once displayed] by *Chos blon chen po* mGar[557] or [at least] it appears that [he] indeed possessed many [similar] special marks [of qualifications which are only possessed by people] like [those] who have been born into the lineage of this very person [i.e. mGar]. [**41a**] In any case, after the passing of the Yang-dgon *spyan snga* sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho until the passing of *zhabs drung* Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan, 44 years elapsed.[558] In one way [one may actually say] that immediately after the passing of *spyan snga* [sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho] all the territories [hitherto under Tshal Gung-thang jurisdiction] were confiscated by bDe-chen-rtse[559] and previously, following the devastating fire at Gung-thang [i.e. in 1546 A.D.], the sKyid-shod

** There are several "[s]Kam" foundations of the 12th cent: the important bKa'gdams-pa seat of [s]Kam-[s]kam founded by *dge bshes* Khrom-bzher Rin-che seng-ge (from [Dvags] mChims), 1100–1170; found. date: 1137 A.D.; it is located in present-day Thang-skya *xiang* of Mal-gro county; see e.g. *lHa sa dgon tho* 154; the Bla-ma Zhang foundation of sKam-dgon in sKam-po-lung and the similar-named Rin-chen-sgang monastic dependency called sKam-dgon bDe-chen-gling established by Sangs-rgyas Rin-chen-sgang gZhon-nu 'byung-gnas (1138–1210 A.D.), the second rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang throne-holder (see Part II: App. V: Table 10).

[553] It may refer to Pho-brang dmar-po or the Red Palace completed in 1693 A.D.; see above fn. 551.

[554] The 4th Regent in the time of the 5th and 6th Dalai Lama (rl. 1679–1705); see e.g. Richardson,'The Decree.'

[555] The source for these stanza lines has still not been identified among sDe-srid's writings.

[556] In other words *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* by *sde srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho; see *op. cit*., 239, 522.

[557] Here the author refers to the popular narratives that describe how minister mGar in China succeeded in winning the hand of princess Kong-jo through various skillful means and trials of resourcefulness for his king Srong-btsan sgam-po; see TBH Sørensen: 213–242.

[558] As mentioned above (fns. 544, 545), the *zhabs drung* passed away in 1693 (and not 1633, the date in *GT*).

[559] I.e. the *rdzong* of the Brag-dkar ruler in Ba-lam which mid-16th century was appropriated by the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod sde-pa (fn. 542; Table V.12). The circumstance behind the appropriation of Gung-thang by the sKyid-shod-pa – dating back to the mid-1600 (or even earlier; see Introduction: Chap. 9.3) – may have led to the establishment of Gung-thang as an estate of the sKyid-shod-pa (headed by bKra-shis rab-brtan) called Tshal Zur-khang. In 1618, it was appropriated by the gTsang troops but soon reappropriated by the dGe-lugs faction, since the 5th Dalai Lama briefly visited it in 1630 and later also in 1655, when he made a stop-over at Klu-sdings (or the Nāga pond) of Tshal Zur-khang; cf. *DL3* 87b4; *DL4* 33a4–b4; *dKon mchog chos 'phel rnam thar* 14a7; *DL5 I* 56b6, 245b5–6.

zhabs drung Don-grub rab-brtan dpal-bzang-po [succeeded in] executing in no inferior way the renovation of the [main-]building of the Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang [including its interior]. How [he succeeded] in manufacturing a new [huge] Brocade-Thangka which were to be on display during the *Me tog mchod pa* [Festival] in connection with the commemorative [funeral] ceremony of the [Grand] Mother [of *zhabs drung*] is elucidated in [detail in] the *dGa' ldan pa'i gdung rabs rnam thar*.[560] Accordingly [it becomes clear] that it was [precisely] that very dGa'-ldan-pa *dmag dpon* bSod-nams rgyal-po who descended from the family line of Mi-chung Don-rgyal, [once] a footman of *tre hos* dGa'-bde-dpal-ba [i.e. dGa'-bde bzang-po].[561] Later, due to the vicissitudes of time, he served as footman for the gZhis-ka sNel-pa [district administrator],[562] [of]

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[560] Currently not accessible. It refers to the *dGa' ldan skyid shod pa'i gdung rabs* written by bKra-shis rab-brtan, a Ms copy of this rarest of texts is said to exist in Tibet; cf. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 254, 256. It was regularly quoted by the 5th Dalai Lama, cf. e.g. *DL4* 23b3–26a5. See also below fn. 565, 694–99.

[561] This appears to refer not to dGa'-bde dpal-ba (1254/56–1310 A.D.), but to *tre hos* dGa'-bde bzang-po (1386–1409/10 A.D), also confirmed in *Bod kyi deb ther* 182.4 which offers the family lineage of the noble house of the dGa'-ldan-pa (182.22–185.16). On Mi-chung Don-rgyal, see Introduction: Chap. 9.3.

[562] bSod-nams rgyal-po, according to *Deb dmar gsar* 107.6–9 (Tucci 1971: 242) was a son of one sNel-pa princess Ngag-dbang dbang-mo who had married a (still unidentified) dGa'-ldan khang-gsar offcial. He later served as *dmag dpon* and as *phyi blon* for the Gong-sa sde-srid of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, Ngag-dbang bKra-shis grags-pa (1480–1564; rl. 1495–1564).

sNel[-pa] (or sNe'u[-pa]) (where sNel-pa appears to be the variant name of the *gzhis ka* and sNe'u the name of the *rdzong* and fortress; otherwise in the sources indiscriminately used) of the estate of the sNe'u *rdzong* (one among the *rdzong* est. by *Ta'i si tu* Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan in the mid-14th century; see above fn. 542) was an important local hegemony in sKyid-shod in the 15th and early the 16th century (seat and palace sNe'u Brag-thog; Table V.12). As fiefship or landed estate, it initially was donated to Rin-chen bzang-po, a close ally of Ta'i si tu. During his tenure and those of his successors, the members of this house were influential lHa-sa area patrons. Re[d]-mda'-ba who entertained close bonds to the house, characterizes them at this early stage as *stobs ldan* or "powerful" in his biography (*op. cit*., 19b5). As undisputed rulers of the central part of the sKyid-shod area in the early 15th century, they were adressed *skyi shod kyi che dgu yongs kyi gtsug* or the "Head-Ornament of the Nine Great [Places] within the entire sKyid-shod Area." Under the benign rule of the *dpon po* or *sde pa* Nam-mkha' bzang-po (both the younger and the elder) and later Chos-rgyal dPal-'byor rgyal-po who e.g. served as important patrons to the dGe-lugs establishment, their patronage included the erection of 'Bras-spungs (1416 A.D.), the manufacture of innumerable receptacles, providing endowment for the *sMon lam chen mo*, the cost of the renovation of Jo-khang, as well as the printing of numerous works, etc. which they most passionately promoted and financed on a grand scale. In the early 15th century, the sNel-pa had received – reminiscent of Yüan Mongol times – the citation and imperial title of *duyuanshuai* or "General Regional Military Commander."

Intermarried with the Tshal-pa, as local political and religious patrons in the lHa-sa valley (generally known as the *bdag po* or lords of sKyid-shod and 'Phan-yul, cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1014.11–12), they served as bridge and as de-facto rulers of Tshal Gung-thang during the period following the Tshal-pa (from *ca*. 1360 or rather from 1415) until the sKyor-mo-lung-pa (from *ca*. 1517–1553) and the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa (*ab* 1550s–1620), with a brief interlude by the Karma-pa and the Rin-spungs, between 1480/98–1520 A.D. They were accused by the dGe-lugs-pa of a political *volte face* (*ca*. 1500 A.D.) during the Rin-spungs-pa reign in lHa-sa, wherefore their influence gradually diminished. See also Introduction: Chap. 9.1–9.3.1.

For a brief pedigree of this local noble house, see App. V: Table 12.1; *Bod kyi deb ther* 173–175 (= TPS Tucci: 646–48); *Deb dmar gsar* 107–108 (Tucci 1971: 223, 242); *bSam yas dkar chag* 75–76; *sKyid shod sde pa skor*. The sNe'u *dpon* was also active when the first iron-bridge was built at Grib, around 1430 A.D. by Thang-stong, across the sKyi[d]-chu; cf. *Thang stong rnam thar I* 155–57. In the mid-15th century, the sNel-pa rule is said to have extended from the threshold of 'Bri-gung [in the east] to Kha-rag rDo Bug-pa-can [in the west] and to Yar-klung Khra-'brug [in the south], before they lost their power during the time of the lord of the Rin-spungs *sa skyong* Don-yod rdo-rje

a minister [under] the Phag-[mo-]gru[-pa] [hegemony], and he was gradually rewarded [for the service he rendered], whereupon he obtained both the position and title (*cho lo*)[563] of a *dmag dpon* [carrying the name dGa'-ldan-pa]. Then, gradually [with the passing of time] on account of the decision [made by the sDe-srid gong-ma of the Phag-mo gru-pa] and confirmed with a formal decree [of investiture] (*gtan khra = gtan tshigs khra ma*)[564] and by way of a crystal seal [one of his great grand-children [also?] named bSod-nams rGyal-po[565] was eventually appointed] as [new

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(1462/63–1512 A.D.) in a row of insurgences around 1480 A.D. Cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1140f.; Dung-dkar 1991: 59–61. The sNe'u rulers during this transitional period was *sa skyong* Ngag-dbang lhun-grub and *nang so* Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (cf. *DL2* 363; *Ngag dbang chos rgyal rnam thar* 552.4).

The rapport between the Tshal-pa and the sNe'/l-pa dates back to the marriage alliance between the sNe'u *rdzong dpon* Grags-pa dpal-bzang who married a Tshal-pa *dpon mo* in the mid-15th cent. (cf. *Bod kyi deb ther* 172.2–4). The influence in this period of the sNe'/l-pa as rulers or protectors of Tshal must have been considerable, *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 601.5–18 chronicles that, during the secular rule of Kun-dga' rdo-rje or dGe-ba'i blo-gros (i.e. mid-14th century), the local dominion in lHa-sa was characterized by the words "the heyday of the Tshal-pa" (*tshal dus*) – due to the considerable fame Tshal enjoyed as a center of erudition and excellence – whereas during the period of the Phag-mo gru-pa hegemony in Central Tibet (i.e. late 14th until late 15th cent.), the rule in sKyid-shod was characterized by the "heyday of the sNe'u" (*sne'u dus*) – due to the considerable patronage, endowment and donation extended by this house.

[563] Title (*cho lo* > Man. *colo*; Mong. *čo la*; Tib. *mtshan*) refers to the later [Manchu-]Mongolian tradition (*sog po'i lugs*; so e.g. *DL5 I* 41a6–b1) – albeit originally Chinese – of conferring honours, entitlements, rank and here titles to dignitaries and nobles of the top echelon. A long-established and well-earned imperial system existed in China with nine ranks (*jiu pin*), already from the Tang dynasty. Each dynasty being a fons honorum, it served to secure loyalty and ensure recuitment, and relevant for the Tibetans, it was introduced in the Yüan period, later followed by the Ming and Qing. Especially in the mid-17th cent. – in fact from 1637 A.D. – it was actively taken over by the Tibetans themselves. The emergent dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung* as *fons honorum* conferred titles and honours upon Tibetan and foreign religious hierarchs and nobilities (*chos rje mi bzang drag rigs*) too; cf. Ishihama 1992. Among a host of titles of Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan origin count e.g. *darhan qung*, *jasay*, *tayiji*, *noyan*, *ačitu nom-un qan*, *ačitu erdeni*, *chos kyi rgyal po*, etc.

[564] Actually a decree or diploma and its settlement.

[565] The pedigree and origin of the sKyid-shod or [Nyang-bran] dGa'-ldan-pa House (the center of which originally was the still unidentified Yar-phyogs-gling) is given in *Bod kyi deb ther* 182–4 (also TPS Tucci: 648); see also *Deb dmar* gsar 108.5–11; *bSam yas dkar chag* 75–77 and particular App. V: Table 12.3 below. It appears that it was not bSod-nams rgyal-po, but one of his descendants, also named dGa'-ldan-pa bSod-nams (who was a grand nephew) and who was rewarded for his service to the sDe-srid Gong-ma (i.e. Ngag-dbang bKra-shis grags-pa) and thus became district judge of the said territories. In the relevant literature, the reign of bSod-nams rgyal-po, his wife and their scions (*yab sras*, *yab yum sras*) can be dated to the first quarter of the 16th century (*ca*. 1500–1525), they served as patrons of the dGe-lugs and were designated as bsTan pa'i sbyin-bdag dGe-ldan-pa (see *Chos grva chos 'byung* 642). This is confirmed by 'Bri-gung sources, the dGa'-ldan-pa was *dmag dpon* of sKyid-shod, 'Phan-yul and g.Yor districts; cf. *Kun dga' rin chen rnam thar III* 178–182; 580.4. He was active at the outset of the 16th cent. and called *nang so chos rje* A-bsod; cf. *Ngag dbang chos rgyal rnam thar* 555.6–7. bSod-nams rgyal-po appears still to be alive in 1541 A.D.; cf. *DL2* 611. His eldest son (grandson?) Don-grub rgyal-po soon took over (see Table V.12.3).

The local ruling house, originally retainers of sNe'u, experienced its heyday in the period *ca*. 1510/15–1625 A.D., becoming an increasingly stronger local factor with the gradual weakening of the sNe'u-gdong gong-ma. They were rulers of Tshal Gung-thang already from early 1500's, inviting the 'Brug-pa Ngag-dbang Chos kyi rgyal-po (1465–1540) to the seat in 1508. Already in the 1530's this house invited the 2nd Dalai Lama several times. During the charismatic rule of Don-grub rgyal-po, his younger brother bKra-shis rab-brtan and his successors (see below fn. 694), the support from this local house for the emerging dGe-ldan order would pave the way for the latter's immanent ascent and triumph. Deriving from the sKyid-shod dGa'-ldan-pa in the 17th century were the sTag-rtse-ba (so named after their main seat).* The last major figure was sKyid-shod sTag-rtse-pa lHa-rgyal rab-brtan who 1720 A.D. was executed for

District] Judge (i.e. Local Inspector and Arbitrator; *khrims dpon* = M. *jarγuči;* Ch. *tuanshiguan*)[566] of sKyid-shod lHo-Byang [districts, i.e. the southern and northern districts of sKyid-shod], an area foremost including [the southern and northern bank of the river sKyid-]chu[567] and lHa-ldan [i.e. lHa-sa] which belonged to bDe-chen.[568] [It should therefore be known that] even in former times the sKyid-shod dGa'-ldan-pa and the Tshal-pa outwardly were linked to one another. It therefore seems difficult to say whether one should still consider *zhabs drung* Grags-pa [Tshe-dbang rab-brtan] as belonging to the lineage of the Tshal-pa or whether he [is to be regarded as] a descendant of the sKyid-shod dGa'-ldan-pa. Even thought [his pedigree] is not clear from the *Deb ther chen mo*, I think it should be clear [**41b**] from [the latter's] *Supplement* [known as *Deb ther mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog*], etc. [To me] it appears to be so.

From the *gNas chung dkar chag*[569] by *Mi dbang* 'Jam-dpal-dbyangs [i.e. sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho it is maintained that] the *chos rgyal chen po* [Dharmarāja, i.e. Pe-har] himself [once] sojourned in Yang-dgon gTsug-lag-khang [of Tshal Gung-thang].[570] During the period of the Omniscient dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 2nd Dalai Lama, 1475–1542 A.D.], [Pe-har] left Yang-dgon in the manifestation of the Horse-headed One [i.e. Hayagrīva] only to [arrive at] Chos-sde chen-mo dPal-ldan 'Bras-spungs where [Pe-har] became [its] *srung ma*.[571] Furthermore, in the

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his participation in the Dzungar-supported government (for details *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, *passim*). The history and vicissitude of this important house deserves a separate study. It is most deplorable that two texts which recount the history of this ruling house have still not reached academic circles (albeit one of these is still extant, and had recently been consulted by Dung-dkar), namely the *sDe pa sKyid shod pa'i gdung rabs* written by *A khu* bKra-shis [rab-brtan] (cf. fn. 697 below) and an untitled supplement to this text written by *drung* Ngag-dbang Tshangs-pa'i dbyangs (d. 1724) of the Ga-zi house, the father of the eminent *literati* bKa'-blon mDo-mkhar-ba Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal (1697–1763);** cf. *Deb ther rgya mtsho* 15.

* The full name of the house, at the apex of their power, was the Bye-ri sTag rnam-par brtse-ba'i sa-skyong-ba stemming from the sKyid-shod dGa'-ldan-pa line; cf. e.g. *Mi dbang rtogs brjod* 133a4.

** Signally, mDo-mkhar-ba's mother stemmed from the line of Sras-khang gsar-pa (of 'Phan-yul), a noble house that ultimately descended from a line of one (still unidentified) Tshal-pa *khri dpon*; cf. *bKa' blon rtogs brjod* 3b3–4.

[566] In the Yüan period sources, the Judge or *jarγuči* occasionally in Tibetan sources was rendered as *khrims gcod pa*. As title, it should survive the Yüan dynasty.

[567] *Bod kyi deb ther* 184 mentions sKyid-shod lung-pa.

[568] bDe-chen here refers to the fortress bDe-chen-rtse, which belonged to the Brag-dkar estate or *rdzong*; cf. fns. 542. In other words, the dGa'-ldan-pa were recipients of the territories which formerly were under the Brag-dkar-pa. In the beginning of the 16th century, they received the remaining estates and territories of the Brag-dkar-pa, becoming the rulers of sKyid-shod-pa and hence the worthy inheritors of a core part of the former Tshal-pa territories as already hinted at by the author of *GT*.

[569] It evidently refers to Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's gNas chung *Pe har lcog gi dkar chag* in 13 fols. Zhol print.

[570] In Tshal people speak about a birthplace of Pehar. The place is marked by a small shrine, adjacent to the former *khri dpon* palace (below Graph 5). Behind this infomation the story of the arrival of Pehar in Tshal is hidden, said to have arrived from bSam-yas. One of these versions maintains that it was not Pehar, but his emanation and chief minister rDo-rje grags-ldan who arrived in Tshal and who eventually, taking the course of the river, later arrived at 'Bras-spungs (see below; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 104–106; App. IV: Chap. 5). The Pehar lha-khang is situated immediately behind Yang-dgon, today in ruins. A site regularly visited by the gNas-chung *chos rje* oracle (a porte parole or medium through which Pehar *alias* rDo-rje grags-ldan speaks). A newly erected Pehar residence to-day stands in lCags-grong village, close to Zhang's former birthplace in Tsha-ba-gru.

[571] Cf. also Karmay 1998: 361; Ladrang Kalsang 1996: 80. Initially the gNas-chung sGra-dbyangs-gling was erected by Byang-chub dpal-ldan. Later, at the end of the 17th century, the Pehar oracle temple of gNas-chung Pe-har-lcog was

Brief Biography of lCog-pa Byang[*-chub*] *dpal*[*-ldan*] (*lCog pa byang dpal ba'i rnam thar*)[572] dPe-har took possession of Tshal-pa Myriarch *khri dpon* Don-yod rdo-rje on the third day of the first [lunar] month of the Earth Ox year [1529 A.D.], and shortly after, Gung-thang caught fire [i.e. 1546 A.D.]. Based upon the prophecy which bespoke that Don-yod rdo-rje [soon] would pass away, the *khri dpon* immediately executed a *rgyal rdzong* [ritual][573] [and after Pe-har had been committed to the sKyid-chu river], [he flowed downstream and] appeared from amidst the waters at Dan-'bag dMar-ser-can.[574] Thereupon, lCog-pa [Byang-chub dpal-ldan was able to collect him

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founded by *sde srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. Karmay, *op. cit*., *ibd*.; *VS* 455; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1221–22; Nebesky Wojkowitz 1975: 444–454.

[572] Cf. *verbatim* 10a5–6 in the brief *lCog pa Byang chub dpal ldan rnam thar* by *sde srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. According to this opusculum, lCog-pa was born 1464 and age 37 (*sic*) in a monkey year (1500 A.D.?), he erected the bDe-yangs grva-tshang. This college within 'Bras-spungs was circumscribed (to the north) in the upper valley by the establishments of O-rgyan chos-rdzongs, to the east by Bon-dgon sgar-sa grva-tshang, to the west by sMan-dgon and in the lower part (south) by Dan-'bag dMar-ser-can dgon-pa where the bDe-yang site assumes the center in a *mandalic* lay-out. An image of lCog-pa was erected in 1803; cf. *DL8* 606 (see also Fig. 49, in App. IV).

[573] The ritual in question consisted of the dispatching or banishment (*rdzong ba*) of a demon (here restricted to the *rgyal* class of demons). The objective evidently was to banish Pe-har from the territory of Tshal Gung-thang. The procedure follows the usual sort of exorcism, mainly by trapping or enclosing the demon and hence to contain (and subsequently neutralize) its malicious or hostile nature or disposition in a balin figure or in figure made from clay, whereupon the object is either discarded, in most cases by being discarded to the waters of a river. According to this narrative he was picked up downstream by monks from 'Bras-spungs bDe-yangs grva-tshang and later brought to his now permanent residence of gNas-chung; cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 105.

[574] Cf. *verbatim lCog pa Byang chub dpal ldan rnam thar* 10b5f. On dMar-ser-can, see fn. 573. It is there reported how *drung* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and *drung* Don-grub rab-brtan found the object stranded on the bank of sKyid-chu. The full title of the text was also *Chos skyong chen po'i 'byung khungs*; see *dPe dkon* 11.

The location Dan-'bag – occasionally and arguably originally Dar-'bag* (i.e. "Silk Mask"?) – is an area of considerable significance, regularly mentioned in the literature. It is registered on most older lHa-sa Maps. The locale on the western outskirts of lHa-sa boasts great antiquity. In the ancient, but celebrated narrative of the two monks from Khotan – a crucial legend employed in the Avalokiteśara cult in Tibet to corroborate divine origin of Srong-btsan sgam-po – Dan-'bag-thang is mentioned as a last station before the monks reached lHa-sa; see TBH Sørensen 304. The toponym appears also in the account of Kong-jo's arrival in lHa-sa (*Maṇi bka' 'bum* 215b4; see App. IV: Chap. 2). 'Bras-spungs and hence gNas-chung are located in the area of Dan-'bag. The local 'Bras-spungs protector Dan-'bag zhal-ngo occasionally plays a role during ceremonies at gNas-chung. From the founding story of 'Bras-spungs, we are informed how in 1415 A.D. during a visit to sNe'u[-rdzong] (opposite to Dan-'bag on the southern shore of sKyid-chu river) the founder 'Jam-dbyangs *chos rje* bKra-shis dpal-ldan (1379–1449 A.D.)** received indication of the future site, envisaged to be located in Dan/r-'bag-mda'/-thang which was said to be a tract of land replete with [topomantically promising] watery pools. Occasionally also called Dan-'bag-mdo where visiting dignitaries used to pitch tents and camp. In fact, the low-lying area of Dan-'bag was marshy. It was regularly overflowed by sKyid-chu river which often reached up to and just below, the somewhat elevated area at the foot of Mt. dGe-'phel upon which 'Bras-spungs rests.*** The upper part of Dar/Dan-'bag (consisting of -phu and -mda') is more precisely called Rin-chen-sgang. The adjacent marshy Dan-'bag rKyang-thang-sgang**** area of lHa-sa is reported in different contexts (App. IV: Chap. 2), most infamously as the decisive war-scene in 1621 A.D. between the warring dBus and gTsang armies. A Dan-'bag Gling-stod is registered too. In the area the Dan-'bag sPyang-ki chu-kha is located: the "Wolf's Rivulet" that flows through the Dan-'bag na-kha marshland, a cherished camp-site e.g. when the Fifth Dalai Lama arrived back from China in 1653. In the 17th cent., a Dar-'bag khang-gsar is registered in the lHa-sa area, the residence of some Karma-pa hierarchs. In Dan-'bag is located the mTshan-nyid gling-kha, where an assemblage camp was set up during the enthronement in 1822 of the 10th Dalai Lama; cf. *DL10* 107, 111–13.

from the water] and requested [him] to become the basis of his worship [and to remain there as protector, etc.].[575] Such descriptions also exist, wherefore it is quite conceivable that a [certain] *khri dpon* [named] Don-yod rdo-rje have existed between *tre hos* dGa'-bde bzang-po and the Yang-dgon *spyan snga* sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho.[576]

Sources e.g. *DL5 I* 315b2; VS 104.11–19; *'Dzam gling rgyan gci*g 105, 723; *Zur chen rnam thar* 235.6–236.2; *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 582.10–584.8; *Paṇ chen blo bzang rnam thar* 116-18; *Grva sa chen bzhi chags tshul* [B] 29–34; *Rang byung zangs* 11; *Deb ther kun gsal* 244; *Sa skya gdung rabs* [*kha skong*] 367; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1486; Dung-dkar 1991: 64; *Shakabpa Guide* 24; see also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 132, 232.

Interestingly, persuing another "route" than the one taken by Pehar in our story, when Mongol troops advanced upon Central Tibet by raiding sKyid-shod 1641 A.D. the monks and population of Tshal Gung-thang fled via Chos-lung-mda' (located upwards on the northern bank of sKyid-chu: 29°39'N 91°19'E, in present-day sTag-rtse *xian*), crossing the waters of sKyid-chu upwards to reach safety at Dan-'bag and finally at 'Bras-spungs.

* Another early form Dan-phag-brag, perhaps a simple misspelling, is registered in *Nam mkha' dpal rnam thar* 32.4. Still, Dar-'bag seems to be the original form, used until the 16–17th cent.

** Cf. *bKra shis dpal ldan rnam thar* 42–45; *'Bras spungs dgon bca' yig* 290–91; *sMon lam chen mo'i bca' yig* 328–29; *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung II* 348b2–49a6. *dBu ma byung tshul* 15b4 reads Dar-'bag lung-pa'i *mda*'. Erected upon an early settlement (called the Dan-'bag gNas-chung seat of the 12th cent. erudite Dan-'bag-pa sMra-ba'i 'od-zer. bKra-shis dpal-ldan incidentally was considered an incarnation of gNyos rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa (among a host of other rebirths; *ibid.* 87).

*** As regularly reported in contemp. sources, the extensive flooding of lHa-sa often encroached upon areas up until the foot of 'Bras-spungs reaching eastwards up to Se-ra; so e.g. in 1680 A.D. (cf. *DL5 III* 195a3–6). Dan-'bag was formerly (1960–70's) registered as a *gongshe* or commune adhering to the Lhasa Municipality. During the earlier dGa'-ldan Pho-brang *gzhung* it was administratively under Zhol, the majority of the Dan-'bag *gzhung rgyug mi ser* (see e.g. the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey; *CTZhZh* 3–4) or governmental tax-paying serfs living there liable to corvée work which consisted of dike-building to protect the surrounding rural fields from being flooded and to reclaim washed-away land (*sa zhing chus khyer sa tshab*). Today the area is largely urbanized and incorporated into the lHa-sa city township.

**** A part of the famous "Wild Ass Meadow" or rKyang-thang-sgang na-kha, regularly mentioned in the literature, was donated to the Kha-che or Muslim community of lHa-sa by the 5th Dalai Lama. lHa-sa rKyang-thang and Dan-'bag Rin-chen-sgang were favourite camp sites (*bzhugs sgar*) for peregrinating hierarchs, their entourage and troops, often mentioned in this capacity by shifting rulers such as e.g. Phag-gru, and Karma-pa, who would set up their camps, as the gTsang troops did in 1618 when they intended to block the traffic between 'Bras-spungs and lHa-sa. A part of the area was also known as Dan-'bag gling-kha = na-kha; cf. Sørensen 1990: 420. During the last centuries, the area also included the sKyid-tshal Klu-sdings, the governmental official reception site (*gzhung gi thab bsu'i sa*). On rKyang-thang, se also App. IV: Chap. 2.

[575] A version also prevails that the Pehar box was picked up by the monastery's cook (see following note).

[576] A *khri dpon* carrying this name cannot currently be identified further. One may consider that behind this ruler is hidden the Rin-spungs lord Don-yod rdo-rje (1463?–1512 A.D.) who in 1480 A.D. conquered the area of sKyid-shod (TPS Tucci 642; above fn. 562; see Part II, App. IV: Chap. 5). A "*khri dpon*" regularly surfaces in oral accounts related to Tshal Gung-thang. So for instance in the local version of a popular story of the arson of Gung-thang perpetrated by Pehar:

> The *khri dpon* and Bla-ma Zhang (*sic*) once went about completing a mural painting in Gung-thang. A child (= Pehar) joined them and he succeeded in pursuading the artist to finish the painting according to his instructions. Finally he requested that an additional figure in form of a monkey should be added to the picture. Zhang and the *khri dpon* during the night observed the monkey (= Pehar) in the painting and how the creature with an incense stick would set fire to the temple – according to the story reported in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 309 – the deed was an act of revenge of the *chos skyong*, after that Zhang – allegedly – during the erection of the gTsug-lag-khang had put a ban on any pictorial representation of Pehar. Following this mischievous act, Pehar was confined to a small box which they committed to the waters of sKyid-chu river. The abbot of 'Bras-spungs predicted the advent of the box and dispatched a cook to the river in order to fetch it. Close to the later gNas-chung, the box was opened, and a pigeon was seen escaping from it, only to land in a tree around which the oracle temple then was erected.

The local people narrate that until 1959, the old Pehar lha-khang as a particular relic preserved the (severed?) hand of a *khri dpon*. It appears that behind this form of (a Pehar-possessed) *khri dpon*, the "arsonist" of Gung-thang

Although in this way the origin of the religious and political history of the sKyid-shod Tshal-pa have been critically examined, still I have only written a fraction [of their entire history]. [However it must be said] that in the relevant sources concerning [these ruling houses] numerous discrepancies [abound]. [More] details should be gleaned from the older authoritaive texts [themselves].

[Concluding intermediate stanzas (*antaraśloka, bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa*) [**41b5–42a4**]]

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is hidden. Undoubtedly, the story must be seen on the historical background of reflecting a transitional change of rule from the sKyid-shod Tshal-pa to the dGa'-ldan pho-brang of the Dalai Lama, a transition documented and legitimized in form of the journey of Pehar from Tshal to gNas-chung. See App. IV: Chap. 5; see als *Lhasa Interviews* 3–4.

CHAPTER III

Description of the Temple and its Monastic Complex
[**42a4–65b5**]

[1.] [Preamble: Bla-ma Zhang's Visions of Tshal Gung-thang]

Moreover, during the time of 'Gro-mgon [Rin-po-che], prophecies were made by many *bla ma* and *iṣṭadevatā* deities;[577] in particular, [once] when [Bla-ma Zhang] wanted to establish a gTsug-lag-khang [erected in order to] to render [ritual] service to both Jo-bo Brother Statues in lHa-ldan [lHa-sa] (*lha ldan jo bo rnam gnyis*)[578] he in reality saw directly in front of the current gTsug-lag-khang a Cakrasaṃvara *maṇḍala* including the supported [sanctuary] and its support [of sacred objects] (*rten brten pa*). At the time when he was sojourning at the Cave of bZang-yul Mon-gdong, [remaining in deep meditative contemplation] he went to the land of Oḍḍiyāna Vajrā[sana] [U-rgyan rDo-rje[-gdan]] and passing through the bodily forms of [his] *iṣṭadevatā* the *Yoginī* [Vajravārāhī; rDo-rje phag-mo], he [finally] arrived at the [very] center [of the visualized body].[579] Seeing [at that point] all knowable [phenomena] [**42b**] of the three times, [he had visions of] future events (*'byung 'gyur*), in particular [he visualized his own] 1008 *bla ma* of the past, the 32 *bla ma* of the present and as to [the events of] the future [he anticipated and visualized] the gTsug-lag-khang to be built by himself, the sanctuary and its sacred objects and, upon the third *parisaṇḍa* of the sKu-'bum chen-mo, his own cremated remains after he had passed into *nirvāṇa*, the living beings of the six classes [of *saṃsāra*], the Ḍakiṇī and the Dharmapāla lamenting [his demise] and bringing offerings.

Moreover, in the *bKa' rgya* [*ma*] *Ngar phug ma* [it is] said [by Bla-ma Zhang]:[580]

> "I explained the *dharma* to the [local] Nāgī, and when Dar-ma gzhon-nu observed it, [he] inquired: "*Rin po che*! Since the gods, *nāga* and human beings are [to be] taught the *dharma*, where are you going to establish our monastery?" The Nāgī from Ngar-phug[581] intervened: "*Rin po che* is the chief [Lord of] the Teaching, and since he is the Lord of

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[577] See above 10a–11b; fn. 52.

[578] *Deb dmar* 127.22: *lha sa rnam gnyis*; *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 4a1–2; cf. Dung-dkar Rin-po-che's note (449; note 600).

[579] See above the Chap. II.1.1-C.

[580] This passage is a relatively faithful rendition – albeit the original is slightly more detailed and employs a more archaic diction – gleaned from *bKa' rgya ma I*, *Ngar phug ma* 80.5–86.4. (also contained in *ZhK* I 224, *ZhK II* Vol. I 10.4–15.1). It is a part of a number of questionaires addressed to Bla-ma Zhang by Dar-ma gzhon-nu. Cf. also almost *verbatim* identical *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 538.5f.

[581] Cf. also *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 53b6–54a2 mentioning the year 1170 A.D. The retreat site of Ngar-phug is situated in the upper sGrags valley and is mentioned chronologically as the last sojourn of Zhang before the foundation of Yang-dgon. Above fns. 51, 62, 199. Zur-chen repeatedly (1636 and 1654 A.D.) had visions of the local *gnas bdag klu mo* at Ngar-phug. During his last vision, he performed a balin offering which proved most efficient; cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 104b1–4, 190a1–3 (= 208.1–4, 379.1–3). Me-long rdo-rje was associated with Ngar-phug too.

During roughly the same time as the present episode, the Zhang-disciple Mar-lung Byang-chub seng-ge (1153–1241) reports in his biography (*op. cit*., 59b4f.) his meeting with Bla-ma Zhang at Ngar-phug (bSam-yas Ngar-phug) in 1171 A.D. Mar-lung established a hermitage at g.Yu-brag. lHa-rtse-ba Ngag-dbang bzang-po (1546–1615) in 1607 had an encounter with Ngar-phug Klu-btsan; *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 109b4.

the Teaching [we] request him to explain it [to us] in great detail!" Zhang Rin-po-che responded: "My main seat will appear in a grand way in rTa-mo-ra ["The Fold of the White Mare"] of Tshal in sKyid-shod.[582] Moreover, towards the area of the Glorious Celestial Plain [Gung-thang dpal-le], a perfect sanctuary and gTsug-lag-khang will emerge [being erected] for the sake of rendering [ritual] service to the two Jo-bo Brother statues [of lHa-sa]. You [Dar-ma gzhon-nu] will be the owner [i.e. ruler of the place]. The reason is that I, when about the age of 15, [happened] to see the countenance of lHa dPal-'bar dbang-phyug [i.e. Maheśvara], the Lord of the Seven Sites, and wondering whether [this] premature sight of the countenance of the deity [possibly would mean] an obstruction [to my future spiritual commitment], I inquired of *slob dpon* rNgog-ston[583] who said: "O! Those are the qualities which spring from having conducted your studies etc. in a useful way (*sgo spyad* [= *go chod*?] *kyi thos pa*]).[584] [Now take a rest],[585] while I investigate it!" [He then] said: "[I anticipate that] at the [river of] gTsang-chab-ldan [i.e. sKyid-chu],[586] there is a [white] tent, out of which a white dog appears running. Now it has reached the alley (*srang kha*)![587] Now it has reached [the family] house!" he said. [**43a**] After my perception had changed, I had stories [i.e. visions] of how [my family] house turned into a temple, etc.: the *klu* [*mo*] of gTsang-chab [i.e. sKyid-chu] had filled the inner part of the inconceivably [large] house of [Zhang] Rin-po-che to the brim with inconceivably [many] sorts of precious stones, foremost [gems like] the Jewel King of Might (*rin po che dbang gi rgyal po*, **ratnendra-rāja*) and [the one known as] "wish-amplifier" (*bsam 'phel*).[588] [The *nāgī* or *klu mo*] said: "I am the daughter of the *Nāgārāja* Maṇicūḍa [gTsug-na rin-chen].[589] I shall serve as your patron (*yon bdag*), the *rtogs ldan* Byang-chub sems-

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[582] rTa-mo-ra as the name of the place where Zhang's main seats (in Tshal and Gung-thang) were built is confirmed in Mar-lung's biography (70b2–3, 73a5, 75a5, 79b2, 87b5, 93b3) and the *rNam thar phyi ma* (in *ZhK III* (KA) 231b.3, *passim*) where the location of the monastery in Tshal is given as 'Tshal rTa-mo-ra (or also rTa-mo-ra mTshal); similarly the large statue of the Gung-thang temple is designated mTshal rTa-mo-ra'i lHa-chen [dPal-'bar]. On the toponym rTa-mo-ra in the local historical context, see for more details App. IV: Chap. 3.2.

[583] It refers to rNgog mDo-sde, chronologically Zhang's first root teacher.

[584] *Ngar phug ma* 82.3 reads [...] *go bcad thos pa byas pa'i yon tan*, tr. "Decided[ly?], it is the qualities coming from studying," whereas *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 538.6 reads: [...] *khyed nga rgyal ma skyes pa de thos pa che ba'i yon tan du byung / go bcad* / [...].

[585] Added from *Ngar phug ma*, *id*.

[586] gTsang-chab generally refers to any river, but specifically to gTsang-po; see TBH Sørensen: 260. In most texts no distinction is made between gTsang-po and sKyid-chu (cf. e.g. Ferrari 43), *in casu* we shall expect that the reference here is to the latter. The same dialogue found in *rGyal blon ma* (*bKa' thor bu* 224.4–225.1).

[587] Srang-kha could here also indicate a place name, perhaps it refers to the area what is later spelled as Shan-kha, the village to the west of Zhang's birthplace (Map 1b.2).

[588] The Jewel *dbang gi rgyal po* is known among other things as the attribute of Maṇidhara ('Gem-holder'), the attendant of Ārya-Avalokita (cf. Willson and Brauen 2000: 263). In the Vajrayāna tradition the stone symbolises the "king of spirit" and the insight into the essence of the Great Secret (= Vajrapāṇi). Cf. Kaschewsky and Pema Tsering 1998: 47–48. dBang gi rgyal-po is also the name of a form of Mahākāla, i.e. mGon-dmar dBang gi rgyal-po; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 43; Willson and Brauen 2000: 145, Pl. 345; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 58.

[589] This Nāgārāja Maṇicūḍa is also registered in *lHa 'dre bka'i thang yig* 65.11–13, 66.19–21 as (subterranean) ruler of Tibet and as elder brother of Nāgārāja *Mālādhāra ('Phreng-'dzin); *Lo paṇ bka' thang yig* 391.18–19. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 324; Klaus 1985: 113, 265. In some texts, Maṇicūḍa is considered a protector against hail or frost.

[d]pa[’] [i.e. Zhang Rin-po-che].[590] mKhar-nag Klu-btsan[591] is my elder brother; the *nāgī* (*klu mo*) of sMin-drug-mtsho[592] is my younger sister and [I], the *klu mo* of Ngar-phug, am the youngest.”[593][So saying], the gTsang-chab *klu mo* at that point offered me the entire Tibetan Realm after having filled it with many precious items such as the seven precious emblems of kingship (*rgyal srid* [*rin po che*] *sna bdun, saptaratna*).[594] In particular, from gTsang-chab and from other [sources] etc. fountains of water gushed forth.[595] The location of Ngan-lam lung-pa Ral-gsum including [the district of] Grib[596] were filled to the brim [with water] and, un[able] to contain [the water], it kept overflowing (*lhud lhud lud pa*) [these territories], whereupon [the districts of] dBus-gTsang ru-bzhi[597] [too soon] could not contain [the huge amount of water] and, splashing, [the water] flowed [downwards] in the direction of Mi-nyag [Gha].[598]

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[590] *Ngar phug ma* 83.4 preferably reads *rin po che byang chub sems dpa’ stobs ldan*; Rin-po-che, the mighty Bodhisattva.

[591] A deity mKhar-nag is *inter alia* known as one of the protector gods of the mTshur-phu monastery (cf. *mTshur phu dgon gyi dkar chag* 362). A mKhar-nag (and mKhar-nag-mtsho, residence of a *klu* demon) is related to the area of sNye-thang (see App. II: fn. 158). Cf. also gNam-thang mKhar-nag listed in *Padma bka’ thang* (Canto 60: 362). A not further specified Klu-btsan is worshipped as *srung ma* in the (new) Pehar lha-khang of Tshal.

[592] Possible the name refers to a lake in the area of the sMin-drug rdza-ri south of Gung-thang. At any rate, it should count among the lakes in Upper sGrags, in the environs of the Zhang retreats of Ngar-phug, g.Yu-brag or bZang-yul Mon-gdong.

[593] The appearance of the *klu* family in this context is possibly linked to the specific Mahākāla tradition of the mGon Khyi and/ or Gur-mgon (Mahākāla of the Tent) which seems to be spoken of in the vision of the tent and the dog. The cycle of Gur is said to have been transmitted to Zhang through his teacher rNgog-ston (rNgog mDo-sde; fn. 19). One of the forms of Gur-mgon is also called Gur-rkyang rNgog-lugs (Singular Pañjara-Mahākāla in the rNgog tradition). Another form, the Gur-mgon lcam-dral (Pañjara-Mahākāla, Brother-and-Sister) includes ’Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma, one of the three dPal-lha sisters and protectress of Gung-thang. Willson and Brauen 2000: 345–348. See also App. IV.

[594] These seven royal possessions or emblems are insignia of an universal monarch; see e.g. Dagyab 1992: 97f.

[595] It appears that both our text and the *Ngar phug ma* which read *gtsang chab nas* / *nas la sogs pa’i chu mig brdol nas* [*byung*] [...] are corrupt (a case of dittography?). Otherwise the sentence, less coherently, would read: “From gTsan-po river springs of barley (*sic*) etc. gushed forth.”

[596] *bKa’ ’thor bu* 263.1–2 has the form Ngan-lam lung-pa ral-gsum; *dGos ’dod re skong ma’i ’grel ba*: Ngan-lam Ral-gsum (above fn. 12, 413). The toponymic compound Ngan-lam [lung-pa] Ral-gsum [*cum* Grib] evidently is a designation of the closer Tshal-pa territory. See for more details App. IV: Chap. 3.

[597] *Ngar phug ma* (and *dGod ’dog re skong ma’i ’grel ba*) add sKyi-shod Ngam-shod = sKyid-shod and Ngam-shod? Ngam-shod denotes in *dBa’ bzhed* the stretch above and below bSam-yas (P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 57), and refers e.g. in *Deb sngon* to the area of gDan-sa-mthil (BA Roerich 557); cf. also *sTag lung chos ’byung I* 177, but the toponym appears also in the literature connected with other areas. Cf. the form Ngam-shod Phug-mo-che which describes one of the 18 sanctuaries of Yar-lung (it is located in sPyan-g.yas; see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 106f.). Elsewhere gZhon-nu-dpal (BA Roerich 936) speaks of the *g*/*btsad po* (princes) of Ngam-shod which perhaps refer to descendants of the ruling house of the lHa ’Bri-sgang-pa in ’On and/ or the bSam-yas princes. Cf. also the forms Ngam-shod ’On (*lHo rong chos ’byung* 154.19–20), Ngam-shod E[-yul] (Kollmar-Paulenz 1993: 71) or Ngam-shod gCung-pa rDo-ra-sgang (in gZhung; see *Lo ras rnam thar* 2). A mKhar-chu of Ngam-shod appears to be located in the area of ’Phrang-po or sGrags (above fn. 429). Thus Ngam-shod seems to indicate the stretch of land from lower sKyid-shod until about the level of Zangs-ri and g.Ye, including the tributary areas south and north of gTsang-po (= the central part of g.Yo-ru or the later lHo-kha region). sKyi[d]-shod Ngam-shod as toponym compund evidently decsribes the areas around the central rivers of the middle and lower part of sKyid-chu and gTsang-po in the province of dBus (see also Intoduction: Chap. 4).

[598] Here – pictorically – is evidently meant the vision of the greater Tshal-pa territory, i.e. its actual expansion at

The *klu mo* proclaimed:

"[You,] having generated the mind [towards Bodhi] for the sake of living beings,
Accumulating the [two] Heap[s of Merit and Knowledge] throughout
[three] immeasurable [aeons like a Buddha]
Unique Son of the Buddhas of the Three Times
For you, the Lord of the [Buddhist] Teaching
From this moment until the end of time
I shall fulfill all [your] wishes!"

[Dar-ma gzhon-nu then] exclaimed: "*Rin po che*! Take a look! It [really] happens like that (*de tsug 'ong ba yin*)!" [Indeed, before my very eyes a full vision, I] saw in rTa-mo-ra of Tshal [i.e. the "Garden of the Fold of the Mare"][599] the [monastery of] Yang-dgon including its ambulatory, [and how the area emerged] by being filled to the brim with monasteries such as Nag-tshang dPon-khang etc.[600] being surrounded by willows and [enclosed within] a circular [outer] wall. In Gung-thang, the gTsug-lag-khang including its Annexes (*glo 'bur*) [were displayed for my inner eyes], the mGon-khang, [**43b**] the two door projections (*sgo skyibs*) [at the main entrance], the two [statues of] [Gung-thang] lha[-mo] and mGon[-po] [Mahākāla], installed at both sides of the main entrance including the [so-called] Private Dharma Hut (gZims-chung chos-spyil),[601] the sKu-'bum [chen-mo] [erected] in the [*caitya*-]form of the Glorious Descent from the Gods (*lha las babs pa, *devāvatāra*),[602] [all the sanctuaries] being surrounded by a square external wall. Although [Dar-ma gzhon-nu had] exclaimed: "*Rin po che*! Take a look! Now it will be made accordingly," by having been shown to me [in my vision] it was [as if it was physically] there [already]. [I proclaimed]: "My real main seat will appear in the north-eastern corner of [the area of my birthplace] Tsha-ba-gru. Later, whenever I take a gulp of water from gTsang-chab-ldan [i.e. sKyid-chu], I will become endowed with wealth. [in that respect it will] even surpass [all] the riches which [could] be acquired [through accumulation] within [one] *kalpa*."

Motivated by a visionary experience like that, the local *gzhi bdag* and the Nāgarāja Maṇicūḍa [gTsug-na rin-chen] [subsequently] offered him [this] locale [which was a place where he intended to erect his main seat].

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the time of the compilation of the *bKa' rgya* [*ma*] (around *ca*. 1195–1210 A.D.?, albeit the biographical section *Ngar phug ma* appears to have been revised around 1300–1310 A.D. since it contains prophecies up until this period) with Ngan-lam lung-pa ral-gsum Grib, constituting the core part of the territory, the institutions of Bar Tshal and sTod Tshal in dBus and in (Western) gTsang as well as their presence in Mi-nyag – represented by the actvities of Bla-ma Gung-thang-pa, Ba-lam-pa etc. (= the sMad Tshal).

[599] See above, fn. 582 and App. IV: Chap. 3.

[600] Nag-tshang dPon-khang remains unknown. It appears to refer to the dKon-gnyer Nag-tshang-pa or the "Black Storehouse of the Stewards" associated with Tshal. See *Tshal rnam* 19b1, it was erected by *dpon sa* sMon-lam rdo-rje. It can be assumed that it was related to the house/palace of the Tshal *dpon pa* which the locals call *khri dpon khang*. The latter was situated in the eastern part of Tshal (see Graph 5).

[601] This evidently refers to one of Bla-ma Zhang's *sgrub gnas*, the one located in the Tshal area and known as [m]Tshal-sgang Chos-spyil, see fn. 62 above. At Gung-thang gZims-chung, the Zhang disciple Me-sgom delivered empowerments to five students; cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 205.12–14.

[602] This is one of the eight celebrated forms of a *caitya*.

[2.] [A Survey of the Gung-thang Temple Complex][603]

Based upon the oath given [by these local spirits] etc., which claimed that no harm caused by the *nāga* and local spirits (*sa bdag*) would come to the future lineage of disciples [residing there] and that [all conceivable] needs and desires [as to wealth and prosperity] would be amassed [at this place in the future], a monastic site [was subsequently established] at Yang-dgon where the [successive] masters and disciples could execute [their studies into the transmission and traditions of] hermeneutics and spiritual realization (*bshad sgrub*) related to the Three Baskets (Tripiṭaka) and of the Four Tantra [classes].

In that very area (*sa phyogs 'di nyid*) [in addition], the gTsug-lag-khang including its ambulatory [were erected]:

[**A**] The 40-pillars of the Upper Courtyard (Khyams-stod)[604] of the Central Palace (Pho-brang dbus-ma), the 34 pillars of the Lower Courtyard (Khyams-smad), and the 40 pillars of the Upper Storey (*steng brtsegs*) – in all 114 pillars [were erected] and

[**B**] The four Annexes (*glo 'bur*) of the Central Palace (Pho-brang dbus-ma), the 12 Chinese-styled [pitched] roofs, [equipped] with decorative ornaments like all-encompassing projecting cornices and victory banners etc.

[**C**] In the center of the gTsug-lag-khang [*vihāra* temple precinct] the Byang-chub chen-po'i *pho brang* [was situated] endowed with 12 pillars made exclusively from [the exquisite] sandal-wood and, as already explained above, the Statue of Mahābodhi [Byang-chub chen-po] was manufactured from materials consisting of a heap of precious stones. [**44a**] It was nine fathoms high, endowed with the paraphernalia of a *nirmāṇakāya*, [a statue so extraordinarily beautiful] that one could not look enough at it.[605] The lion-throne and the backrest endowed with three rims, erected by Lord dGa'-bde, following the behest of the Emperor Se-chen rgyal-po [i.e. Qubilai Qan]; [further], the wondrous, miraculously [manufactured] paintings, decorated and endowed with depictions of the *bla ma* transmission lines and many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, etc. were indeed inconceivable.

As [consecratory fillings] inserted inside [the statue] (*nang zhugs*) were found a sheer endless [amount of relics] such as [a text specimen] of a gold[-written *Prajñāpāramitā*] in its extended, intermediate and abbreviated form, as well as innumerable relics of the Tathāgata[s]. In the area to the left and to the right respectively, statues too were installed [such as] a silver statue of

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[603] The present description of the temple complex reflects a later phase of the building construction (mainly from the time of *dpon* dGa'-bde-dpal). Graph 2 gives a sketch of the current condition of the Gung-thang complex. Cf. also the descriptions offered in *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 26–30; Chos-'phel 1994: 78f.; Chan 1994: 197–199.

[604] In Tibetan monastic architecture, that often consists of a concentration of interconnected courtyards and buildings, a *khyams ra* usually alludes to the – often enclosed – arcaded, pillared or colonaded open court[-yard]. In western and classic architecture it could thus in structure be associated with a basilica or Gallery Hall. The spatial specifications upper and lower do here not refer to storied levels above and below one another, but to courtyards lying in extension of one another, in the sense of upper designating the front or inner (*sbug*) courtyard, whereas usually the lower represents the farthermost or lower-lying (*mdo*) courtyard.

[605] Cf. *DL1* 264–65, asserting that the lHa-chen statue erected by Zhang actually became larger than expected since Zhang's *nye gnas* (Dar-ma gzhon-nu) had miscalculated the size of the *srog shing*.

Maitreya [Byams-pa] and Khasarpāṇi, etc. as well as ossuaries and many main statues with their respective retinues. Inside the *lha khang* situated to the right the *thugs dam rten* of 'Gro-mgon, the statues of 62 [deities of the *maṇḍala* of the Mother Tantra Cakra-]Saṃvara, and relief-carved (*blos b*[*s*]*langs*) with superb workmanship. In the *lha khang* to the left, innumerable [deity] assemblies of peaceful and wrathful deities [were installed] headed by an excellent statue of Muni.

[**D**] Inside [the chambers] of the Upper Courtyard (Khyams-stod; i.e. Main Hall)[606] too, large and small statues, manufactured in accordance with Nepalese and Chinese artistic craftmanship [were installed; further] 23,500 volumes of holy [canonical] scriptures (*pravacana*), such as the complete *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* etc., written in ink on gray paper along with its library and book-shelves (*kun dga' ra ba grva mig*). Furthermore, inside the individual *lha khang*, 3,020 gold[-written] religious texts [were kept], equipped with brocade wrappings and book-straps made from identical materials. In total, [these chapels thus] contain almost 40,000 volumes of the holy scripture.[607]

In the Western Annexe [Glo-'bur nub-ma] of the Upper Courtyard the image of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, [known as] "Meaningful to Behold" (mThong-ba don-ldan) [is installed], flanked by *Dharmapāla* and the God of Wealth (Nor-lha, i.e. rNam-thos-sras).

In the Eastern Annexe [Glo-'bur shar-ma] [of the Upper Courtyard][**44b**] a countless number of larger and smaller statues [are installed], [both] painted and carved ones, such as the ossuary (*gdung rten*) of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che known as bKra-shis 'od-'bar-ma,[608] etc.

Inside the Southern Annexe [of the Upper Courtyard] an excellent statue of Mahāmuni [i.e. Śākyamuni is installed], being about 15 *mtho* high, flanked left and right by a countless number of larger and smaller [statues], such as the one of Zhang Rin-po-che, etc.

[**E**] Among [the statues installed] inside the Lower Courtyard [Khyams-smad, those set up] within the pillars and [all] looking inwards, [there are statues of] Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī etc. as well as a countless number of books.

In the South-eastern Annexe [Glo-'bur shar-lho] statues of the *bka' bsrung* in *yab yum* [form are installed], displaying an awesome mien, the main deity with retinue.

In the western wing of the gTsug-lag-khang, on the upper [floor], is the *lha khang* dedicated to [murals or statues] of the successive lineage of Mongolian Qans.[609] [Further,] on the external and internal walls along the Upper and Lower Courtyard, along the Annexed Chapels/Cella (*glo 'bur*), the Central Tower [dBu-rtse] as well as [along the many] ambulatories (*'khor sa*)[610] numerous [murals were executed depicting] the feats of many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, [narratives depicting] their rebirth stories (*jātaka*), many [depictions of] transmission lineage of *bla ma*s,

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[606] As may be deduced from 33b above Khyams-ra chen-mo, Khyams-stod (and Bar-khang chen-mo?) are identical.

[607] This part of the temple was mainly erected during the tenure of dGa'-bde; see 33b *supra*.

[608] The *gdung rten* bKra-shis 'od-'bar was situated inside the sGrol-ma lha-khang which was part of the Glo-'bur shar-ma. See also below, fn. 761.

[609] Cf. above fol. 33b.

[610] The *'khor sa* (~ *lam*, ~ *khang*) usually designates a processional aisle or ambulatory (i.e. [de]ambulatorium), either one or two-winged, either roofed or open-spaced, following the walls of a religious building.

mural *panels* (*rgyud ris* = *ldebs ris*) of religious figures in peaceful and wrathful posture, as well as an endless number of religious statues. Also, among these [depictions and representations were placed images of] 'Gro-mgon himself, of Emperor Se-chen rgyal-po [Qubilai], of the succession of rulers of Tshal-pa, [as well as depictions of his first- and second-generation] disciples (*slob ma yang slob*) such as mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes, gTsang-pa Dung-khur-pa, Yar-lung-pa Grags[-pa] seng[-ge], lHa-phyug mkhar-pa, and Kha-rag-pa, etc. [Further] an endless number of utentils such as water bowls, cymbals, [as well as decorative objects such as] objects of offering to the protective deities, "floor-coverings" and "ceiling-coverings" (*spyan gzigs sa rgyan gnam rgyan*),[611] tendered by a lineage of patrons. Endless are both the regular and the seasonally held offerings conducted either for individual or for the common [i.e. all] *lha khang*, [traditions] established not only by the *bla ma* of the [successive] throne-holders and by many patrons, but these have [now] even become permanently established. Indeed, even though it would turn into an excellent field for rejoicing and wonder were we to write every [**45a**] [single detail concerning these sanctuaries], the many words [thus produced] would only be a cause for confusion, and not wanting to present these even in a few [words], we shall for the moment leave [the description as it is].

[**F**] Outside the [Central] Palace (*pho brang*) [erected] like this and equipped with ambulatories, an external wall [was erected] which in form corresponded with [i.e. is situated parallel to] the internally located annexes. In the western direction [outside the inner temple area] surrounded by a huge wall which enclosed the minor buildings (*khang bran*) located at the periphery, the so-called sKu-'bum chen-mo [The Grand Tomb Stūpa] of [Bla-ma] Zhang [is located, itself] surrounded by [minor satellite *stūpa*s like] the Sri-gnon 'bum-pa, etc.[612] [Further comes] the so-called Bye-thang chen-mo[613] surrounded by trees, [which surrounds] the Chos-khri lho-nub [The South-Western College the Dharma-Throne (*chos khri lho nub*)],[614] [and adjacent thereto] the external and internal [stone-paved] platform of the Bla-ye [Prayer Square] (*bla ye phyi nang*), with both larger and smaller guesthouses, the two. [It is] now [a site] which – similar to the gSung-chos ra-ba[615] [i.e. the Prayer Square or Open Courtyard] in lHa-sa [i.e. 'Phrul-snang] – [served] the enthronement ceremony of the successive abbots [or was used for] the convention of assemblages during larger and smaller seasonal religious ceremonies. In the adjacent area, the

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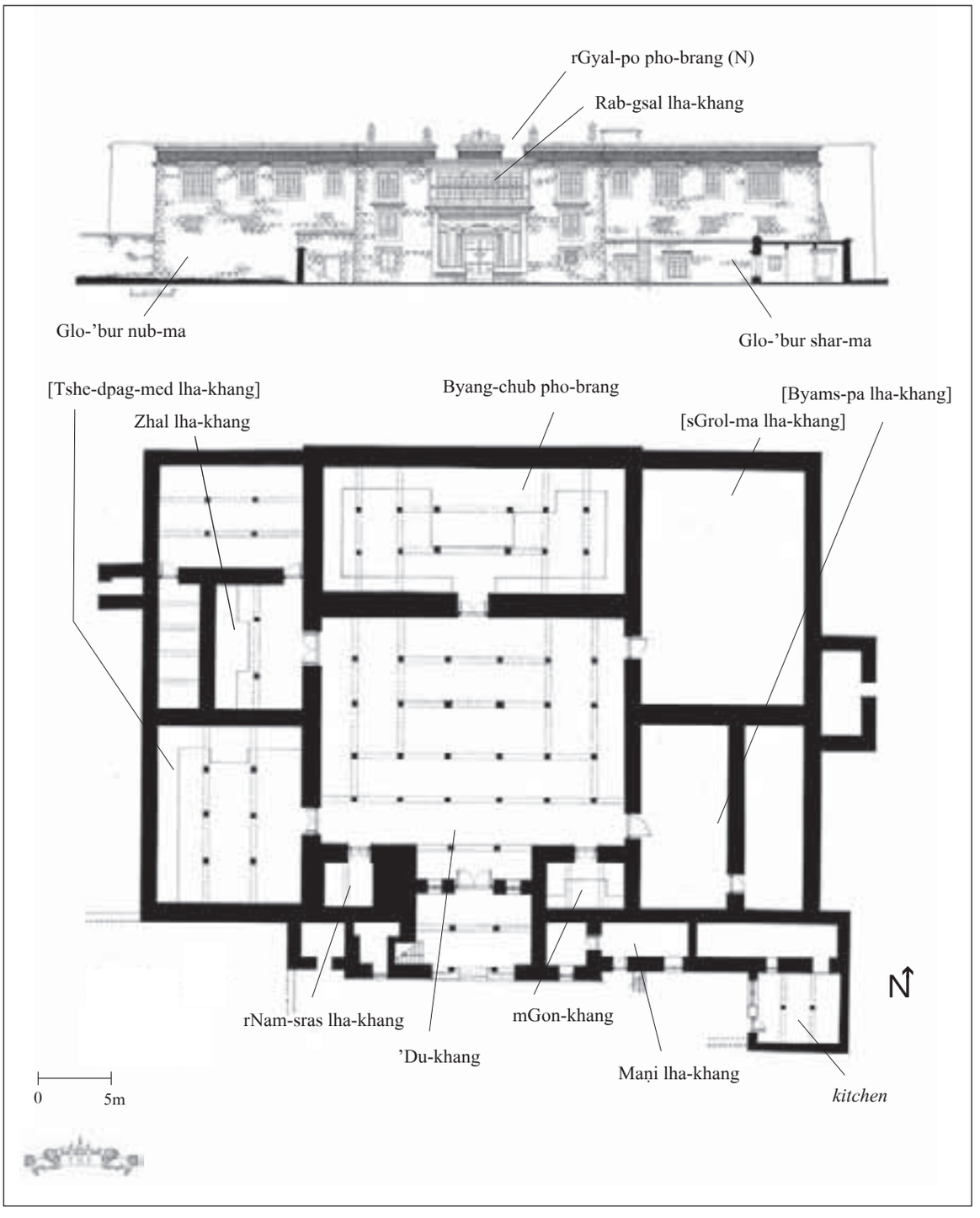
[611] The terms *sa rgyan* and *gnam rgyan*, i.e. "floor-ornament" and "ceiling-ornament," are architectural décor or *mchod rdzas* and *mchod chas* terms, in the latter case alluding to a canopy, and as such a synonym for *bla* [*b*]*re*, *vitāna*, i.e. baldachin, a ceiling/roof curtain covering (*thog yol*), akin to German "Traghimmel" or "Prunkhimmel." The term *sa rgyan* evidently designates the parallel curtain adorning the throne or the canopied dais along the floor; see CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 2000: 88; *Tshig mdzod* 1913; Rin-spungs' *mNgon brjod kyi bstan bcos*.

[612] The sKu-'bum chen-mo structure – today destroyed – and the Sri-gnon mchod-rten were situated to the west of the gTsug-lag-khang. See Graph 3 and below Fig. 4, 6, 7.

[613] The Grand Sandy Plain [of Tshal Gung-thang]. See 32a *supra* and above fn. 443 and Graph 3.

[614] Chos-khri lho-nub refers to the later Chos-khri lho-lcog. See below 53a; Chap. III.3.D.

[615] For the gSung[-chos] r[v]a[-ba] or "Open Prayer Square," the platformed prayer and debate courtyard and large urban square, located in a widening of the Bar-skor southern front to the gTsug-lag-khang in lHa-sa was equipped with a *bzhugs khri* or a three-plinthed prayer throne podium placed on a canopied dais, cf. *Shakabpa Guide* 88; Chan: 200; Taring: 9, 26; Larsen *et. al*. 2001: 94. The Bla-ye Prayer Square of the (Southern/South-Western) Chos-khri or the College of the Dharma-Throne in Gung-thang (similar to other Bla-ye squares in other bKa'-brgyud monasteries throughout Tibet such as at 'Bri-gung) resembled, as said, both in structure and function, that of the gSung-chos ra-ba. sMon-lam rdo-rje erected a white tent over the old pavement in Gung-thang; cf. *Tshal rnam* 19b.



Graph 2. Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang

Based on a drawing by THF (*Tibet Heritage Fund*); names in bracket = chambers in ruins

market-place as well as [various] assembly places, etc. [are located]. Following [the passing] of Zhang Rin-po-che, for one or two generations of abbots, the Yang-dgon religious community and the neighbouring communities [adhering to its jurisdiction] gathered there, where they [conjointly] conducted [various] seasonal religious ceremonies.

[3.] [The History of the Teaching Institutions at Tshal and Gung-thang][616]

[**A**] [sGom-sde gZims-khang shar-ma:
The Meditation College [also called] The Eastern Residence]

No real [distinct] monastic residence (*gzhis grva*) existed, still the Fifth Tshal-pa Ruler (*dpon*) Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan and the *gdan sa ba sprul sku* Sangs-rgyas-'bum, the two, having entered a patron-priest relationship (*yon* [*bdag*] *mchod* [*gnas*], *dānapati*, *purohita*), founded in the Water Tiger year [?1242 A.D.] this meditation college [*sgom sde*] [known as] The Eastern Residence.[617]

Thereafter, basing themselves upon the dual system of religious and secular rule, they safeguarded [this institution] in an excellent way.

[**1**st throne-holder] [*sprul sku* Sangs-rgyas-'bum]]. Subsequently, the latter's nephew
[**2**nd throne-holder] *dbon* Rin-po-che occupied the throne [of the sGom-sde gZims-khang shar-ma] for 24 years. Thereafter
[**3**rd throne-holder] Sang-'bum phyi-ma [i.e. "the Later" Sang[s-rgyas-]'bum [occupied the seat] for two years.
[**4**th throne-holder] Bla-ma gZhung-pa [ruled] for two years. Thereafter
[**5**th throne-holder] *rgyal sras* Śākya rgyal-mtshan **[45b]** [ruled the institution] for 25 years.[618] His actvities were extensive.
[**6**th throne-holder] Tshul-khrims gzhon-nu, the *sNag dbon* of [the former] *dbon* Rin-po-che safeguarded the seat for 40 years in an excellent way through the dual system of religious and secular rule, wherefore he experienced the "strewing of flowers" by being eulogized by everyone as "the Gracious One" (*drin can pa*).

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[616] The local tradition speaks of "Four *grva tshang* of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang":
gZims-khang shar-ba/ma (= Sub-chapter 3.A),
Chos-khri grva-tshang (Chos-khri lho-lcog, Chos-khri lho-nub = 3.D),
Chos-'khor-gling (3.B) and
Yang-dgon grva-tshang.
The latter obviously includes the dBus-gling College (= 3.C). Cf. *HSLG* Vol. 6: 45–47. Missing in this list is the Chos-khri nub-ma (see Chap. III. 6). The institutions of A, B, and C were established in the early 14th century, D one century later. After Tsong-kha-pa, the colleges gradually were incorporated into the dGe-lugs-pa monastic network. Cf. e.g. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 151–154.

[617] Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan was also called Shar-pa *rin po che*. There are some contradictory data concerning the founding date of 1242 (see above fn. 115). The college was situated due east of the gTsug-lag-khang. Cf. *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 601.9–11. It was during the third or fourth sGom-sde-pa that rNgog Rin-chen bzang-po (1243–1319) of sPre'u-zhing in the early 1270's served as teacher at the sGom-sde college; cf. BA Roerich 410; below Graph. 3.

[618] The 5th throne-holder may have lived 1258–1330 A.D.; cf. BA Roerich 964. For the next incumbent the kinship term *snag dbon* designates the son of the maternal cousin or the son of a sister of dBon *rin po che*.

Until this point, [this institution], if one disregards [a total period of] four years of rule during the abbacy of the third and fourth throne-holder, the two, was led for more than 90 years in an excellent way by *sprul sku* Sang[s-rgyas-]'bum and his nephew lineage.[619] It should be known that this very *sprul sku* Sang[s-rgyas-]'bum and his [later] incarnation (*skye phreng*) Zur-chen Rin-po-che [Chos-dbyings rang-grol] [1604–1669 A.D.],[620] the two, reached a level of kindness towards the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa in general and for this sGom-sde [institution] in particular which is [truly] incomparable.

This [sGom-sde] throne was occupied by an incalculable number of holy personages [in succession] and blessed [with their presence]. In particular most of the *bdag-chen* who descended from the throne-holder lineage (*khri gdung*) of the Glorious Sa-skya [Monastery] up until [the current Throne-holder] *bDag chen rin po che* Ngag-dbang Kun-dga' blo-gros [1729–1783 A.D.][621] set their feet hither and delivered numerous profound teachings. Especially, mGon-po bSod-nams mchog-ldan [1603–1659/60 A.D.][622] came there many times and sojourned over a long period, extensively delivering profound teachings of *sūtra* and *mantra*. During the period when Zur-chen Rin-po-che resided on this throne [in Gung-thang],[623] a person appeared [before him] in his "pure light [state of dream yoga]" (*'od gsal*) wearing green-coloured short trousers (*ang rag*),[624] with white beard and a chin-tuft, and holding in his hand a thigh bone trumpet (*rkang dung*).[625] [He] declared: "This

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[619] In reconstructing and dating the tenure of the initial six incumbents of this institution, the only unknown quantity is the length of the tenure of the first throne-holder Sangs-rgyas-'bum. We shall tentatively assume that he enjoyed a very brief abbacy. See foll. note.

[620] He passed away in 1669. His silver-plated ossuary was built in 1670 and installed at Gung-thang, when it was visited by the sDe-srid. Cf. also *Zur chen rnam thar* 6b1–2 (=12.1–2), 7b2–3 (= 14.2–3). Ordination name Ngag-dbang bKra-shis kun-dga'. He was in fact considered a manifestation of both the older and the later Sangs-rgyas-'bum. Assuming that he enjoyed a very brief abbacy, we may conjecture: Established 1242 A.D. by

1st throne-holder: *ca*. 1242– ?

2nd throne-holder: *ca*. 1242?–1265 A.D.

3rd throne-holder: *ca*. 1265–1267 A.D.

4th throne-holder: *ca*. 1267–1269 A.D.

5th throne-holder: *ca*. 1269–1293 A.D,.

6th throne-holder: *ca*. 1293–1332 A.D.

If the precise dates for the tenure of the first incumbent should surface one day, the subsequent dates must be adjusted accordingly.

[621] The 32th throne-holder at Sa-skya.

[622] Also denoted Khyab-bdag *bla ma* bKa'-'gyur-pa chen-po or [Dol] gNas-gsar-pa. According to *mGon po rnam thar* 66b6–68a2, 77b1–75a6, 76b6–77a5, he sojourned repeatedly at gZims-khang-shar in 1648, 1650 and again 1652 A.D. where he received detailed teachings from Zur-chen, as well as delivered teachings himself. *Ibid*., *op. cit*., 53a1–2 (for the year 1639 A.D.), Bla-ma 'Jam-dbyangs rgyal-mtshan and gZims-khang-shar Bla-ma dPal-ldan are mentioned. Cf. similarly Zur-chen's biography, *op. cit*., 167aff. (= 333ff.); *DL5 I* 152b6–153a1, 282a2. In 1656 A.D. gTer-bdag gling-pa too is reported to have received teachings from Zur-chen in Gung-thang; see *gTer gling rnam thar I* 49.1–2; *II* 24a1–2.

[623] Cf. e.g. *Zur chen rnam thar* 149b5–150b3, 156b13–4, 164b3–5 (= 299.5–301.3, 312.3–4, 328.3–5).

[624] This piece of cloth, *ang 'ga' rag* designates short pants (*dor ma yu thung*) used by yogis while meditating on the psychic energy. See *brDa dkrol* 1030–31.

[625] The story rendered here refers to the adaptation of the esoteric *Tshar pa* tradition of the Sa-skya school by the dGe-lugs-pa. It was initiated by the 5th Dalai Lama after his vision of Tshar-chen (fn. 627) during a Mahākāla session in 1647. In the following year, Zur-chen received the teaching cycle from mGon-po bSod-nams mchog-ldan at the Tshar-pa monastery of Yar-lung bKra-shis-rtse (see Karmay 1988: 16; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 110, *et passim*),

mGon-po bSod-nams mchog-ldan formerly [manifested himself] as Kha-che Dharma-pa-la,[626] [later] as Tshar-ba chos-rje,[627] as well as [being an incarnation] of [other] *bla ma* of gZims-khang shar[-ma],"[628] etc. Further, when *mgon po* bSod-nams mchog-ldan resided [**46a**] at this throne [of the gZims-khang], the *'dzin gtor* for the Las [kyi] mGon-po [Karma-nātha] was close to falling apart, so he made preparations to replace it with a new one. In the place where the old had been removed the [new] *gtor-ma* vessel was filled with *amṛta*, which was partaken of by *mchod dpon* 'Jam-dbyangs rgyal-mtshan and Zhva-lu Shes[-rab] rin-pa. By way of such numerous signs of accomplisments [the gZims-khang shar-ma] became a particular place of blessing.[629]

[**B**] [Chos-'khor-gling: The Dharma-Wheel College]

In a Monkey year [i.e. 1308 A.D.] 'Jam-dbyangs Śākya gzhon-nu, the 16th throne-holder of gSang-phu from gSang[-phu] Ne'u-thog [to Tshal],[630] was invited by *dPon chen* dGa'-bde-dpal and established as new [the College of] Chos-'khor-gling.[631] He founded there a hermeneutic college (*bshad grva*) [for the study of] *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Pramāṇa*, wherupon he occupied the

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s.v.). In the account of the Dalai Lama's vision of Tshar-chen, one finds a similar desription of this person, which appears to refer to the Kha-che Dharmapāla mentioned below; one may also see an allusion to Mahākāla mGon-dmar rkang-gling-can (cf. Willson and Brauen 2000: 344; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 47, 48).

[626] Kha-che Dharmapāla. Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 165a2–b1 (= 329.2–330.1). It appears to refer to the Indian scholar who assisted Lo-chen Rin-chen bzang-po in mTho-ling; cf. Naudou 1980: 164, 190, 226. It remains unclear if he is identical with the Kashmiri master and Rin-chen bzang-po teacher Śraddhakaravarman who transmitted to his disciple the Gur-mgon tradition (together with the so-called "flying" *bse* mask) which later became a central image of the Sa-skya. See Vitali 2001.

Byang-bdag Ngag gi dbang-po conversely maintains that mGon-po was a manifestation of a Kha-che Rin-chen rdo-rje; cf. *Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar* [B] 57b4–5.

[627] I.e. the Sa-skya master Tshar-chen Blo-gsal rgya-mtsho (1503–1567 A.D.) and 13th Zha-lu throne-holder. Cf. Stearns 2001: 39–45.

[628] The episode is gleaned from *Zur chen rnam thar* 149b1f., 151a3–5 (= 301.3–5); 154b3–4 (= 312.3–4) 164a3–b2 (= 328.3–329.2). The year was 1647 A.D., an experience in premonition of mGon-po's impending arrival.

[629] The episode is gleaned from *mGon po rnam thar* 75a2–6, 81b1–2. For Karmanātha Mahākāla; see Willson and Brauen 2000: 342, 345; Dagyab 1991: 174; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 48–49. For Gung-thang gZims-khang-shar, Bla-ma Zur 'Jam-dbyangs rgyal-mtshan, evidently a relative of Zur himself, was active in the period 1645–60's, see *DL5 I* 143a4–5; *II* 13a2, 43b3, 171a1–2.

[630] The 14th-cent. 16th *mkhan po* of the Lower Monastery (sMad-gling) of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog occupied the chair at gSang-phu for 27 years, from *ca.* 1326–1352 A.D. Other sources maintain that he stayed in Gung-thang for six years prior to his abbacy at gSang-phu, probably *ca*. 1308–1314. wherefore the Monkey year may refer to 1308 A.D. Cf. also *Yar lung chos 'byung* 134.6–14; *rGya bod yig tshang* 488. See Onoda 1989: 209; Onoda 1992: 14. Chos-'khor-gling in fact was considered a branch college (*lag*) of gSang-phu. Everding 2001: 117 suggests 1296 for the Monkey year. Two dates are in circulation for his abbacy: He occupied the see at gSang-phu in a Fire Tiger year which either refers to 1266 or to 1326. He either ruled 1266–1293 (so according to *Re'u mig*) or between 1326–1352 (e.g. BA Roerich 329). At one point Rang-byung rdo-rje (1284–1339 A.D.) is reported to have been his student, for this reason we shall opt for the later dates.

[631] *Deb dmar gsar* (Tucci 1971: 194) mentions the 9th *dbon sa ba* sMon-lam rdo-rje, as the founder, which is more appropriate; so also *Deb sngon* maintains that Śāk[ya] gzhon[-nu] founded the college with the assistance of Tshal-pa sMon-lam-pa (BA Roerich 341). The college was situated to the south-west of the gTsug-lag-khang. sMon-lam rdo-rje, as confirmed in *Tshal rnam* 20a3–4, 22a1–2, erected along the outer, inner and intermediate walls, a *khang gsar gling*, completed within one year. The same text lists a number of masters who visited the college; cf. *ibid*. 45b6–46a5.

see for six years [i.e. 1308–1314 A.D.]. He subsequently came to the see of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog, and ruled for 27 years. [632]

During this period many savants and accomplished masters [such as] *mkhas pa chen po* Blo-gros mtshungs-med,[633] Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal,[634] E-ba rDo[-]r[je] gzhon[-nu],[635] *rgyal sde* gZhon-nu seng-ge,[636] *chos rje* Karma-pa[637] and *rtogs ldan* Grags-pa seng-ge [1283–1349 A.D.][638] etc. [all came to Chos-'khor-gling, where they] were brought to maturation and liberation. At Chos-'khor-gling

[**1**st throne-holder] *mkhas pa* Śākya gzhon-nu was followed by

[**2**nd throne-holder] *chos rje* Don-grub-dpal, who from a Tiger year [i.e. 1314 A.D.] until a Horse year [i.e. 1354 A.D.] over a period of 41 years in an excellent way safeguarded the see through the three activities of a [true] scholar.[639] By making the lotus grove of their intellectual understanding of the [real] meaning of the *Tripiṭaka* blossom, [he] brought to maturation a countless number of *mkhas grub* whose fame on this earth resembles that of the sun and the moon, [scholars] such as *slob dpon*

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[632] On gSang-phu and its succession of abbots, see Table V.8.3 below; Onoda 1989; BA Roerich 328f.; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 146ff. For the *chos dbar* between the institutions, see e.g. *gSer mdog rnam thar* 85.4. The great gSer-mdog Śākya mchog-ldan (1428–1507) stayed longer periods at Chos-'khor-gling between 1459–64 where he composed a large number of his minor writings; see his *Coll. Works*.

[633] He was a colleague of Śākya gzhon-nu at gSang-phu where he *inter alia* acted as teacher of the Karma-pa Grags-pa seng-ge (fn. 638); he is also known as disciple of Karma-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 284; BA Roerich 524f.; CFS Gyalbo *et. al*. 100.

[634] This either refers to Jo-nang-pa 'Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1306–1386 A.D.) or to the Bo-dong-pa scholar (Bo-dong Paṇ-chen) Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal *alias* 'Jigs-med grags-pa (1375–1451 A.D.). The first studied in his youth in Chos-'khor-gling; in the late 1350's he again came to Tshal Gung-thang where he preached at dBus-gling the initiation rite of the *Kālacakra tantra* (cf. BA Roerich 778; *Jo nang chos 'byung* 37). Prior to this ascetic, the Jo-nang *chos rje* Rin-chen tshul-khrims (1285–1356) delivered *Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga* teachings at Gung-thang in the 1340's, followed by Gha-rung-ba lHa'i rgyal-mtshan (1319–1401 A.D.). Also the Bo-dong Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal was active at Chos-'khor-gling; after his visit to Yar-lung (rTsed-thang, Khra-'brug) and gDan-sa-mthil in around 1398/99, he came to gSang-phu where he took part in a religious debate; from there he proceeded to [Ra-stod] bDe-ba-chen (App. V.8) and Chos-'khor-gling to preach the Doctrine (cf. his *rnam thar*, in Diemberger *et. al*. 1997: 50). The Bo-dong-pa school was closely related with the Sa-skya-pa and also had close ties with the bKa'-brgyud-pa (sTag-lung-pa, Karma-pa, Tshal-pa).

[635] Currently unidentified (E-ba may be read as g.Ye-pa, a native of g.Ye (E-yul) in lHo-kha, or it refers to the site of Bo-dong E (in gTsang), or E-ba is short for Ngor E-wam, the famous Sa-skya seat in Chu-mig of gTsang).

[636] Currently unknown; perhaps it refers to the bKa'-bcu-pa gZhon-nu seng-ge [blo-gros] (*fl*. 14th cent.); BA Roerich 774, *et passim*.

[637] I.e. Rang-byung rdo-rje (1284–1339 A.D.).

[638] The 1st Zhva-dmar Grags-pa seng-ge, the founder of gNas-nang (in sTod-lung, *dBus gtsang gnas yig* 363-64). For his life, see e.g. *Deb sngon* 622–29 (BA Roerich 523–32); *lHo rong chos 'byung* 285–88. It is reported that he came to Tshal Gung-thang in order to meet his teacher *chos rje* Rang-byung rdo-rje who at that time (i.e. in 1310 A.D.) presided over the funeral ceremony of *dpon chen* dGa'-bde-dpal (above fn. 463); *Deb sngon* 622.10-12. Grags-pa seng-ge was also disciple of the Chos-'khor-gling founder Śākya gZhon-nu.

[639] sMon-lam rdo-rje e.g. received the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* teachings from 'Jam-dbyangs Śākya gzhon-nu and from bDag-nyid chen-po Don-grub-dpal; cf. *Tshal rnam* 36a6–7. Is he identical with Pha-bong-kha'i bla-ma *gdan sa ba* Don-grub-dpal or Jo-gdan tshogs-pa'i *mkhan po* Don-grub-dpal?; *Tshal rnam* 46b5, 54b4.

Another more cognet clue may refer to Grags-pa don-grub since *chos rje* Grags-don = Chos-'khor-gling Grags-pa don-grub according to entries in *DL5 Thob yig*, *passim*; see also above fn. 164. Cf. also *rGya bod yig tshang* 488. The three hallmarks of erudition: *'chad*, *rtsod*, *rtsom gsum*.

chen po dKon-mchog seng-ge,[640] Jog-po-ba [*sic* = Dol-po-pa] Kun-mkhyen Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan [1292–1361 A.D.],[641] *mkhas btsun chen po* Blo-gros bzang-po,[642] *slob dpon* Shes-rab-'phel,[643] sMra-ba'i skyes-mchog bSod-nams-dpal,[644] *slob dpon* [**46b**] dKa'-bzhi-pa, *slob dpon* Chos-mchog and *mkhas btsun* Ri-khrod-pa etc.[645]

[**3**rd throne-holder] *thugs sras dam* Kun-mkhyen Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan[646] thereafter arrived at the see of Chos-'khor-gling, which he occupied for 14 years [i.e. *ca*. 1354–1367 A.D.]

[**4**th throne-holder] mKhas-btsun Blo-bzang [held] the see for 11 years [1367–1378 A.D.] starting from a Rabbit year.[647] Thereafter,

[**5**th throne-holder] bSod-nams dpal-ba[648] [who held] the throne for 10 years [1378–1388]. Thereafter,

[**6**th throne-holder] *slob dpon chen po* Kun-bzang-pa, who [ruled] the see for 22 years [i.e. 1388–1410/11 A.D.]. Thereafter,

[**7**th throne-holder] *rgyal sras* bDe-'byung-ba[649] who [ruled] the see for 18 years [1400/1410?–1428 A.D.]. He is one of eight bsTan-'dzin chen-po, profusely knowledgeable of the scriptures of the spiritual sons of Thams-cad mkhyen-pa [bTsong-kha-pa]. During his tenure, countless scholars such as Ye-bzang rtse-ba,[650] the Omniscient One of the Dark Age, etc. conducted a *grva skor* [visiting debate session] at this seat.[651] Thereafter,

[**8**th throne-holder] *chos rje* Chos kyi Shes-rab,

[**9**th throne-holder] bShes-gnyen dpal-ba,

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[640] Possibly referring to lDan-ma dKon-mchog seng-ge.

[641] The great Dol-po-pa; cf. Stearns 1999.

[642] Unidentified.

[643] He came from 'Ju-phu. The 9th Tshal *dpon* sMon-lam rdo-rje received teachings from him at Chos-'khor-gling; *Tshal rnam* 45a6–b3, 46b4.

[644] He was involved in the ordination of the 11th Tshal throne-holder in 1317 and the 9th Tshal *dpon* in 1328; see above 17b and 36b.

[645] Perhaps it refers to Ri-khrod-pa Blo-gros brtan-pa, *ca*. 1316–1358 A.D. according to Jackson 1989: 65.

[646] Evidently different from Dol-po-pa. A student of his was brTson-'grus bzang-po (1313–85) who held the see of Kam-kam *dgon* (cf. BA Roerich 309; *Ming mdzod* 4.; on [s]Kam-[s]kam, see fn. 552)

[647] The Rabbit year as initial year of his supposed tenure does not fit, but could refer to 1363 A.D.

[648] In the brief list of the Chos-'khor-gling abbots in *Yar lung chos 'byung* 134.10–14 and *Deb sngon* (BA Roeich 341), a throne-holder with the name Byams-pa[-dpal] is inserted between bSod-nams-dpal and Kun-bzang.

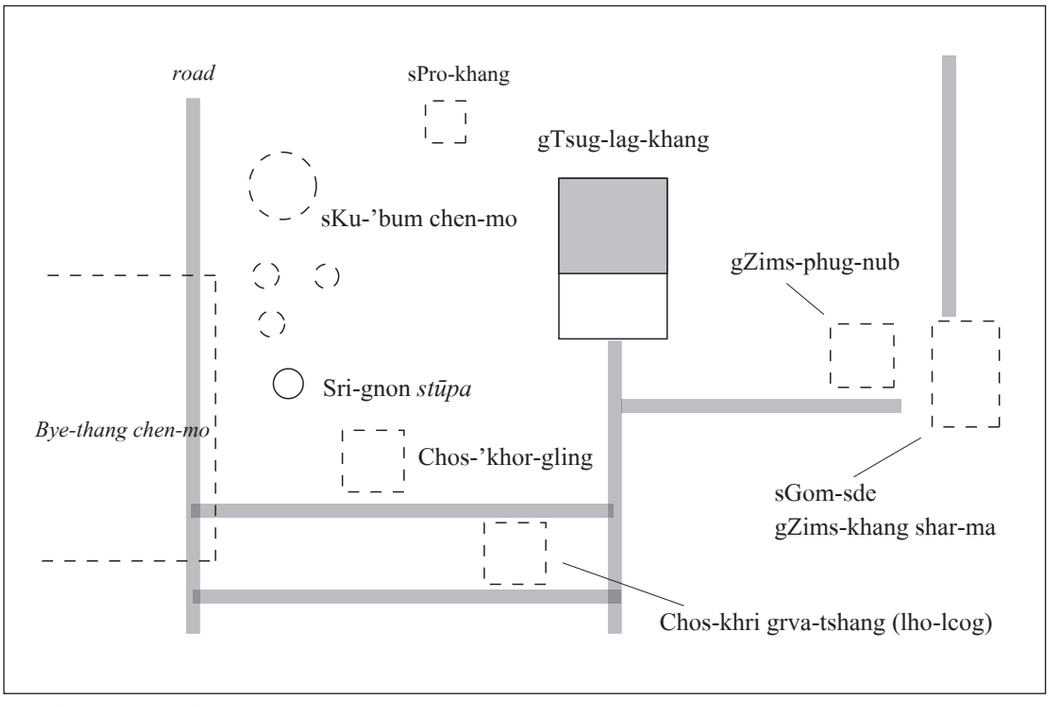
[649] See *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 50b1; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 152.17–21, 212.7–8; *bKa' gdams chos 'byung II* 97a3–4. *bSod nams rgyal mthsan rnam thar* 12a5-6 mentions him as Chos-'khor-gling *gdan sa ba* already for 1400 AD. He is perhaps to identify with the Gung-thang *chos rje* rGyal-sras *alias* Gung-thang-pa mDzes-pa-dpal known from the dGe-lugs literature. *bKa' gdams chos 'byung II* 96b1–2 maintains that mDzes-pa-dpal was throne-holder at Gung-thang and that he received teachings from bTsong-kha-pa at bKra-shis rDo-kha (see fn. 813). It is said that until this figure the seat belonged to the Tshal epoch, and after he incorporated the present seat into the dGe-lugs-pa fold, the seat belonged to the dGa'-ldan epoch. Cf. also *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 494. mDzes-pa-dpal is otherwise known as the founder of the Gung-thang chos-sde in gNyal, a dependency of the gNyal sDe-drug (above fn. 424), which, it appears, functioned as an outpost for the dGe-lugs-pa-isation of this area. He was also active at mKhar-steng-dgon (in gNyal of lHun-rtse *rdzong,* originally est. by the bKa'-brgyud *bla ma* Rong-po rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan). See dGe-'phel 2005d: 80; see also *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 49b2.

[650] Or Yid-bzang rtse-pa, *alias* 'Gos *lo tsā ba* gZhon-nu-dpal/Kumāraśrī (1392–1481 A.D.); cf. his biography and also Dung-dkar 1997: 463.

[651] A *grva skor* designates monks who had finished their initial training and subsequently conducted a row of visits to different colleges where they tested their skills in debate and scholarly erudition through trials and examination.

[**10**th throne-holder] Rin Śāk[ya]-ba etc. gradually arrived at the see in a series of scholars [that successively held the see].

At an appropriate time, both prior to and following the [tenancy] of these [above-mentioned throne-holders who] emerged from precisely this see, *mkhas grub* such as *paṇ chen* Byams-pa gling-pa bSod-nams rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde [1401–1475 A.D.],[652] etc. beautified [with their mere presence] this great site, a place so vast that it resembles the assemblage of stars in the sky. This very site is a branch seat of the gSang-phu Gling-smad.[653] Later [Chos-'khor-gling] merged with the affiliates of the Chos-khri lho-lcog [The Southern Tower [College] of the Dharma-Throne], etc. [in Tshal], whereupon they occupied merely a fraction of the area of the former assembly.



Graph 3: In Gung-thang (see also Part I: Fig. 4)

[**C**] [Tshal dBus-gling: The Mantra College]

Zhang Rin-po-che [**47a**], at the beginning of the foundation of Tshal erected a private residence (*gzims chung*) in dBus-gling,[654] where he remained for a long period. In order to disseminate there the Dharma tradition of the Sa-skya-pa, later the *dpon* dGa'-bde [dpal-]ba invited this very

[**1**st throne-holder (*gdan sa ba*)] the *dge ba'i bshes gnyen chen po,* known as Do-pa Don-[']grub

[652] Also called Byams-gling Paṇ-chen bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1401–1475 A.D.) of the Thon clan in Gong-dkar *rdzong* and rulers of Yar-rgyab.

[653] Cf. also *gSer mdog rnam thar* 85.4; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 150.10f.; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 46b1–2; Onoda 1992: 14.

[654] The dBus-gling gZims-chung; cf. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba*. The site with the later dBus-gling College and monastery is situated not far west of the Yang-dgon dgon-pa.

dpal-ldan, the *Mahāsattva*, who came from Sa-skya shar-ba.[655] He founded [in Tshal a college] and safeguarded for some years [this institution] by way of the very pure practise of Sa-skya. Thereafter, his assistant

[**2**nd throne-holder] *dge ba'i bshes gnyen* Rin-chen dpal-bzang arrived at the see [of dBus-gling].[656] Thereafter

[**3**rd throne-holder] *sems dpa' chen po* Shes-rab bzang-po safeguarded the see. Thereafter,

[**4**th throne-holder] *bla ma* Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan. Thereafter,

[**5**th throne-holder] *chos rje* Sangs-rgyas-dpal safeguarded [the see]. Following suit

[**6**th throne-holder] *drung* slob-dpon, the son of [the 12th *db/pon sa ba*] *si tu* dGe-legs bzang-po [1342–1390/91 A.D.], who occupied [the see] and safeguarded it for 23 years. Thereafter,

[**7**th throne-holder] *bla ma* Nam-mkha' shes-rab who occupied the see for 13 years.

Then followed,

[**8**th throne-holder] *mkhas pa* Byang-chub bzang-po [ruled] for three years.

[**9**th throne-holder] *mkhan rin po che* Blo[-gros/bzang?] mchog-pa, combining the [position as] *mkhan tshab*[657] and [the position at] dBus-gling, ruled for six years.[658]

Thereafter, following some further generations of abbots [i.e. anonymous throne-holders], again finally, on account of the kindness of *rje* Thams-cad mkhyen-pa [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa], father and spiritual sons, [dBus-gling] changed into a dGe-ldan [institution]. Thereupon, many abbatial generations appeared in an unbroken line, such as Yer-pa Byams-pa yongs-grags,[659] etc. In particular, starting from the abbatial tenure of Se-ra *rje btsun* Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan [1469–1544 A.D.][660] at Ser-Byes,[661] a religious connection (*chos dbar* [~ *bar*, i.e. *chos 'brel*] *btegs*) [in form of exchanging teaching and study sessions] was again and again upheld between this seat [i.e. dBus-gling] and the Ser-Byes mkhas-mang grva-tshang.[662] At that time, the Se-ra rje-btsun [**47b**] again and again had visions of the countenance of rJe Thams-cad mkhyen-pa and [following this, the level of] teaching, studying, hermeneutics and realization expanded increasingly.

During the time of the rule of the gTsang [lords over dBus] this seat [of dBus-gling] was handed over to the Karma-pa,[663] and simultaneously a religious connection was established with the

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[655] This Sa-skya master was pupil of Sa-skya Kun-dbang [= Kun-dga' dbang-phyug]. The 9th *dpon sa ba* sMon-lam rdo-rje rendered service to this throne-holder. Cf. *Tshal rnam* 23a4–5, 56a3: rGyal-bu Don-grub. Bya-rigs-pa (2003:129) purports that the founder was *kun mkhyen* Dad-pa.

[656] He was also addressed Bla-chos-pa *slob dpon* Rin-chen-dpal. Cf. *Tshal rnam* 46b7.

[657] Either *mkhan tshab*, i.e. acting or temporary *mkhan po* or read: *mkhan tshang*? *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 472 speaks of a *mkhan po* of dBus-gling named Chos rin-pa and *dge bshes* Byang-chub bla-ma during the time of Tsong-kha-pa.

[658] Cf. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 153.10f. This abbatial list (*bla rabs*) is longer and, as said by Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho himself, possibly unreliable.

[659] Cf. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 153.20.

[660] He was the 12th *mkhan po* of Se-ra from 1517 A.D. and served there for 29 years; see *Se ra chos 'byung* 71ff., 239; *Chos kyi rgyal mtshan rnam thar*, *passim*; *Chos grva chos 'byung* 632–645; *VS* 140. He established the Ra-mo-che sMon-lam tradition. At the close of his life, he occupied the seat of gSang-sngags-mkhar (above fn. 547).

[661] I.e. the largest college in the Se-ra monastery complex. Cf. *Grva sa chen po bzhi chags tshul* 449f.

[662] Originally called Ser-Byes mkhas-snyan grva-tshang; subsequently designated Byes mkhas-mang grva-tshang or mKhas-pa Shes-rab seng-ge Byes-pa grva-tshang; for its history, see *Se ra chos 'byung* 235f. In 1511 A.D. Chos-rje btsun-pa Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan took over the seat of this college. Cf. *Chos kyi rgyal mtshan rnam thar* 158.

[663] It refers to the pre-gTsang-pa sde-srid period and the rule of the Rin-spungs-pa. We only have very rudimentary

Karma-pa. In the mind of the [*chos*]*rje* Zhal-snga-nas Don-yod dpal-ldan [1445–1524 A.D.][664] misgivings were entertained as to whether or not the Karma-pa, on account of their mighty strength, [in reality] were coming [there] only to increase [the level] of teaching and study or not. Being inclined to think [it would be better] to withdraw from establishing a teaching connection for awhile, he had a dream: The image of mGon-po Beng[-dmar][665] depicted on the walls of the western Vestibule (*sgo khang*) of Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang appeared, waving the stick of [mGon-po] Beng. It said: "You may establish a Dharma connection!" In that year his own [system] of teaching and study developed. "Later, many auspices which pleased the protectors of Tshal Gung[-thang] occurred, wherefore a very great number of good things occurred such as the development of the *grva tshang* and the preaching of Dharma expositions at Tshal." Thus it is said in the *rnam thar* of rJe btsun-pa [Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan].[666]

Moreover, when Dung-dkar-ba Don-grub rgya-mtsho conducted extensive repair work at lHa-ldan [i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang], the Presiding [Zhal-snga-nas] [*mkhan po*] of dBus-gling Ngag-dbang Chos kyi dpal-'byor-ba, who unerringly descends from the lineage of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, executed the [ensuing] consecration, and bestowed many empowerments of [the cycles of] Sita Saṃvara [bDe-mchog dkar-po], Amitāyus, Vajrapāṇi and Caturbhuja Mahākāla [upon him], whereupon their minds even became one etc.

It was *dpon slob* dPal-bzang-po who later [left behind] [many excellent] and insurmountable physical legacies at this site. He was born in Grong-mchog.[667] During his youth, it was Grib

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information about the presence of the Karma-pa in Tshal Gung-thang. Most notably, Tshal Gung-thang was evidently donated to the Karma-pa in 1503, through the intervention of Don-yod rdo-rje. How long it remained in the hands of the Karma-pa is unclear, but probably not long. Beyond this, we know that e.g. the 4th Zhva-dmar Chos-grags ye-shes dpal bzang-po (1453–1524 A.D.) repeatedly visited Gung-thang (cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1105, 1140.11–12, 1142.4–5), esp. after the traditional patrons of Gung-thang, the sNel-pa had become stout supporters of the Zhva-dmar hierarch. During the same period, the 'Brug-pa hierarchs, on a good footing with the Karma-pa, regularly visited Tshal in 1508 and 1519 such as Ngag-dbang Chos-rgyal (1465–1540 A.D.); cf. *Ngag dbang chos rgyal rnam thar* 546.2, 552.6.

The Rin-spungs-pa / Karma-pa joint secular-clerical rule in sKyid-shod was initiated with the attacks of 1480–81 under Don-yod rdo-rje, who in 1503 founded the Thub-bstan chos-khor[-gling] monastery (also called the Karma dgon-gsar-gling) at Sa-nag in the eastern part of lHa-sa town (adjacent to sKu-'bum-thang). Short-lived, it functioned as a sort of outpost for the Karma-pa's mission to outweigh the dGe-lugs institutions of Se-ra, 'Bras-spungs and dGa'-ldan. It was the period when dGe-lugs-pa were banned from taking part in the annual *sMon lam chen mo*. Cf. Part II, App. II. The grand dGe-lugs-instituted festival was temporarily conducted by gSang-phu and Karma-pa monks between 1498–1518 A.D. Cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1101–02; Dungkar 1991: 59–61; *HSLG* Vol. 6: 189; *Shakabpa Guide* 22.

[664] The 10th *mkhan po* of Se-ra and teacher of Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan and Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa; *Se ra chos 'byung* 55f., 83, 91–94; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 43a2–5; *sKyor lung chos 'byung* 45a; *Chos grva chos 'byung* 222ff.; *bSod nams grags pa rnam thar* 4a3–4. He too was associated with Ser-Byes mkhas-mang grva-tshang prior to rJe-btsun's abbacy. The epithet Zhal-snga-nas, i.e. "presence" or "presiding" was carried by all *mkhan rabs* and *dpon slob* of this and of similar institutions; e.g. also the *gdan khri* of some of the colleges at bKra-shis lhun-po; see *ib*. 239–242, 254f.

[665] Cf above, fn. 41.

[666] See the biography of *Se ra rje btsun pa'i rnam thar* 17b1–2 by dGe-legs nyi-ma (ref. in Everding 2000: 161); sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho; *Chos kyi rgyal mtshan rnam thar* 158.

[667] It is most deplorable that we possess only little information on this important, evidently late 17th cent. figure known as Blo-bzang lhun-grub. The place of birth is unknown, but possibly it refers to a place in Grib.

rDzong-btsan,[668] who gave him the name dPal-bzang-po [his ordination-name being Blo-bzang lhun-grub] [**48a**], whereupon he was lauded in a sheer endless way in prophecies that said that he [indeed] was an extraordinary person capable of performing magnificent feats for the Teaching, etc. Shortly after, he sojourned in Se-ra for a short time where he [dedicated his time] to studying scriptures, etc. He subsequently sojourned for awhile in 'Bras-spungs, where he, in a fully pure way, succeeded in rendering service to the [local] *bla ma rigs grva ba*. During this period too, and taking as basis the fully pure prescribed limits [of the code of conduct] of the three vows, he [e.g.] for the rest of his life was unhappy with the thought that once, in connection with the [distribution of] properties of the *bla ma rigs grva ba* because of a [faulty] calculation, he may erringly have received one silver *zho* too much. He even made daily confessions which in the long term aimed at [redeeming this supposed transgression]. "Beyond that, [I] am capable of being cleared of any [other accusation of] transgression as to the question of any of the prescribed limits [of the moral code] related to the three vows!" he actually said, etc. Such are the excellent descriptions [of his exemplary life] which indeed are beyond conception.

During the period he rendered service to the [local *bla ma*] *rigs grva ba,*[669] he was obliged to sojourn for a long time in Rag-ma *rdzong* of 'Phan-yul.[670] Because he [there] witnessed how the joint monastic officials in-charge (*las byed sbrel po*) exerted many [sorts of] oppression upon the [local] *mi ser*-subjects, he emphatically petitioned the *bla ma* for leave of absence. He donated presents, tea and alms, such as whatever personal belongings he possessed, to the Lord, *rgyal ba'i dbang po* Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho [the 6th Dalai Lama, 1683–1706], to the *Paṇ chen Chos kyi rgyal po* Blo-bzang Ye-shes [the 2nd/5th Paṇ-chen Bla-ma, 1663–1737], etc. as well as to the large monastic assembly of 'Bras-spungs. He thereafter assumed [the simple] ascetic conduct of a *bya btang* renunciant, who [merely begged] for *rtsam pa* [food] at the door whenever it was needed (*sgo rtsam zad len byed pa*) [**48b**] and on his body wore nothing except the [simplest of] cloth.

Having requested [and received] an endless number of [i.e. all] Dharma cycles of *sūtra* and *mantra* from Thang-sag *rin po che* dNgos-grub rgya-mtsho,[671] he practised diligence and austerities [to

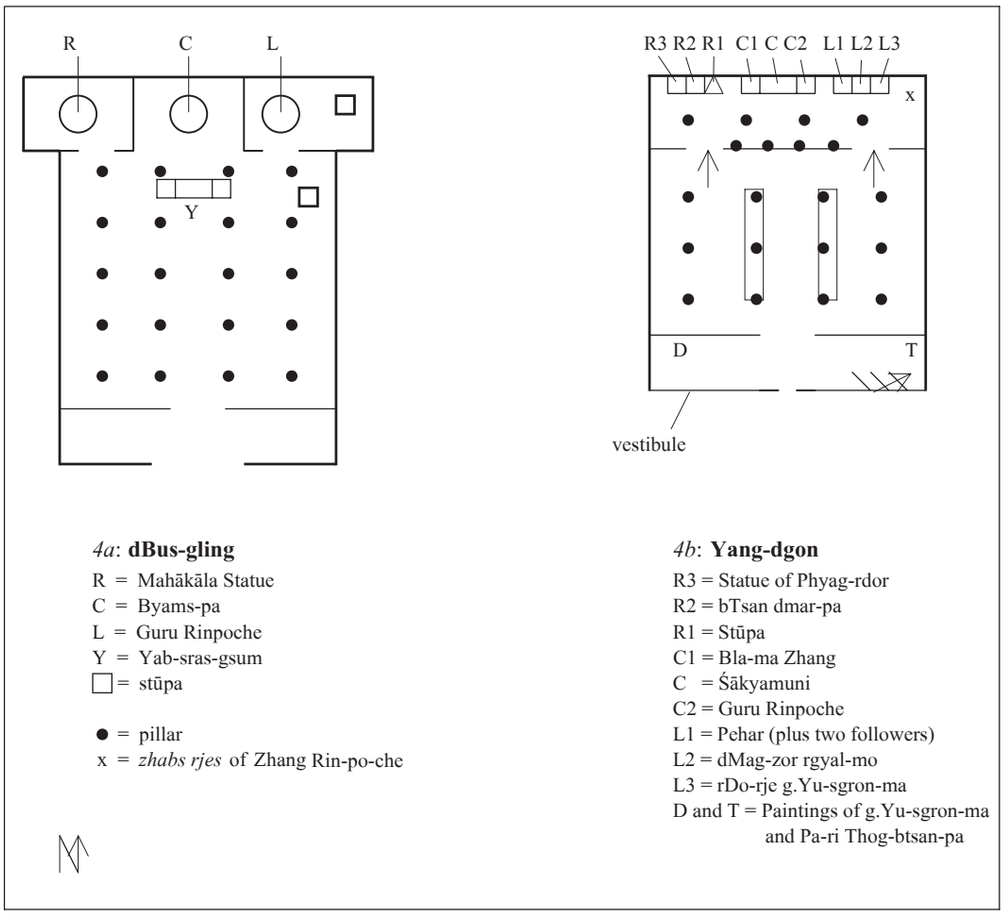
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[668] See above fns. 232, 436, 493; below fn. 780; Part II, App. IV: Chap. 2.

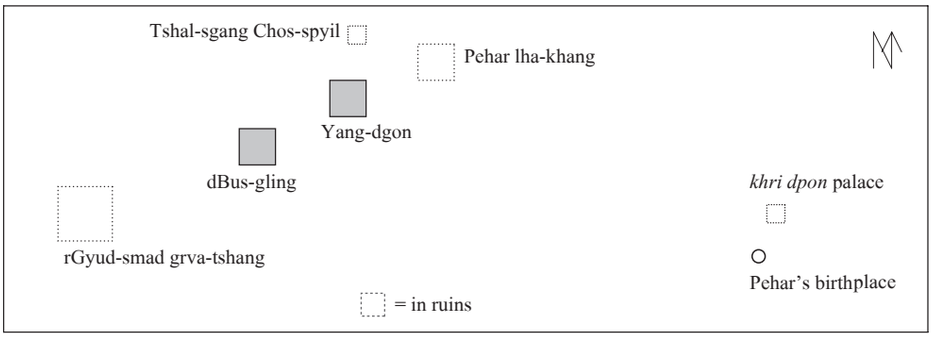
[669] The term [*bla ma*] *rigs grva* appears to refer to the body or group of high-ranking monks and abbots in charge of a monastery and its adjacent body of colleges.

[670] It most evidently refers to the area of Rag-ma (Ra-ma in the local tradition) of western 'Phan-yul, the site of the Ra[g]-ma'i Byams-khang erected by Zhang sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug. The monastery – today a nunnery – is famous for accomodating one of the Three Maitreya Brothers Images (i.e. the 'Phan-yul Byams-pa spun-gsum of the three sNa-nam foundations: Rag-ma Byams-khang, rGyal lha-khang and sPyan-legs Byams-khang (in Upper rGyal valley); cf. Blo-bzang rnam-rgyal 1999a: 130; Ye-shes dbang-phyug 1993: 45–47; *HSLG* Vol. 4: 53, 76–78; *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 183–84; Chos-'phel 2004c: 175f; 178f., 180f.; fn. 719 below). In the local tradition, the site is said to have been a residence of King Srong-btsan sgam-po. Several ancient places and ruins in this part of eastern 'Phan-yul are associated with the early dynastic period, such as Za-dam and mGar-yul (west of Rag-ma'i Byams-khang) (above fn. 373; App. IV: fn. 21). Until mid-17th cent., Za-dam *gtsug lag khang* was a *gdan sa* of Zhva-dmar. Later, during dGa'-ldan *gzhung* period both Za-dam and the neighbouring Rag-ma were monastic estates of 'Bras-spungs (cf. *dGa' bzhi rnam thar* 911). The area is also mentioned as the place of the Zhi-byed seat of Rag-ma Nyi-khud kyi dgon-pa (Kollmar Paulenz 1993: 273; BA Roerich 877); the seat of Dam-pa rgya-gar (= Pha dam-pa sangs-rgyas); *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 886.3–4.

[671] A biography of the influential Thang-sag-pa dNgos-grub rgya-mtsho is said to exist, compiled by sPos-khang (~-dkar)-pa Blo-bzang mchog-grub (not seen). 'Phan-yul Thang-sag dGa'-ldan chos-'khor was erected by Zhang-thang Ye-shes 'byung-gnas (or metathetically 'Byung-gnas ye-shes), a leading pupil of Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags, the



Graph 4: Scheme of dBus-gling and Yang-dgon (ground-floor)



Graph 5: In Tshal village (see also Part I: Fig. 33)

a level] similar to Kha-rag sgom-chung.[672] Having conducted 10 million [times] the recitational service (*seva*) of the [Śrī Vajra-]Bhairava Eka[vīra] [Form] ([dPal rdo-rje] 'Jigs-byed [dpa'-bo] gcig-pu), he expanded his experience of wisdom from moment to moment throughout the vastness of treatises related to *sūtra* and *mantra*. At the time he meditated and practised according to the Dharma cycles [contained in] the Sealed Biographical Books (*bKa' rgya* [*ma*]) of [Bla-ma] Zhang, for a long time, he conducted the retreat-bound *seva*-recitation (*bsnyen mtshams*) at Tshal-sgang Chos-spyil-bu,[673] and thus he [proved to be succeesful in] seeing the countenance of the [leading] *bla ma* of the bKa'-brgyud [tradition], primarily 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, [through which] a [profound] insight [of realization] on the *niṣpannakrama* level manifested [itself in him].

In particular, the deterioriation of the minor monastic communities etc. was so advanced at dBus-gling that the Assembly Hall (*'du khang*), and the monk's domitories (*grva shag*) etc. all [by now] had collapsed completely, the elders [among] the common monks, united in purpose, consequently forwarded a request to the Lord [i.e. dPal-bzang-po] and having accepted [their proposal], he [renovated] the Assembly Hall, the monk's dormitories and the ambulatory; in the central inner part of the *gtsang khang*, he not only had excellent *stūpa* erected and many volumes of the sacred scriptures manufactured, first and foremost the *bka' 'bum* of [Bla-ma] Zhang, but he also renovated the old objects [of veneration such as] the statue of the Mahākāla [mGon-po] [erected] during the time of the Tshal-pa [rule], the more than 500 volumes of the *bKa' 'gyur* [formerly] manufactured by *drung chen* sMon-lam-pa and his son [i.e. *drung chen* sMon-lam rdo-rje and *drung chen* Kun-dga' rdo-rje, 9th and 10th *dpon sa*], the excellent statue of Do-pa Don-grub dpal-ldan;[674] furthermore, [he renovated statues], foremost among them the many statues made from gilt copper and from cast metal (*li ma*) [once] brought from the Retreat Center (*sgrub sde*) of sNgags-grong,[675] [and he] made extensive offerings in the form of [decorating these] with liquid gold [as well as] with ceremonial scarfs, etc. Due to the magical power stemming from the repeated performances of *rab gnas* or consecrations of the gTsug-lag-khang including the objects of support [**49a**] that had been conducted after that the total [number of monks from the] assemblages of the rGyud-stod and rGyud-smad grva[-tshang] as well as the dGa'-ldan Khri Rin-po-che etc. had been invited [to dBus-gling of Tshal], this *gdan sa* [thus] came to experience a [renewed] flourishing.[676]

Madhyamaka pioneer in Tibet, and is located in present-day dGa'-chos township (*xiang*) of present-day lHun-grub *xian*. See e.g. Roesler and Roesler 2004: 36–37.

[672] Kha-rag sgom-chung, the contemporary of Mi-la ras-pa and a religious brother of Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal was renown for his austere or rigid asceticism. With his – with hindsight at least eclectic – bKa'-gdams-pa and bKa'-brgyud-pa/rDzogs-chen leanings, he was in later dGe-lugs circles foremost imitated for his exemplary and uncompromising life conduct of a hermit. Cf. Sørensen 2002.

[673] Above fn. 62.

[674] I.e. the first abbot of dBus-gling; above Chap. III.3.C.

[675] sNgags-grong or "Mantra Village" is a well-known locale, present-day situated in Gru-brgya *xiang* of lHun-grub *rdzong* in 'Phan-yul. sNgags-gong in *HSLG* Vol. 4: 29–30. Precise location: 29°49'N 91°14'E (*Xizang Dimingzhi I* 61b, referring to the valley south of Glud-'gong-sgang; see Map 4). In the Kun-bde-gling archive in lHa-sa, a Map of sNgags-grong of 'Phan-yul is conserved. It was a *chos gzhi* or religious estate of the ['Bras-spungs] gZims-gong.

[676] *DL7* 545 e.g. reports for 1742 A.D that the rGyud-smad monks presented consecratory offerings in form of *dkar spro* and *phyag nas* or "blessed barley" to the newly erected Assembly Hall at Tshal.

Thereafter [dPal-bzang-po] also established the mTsho-kha [monastery][677] in [']Phan-yul as well as in this region [the monastery] known as Ri-skya sDig-'joms or dGa'-ldan Me-tog thar-pa'i-gling, etc.[678] and he subsequently safeguarded [these places] for a long time. At the end of his life, he established a new retreat site at sNgags-grong, where he heard [i.e. received] the reading authorization of the entire *bKa' 'gyur* of the Victor. At that time he rendered service etc. for a period of four years to about 30 *kalyāṇamitra* from Se[-ra], 'Bras[-spungs] and their tantric faculties, [monks] who were capable of working for the precious Teaching [of Buddha]. Having completely [received the above] reading authorization, he also donated extensive presents and fees etc. according to rank of the individual *bla ma* and to those who had requested for the *dharma*. He thereafter proved beneficial to the tradition of the Teaching. Among the row of scriptural compositions [he made] too, [we find the] *bKa' 'gyur dkar chag*, an autobiography, *Zhang rin po che gsol 'debs*[679] [as well as] many sorts of [writings in the field of] *bSlab bya*, many sorts of [writings within the field of] *'dod gsol* and *smon lam* and many sorts of [writings in the field of] *Ja mchod*,[680] etc.
In the current recitational tradition, it is said

> "[Being] Amitābha, the Lord of the Jina-s,
> Master of the *siddha* (*siddheśvara*), Protector of all [beings],
> *Jagannātha* g.Yu-brag-pa
> May you rejoice by [tasting] the Nectar of Wisdom!"[681]

This [stanza] too appears to stem from [the words of] this Lord [dPal bzang-po]. As to the name of this lord, the people of 'Phan-po today [call him] the Teacher of mTsho-kha [mTsho-kha dpon-slob] whereas he in dBus-gling is known as *slob dpon* dPal-bzang-po. His real name was Blo-bzang lhun-grub.

[**49b**] During [the period] when the activities of this very Lord kept on expanding, the great *siddheśvara* known by the name *dpon slob* Ngag-dbang yon-tan[682] [in turn] safeguarded the seat [of dBus-gling] for 40 years. This holy [personage] was born in the area of mDo-khams. He studied the basic treatises in [the college of] Blo-gsal-gling of 'Bras-spungs. In the capacity of *dBu mdzad* of Blo-gsal-gling, having accepted to [act as] attendant to rNam-'dren rGyal-ba'i dbang-po Blo-bzang bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho [the 7th Dalai Lama, 1708–1757 A.D.], he went along when the latter went to 'Gar-thar [= mGar-thar].[683] As remuneration for the extraordinary [excellence] in

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[677] Probably identical with sGo-mo mTsho-kha; cf. *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 489.13–14.

[678] The exact location of these sites remains unknown.

[679] The text is called in full *Zhang rin po che la gsol 'debs pa'i rab tu byed pa* as contained in Bla-ma Zhang's writings (*ZhK II*, Vol. Ca 275a1–280b1 (1a1–6b1in the *ZhK III*). It was written by dGe-ba'i blo-gros.

[680] The *bslab bya* or moral precept, *'dod gsol* and *smon lam* or wishful prayer literature and the *ja mchod* or tea libation are all minor genres popular not least in later dGe-lugs circles.

[681] The *locus classicus* not yet identified, but as said possibly to be found in the writings of this influential master. It may well stem from the non-extant *Zhang rin po che gsol 'debs* versified biography stemming from his pen. The verse is repeated at the close of the treatise too and this concluding verse may be the source.

[682] He appears to be identical with *mchod dpon* Zhva-lu mkhan-po Ngag-dbang yon-tan who, as said, rendered service to the 7th Dalai Lama in mGar-thar; cf. *DL7* 260. He possibly may be the *mgron gnyer* Ngag-dbang yon-tan who along with two *bka' blon* met Sle-lung and to whom the latter tendered a life-long empowerment at dPal-'byor rab-brtan, an estate in Grva, in 1723; cf. *Sle lung rnam thar* 361a5.

[683] This alludes to a decisive episode in the life of the 7th Dalai Lama, who had been escorted to mGar-thar (i.e.

service rendered [by him], this Lord requested [and received] the gift of precisely this seat [i.e. dBus-gling] at the time [when the attendants] were in a position to choose either a monastery or a *rdzong* etc. according to their own personal taste. At that point, when others inquired: "[Why] did your Lord not request for a [monastery] with a larger revenue than this monastery [of dBus-gling]?" The Lord [i.e. Ngag-dbang yon-tan answered]: "Formerly, when rGyal-dbang *Thams cad mkhyen pa* [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama] [once] in India had taken rebirth as King Dza,[684] I served as the store-keeper for this king. However, due to avarice and because I did not use the expenditures as prescribed, [as retribution] I was born for a long time in the damned states (*durgati*). During the time of *grub thob* Thang-stong [rgyal-po] [1361–1485 A.D.][685] I was reborn as a very poor person called Lug-shig-pa[686] Being [hereafter] born only in poor [circumstances], and deeming the fact that it seems that I have not been born into a richer [family] than my present one, compared to my [poor circumstances] this monastery [of dBus-gling indeed] appears to have the defect of being far too big for me!" etc. He certainly was a person [endowed with the super knowledge of] recollecting his former states of existence (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛty*[*abhijñā*]).

Again, at the place where the small *rgyal*-castle (*rgyal mkhar*)[687] was set up, situated in the southern corner of the eastern main-entrance to dBus-gling, he every night offered a *chang bu* [i.e. eatable] offering. It was said [by him] that [**50a**] this [offering] was [intended] for a dBus-gling *bla-ma* who had taken birth as a *rgyal gong* [demon][688] etc. Many [suchlike statements from him] prevail that [thus describe] how he possessed an inconceivable yogic insight [of realization]. Anyway, at this main seat and its branch monastery of Bya-mkhar, the two, the [number of the members of the] assemblages during the time of this master and his disciple[s] increased excessively. [Indeed] beyond description is the development [in dBus-gling of the transmission of] hermeneutics, realization, teaching and study etc. [under his rule] and his last deed [i.e. the passing into *nirvāna*] too, he displayed at this main seat.

In the intermediate period, the Mahā-kalyāṇamitra Byams-pa blo-bzang, the Lord of the Ocean of Scripture, arrived at the [abbatial] seat which he safeguarded in accordance with the dual system

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Geda, Taining, Qianning county; recently also named Bamei),* the garrison town to the north-west of Dar-rtse-mdo (Dajianlu), in farthermost Khams (now Ganzi) where he was exiled and detained for five years, 1730–35 A.D., following the Dzungar (i.e. Jegünγar) interlude in Central Tibet; for his journey hither and longish sojourn there; cf. *DL7* 221ff.; see also *lCang skya'i rnam thar* 152–165 (ed. Lanzhou 1989); see also generally Kämpfe 1974: 85f.; L. Petech 1972: 169–176; Wylie 1959: 102; Wu 1995: 286f.; Wang 1995: 206f; Uspensky 1997: 5–7.

* For the etymology of mGar-thar, lit. "[The Place wherefrom Minister] mGar escaped"; cf. *DL7* 257–58; *DL10* 272.11–273.9; TBH Sørensen 241–42. Tradition holds that the local temple, similar to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, was erected on a dried-up lake.

[684] King Dza/Tsa of Za-hor in India, evidently a Tibetan mythic invention, was sometimes in rNying-ma hermeneutics identified with Indrabhūti. He played a significant role in the legendary origin of Vajrayāna; see Karmay 1998: 76ff.

[685] The master was active in the lHa-sa and Tshal area when in around 1430–32 he initiated the erection of the iron bridge of lHa-gdong Shan-kha (in his biography also called the bridge of Brag-[lHa-]gdong of Grib) connecting the two districts of lHa-sa and Tshal Gung-thang (*cum* Grib), respectively. *Thang stong rnam thar I* 155–157; *II* 181.2–193.5, 212–213, *III* 275–88, *III* 357–58 (situating the erection in the period 1444–50) where he also displayed miraculous feats such as walking on the waters of sKyid-chu without sinking.

[686] Lit. "The one with Sheep-lice." These narratives seem to have been transmitted in oral form.

[687] For the castle of the *rgyal po* demon, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 382, 394, *et passim*.

[688] Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 300, 395. A *rgyal po* was considered a dangerous spirit, often a manifestation of a deceased spiritual or religious person that may have passed away, as here, under dubious circumstances or was considered a nemesis for the breach of his vows.

of religious and secular rule. Unable to bear in his mind that at that time the former [monk's] dormitories situated around the courtyard (*shag skor*), as well as the enclosures etc. were far too small, to the effect that for example the *Me tog mchod pa* Ceremony etc. had to be performed along the path running outside the dormitories situated around the courtyard,[689] he forwarded a request to the precious Central Government (*gzhung sa*) [i.e. dGa'-ldan pho-brang]. In accordance with his expressed wishes that the individual dormitories etc. should be expanded in the western and southern direction, the treasurer 'Phrin-las chos-'phel, who was counted among the leading monks of this [monastery] and whose discernment in all respects not only was incomparable, but whose concern for precisely this main seat was extremely great too, along with his supportive relatives took over the great responsibility [for its renovation and expansion] and erected anew the [monk's] dormitories, etc. As the possibly best means of increasing [the number of monks of] the congregation, [he introduced] gatherings of *chos grva* even during the winter and summer [sessions] respectively. [Thus] it would appear that the tradition of providing the best possible management [and implementation] of all the disciplinary rules [at dBus-gling], foremost the chanting of liturgical texts, had prevailed until the present day.

The Mahā-Sthavira [i.e. Great Elder] of Diligence *dge slong* Ngag-dbang dar-rgyas too established anew [at dBus-gling] the fully pure practise of the *pratimokṣa* moral code, the root of the [Buddhist] Teaching, such as the fasting rituals (*poṣadha*), [**50b**] etc. By religious and secular means, foremost by way of raising a trust fund (*gtong thebs*) [secured] by way of [performing] these [rituals] as well as, moreover, from [the enactment of] the Bhaiṣajyaguru[-pūjā], etc., the means were provided which in no small way contributed to a [prosperous] development [of the dBus-gling], etc. [Here however I] have only written an abbreviated exposṝ [of these developments].

These [details chronicled here so far] are [thus] merely an abbreviation of all the former events, both the general and specific [i.e. distinct] ones. Therefore, [the situation and circumstances of] the gTsug-lag-khang of the present time differ fundamentally from the situation that prevailed in former times. [The details concerning] the former conditions too appear in many old [historical] scriptural documents, yet they [contain] all sorts of contradictory arguments, and even the oral tradition of older generations contains many contradictions, wherefore it appears difficult to draw [a true picture of the events].

According to [*lHa 'dre bka'i*] *Thang yig* [690]

"In the female Fire-Pig year [1347 A.D.]

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[689] This refers to the *Me tog mchod pa* Festival in dBus-gling. It is said that the dBus-gling monks implemented their own ceremonies independent from Gung-thang, but not less elaborate than the latter with mask dances, and with their own *'cham yig* choreographical tradition, etc. Cf. e.g. *DL5 I* 315b1–2.

[690] See *lHa 'dre bka'i thang yig* 77.22–78.2. The last couplet of this quatrain – not quoted here – reads: *lha 'dre yid kyi gzugs can snying la zhugs* // *rang rang bstan pa rang rang 'jig par 'gyur* / This dismal and self-destructive scenario is made clearer from a cognate verse in the *Lo paṇ bka'i thang yig* 408.12-14, where the episode in that year refers to the Sa-skya punitive army (here called *khrims dmag*) dispatched to Yar-klungs valley by the Sa-skya *dpon chen* rGyal-bzang in 1347 A.D. According to *Si tu bka' chems* 95ff. = *Rlangs* 192ff. and again *Rlangs* 417–418 (cf. Petech 1990a: 49, 106–7) the contingents, mainly in the later part of 1348, were sent out to stem – abortively – the progress of the Phag-mo-gru-pa and were fielded by dBang-brtson (here not by rGyal-bzang; both actually succeeding one another, almost seamlessly, as Sa-skya *dpon chen* in 1347–48 A.D.). Cf. also Blondeau 1971: 111.

the army of the law will appear in Yar-klungs,
After seven generations of rulers of the Teaching of the Tshal-pa."

the [sexagenary] year element etc. appears not to have any [relevance] to the directly following intermediate period. However, 225 years after the founding of Gung-thang, in the Iron-Horse year,[691] Gung-thang suffered substantial war damages and thereafter in the 140th year [from then], in the Fire Sheep year [1547 A.D.], the great Fire occurred.[692] Headed by [such episodes] both prior to and following [these events] the successive *khri dpon* too, being dissatisfied with their individual authority of power, waged a large number of fightings and conflicts. Spurred foremost by these [events], and by force of the blossoming of the fruits constituting the full maturation of [karmic activities both] the specific [i.e. personal] as well as the general [i.e. common] ones, the activities of the Three Wheels[693] of the Tshal-pa monk-body (dGe-'dun Tshal-pa) and the authority of the secular *zhabs drung*, father and sons, gradually became weaker. As a consequence of this, it appears that [the general condition of] these [statues and relics] of the three kinds of receptacles [of body, speech and mind here in Gung-thang] gradually deteriorated too.

[The sKyid-shod *zhabs drung* in Tshal]

Finding it difficult to bear the dilapidation of the entire Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang, the sanctuary and its [sacred] images [**51a**], the sKyid-shod *zhabs drung* bKra-shis rab-brtan [1531–1589 A.D.][694]

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[691] The chronology is uncertain; the Iron-Horse year can only refer to 1390, but the calculation is defective 1187 + 225 = 1411.

[692] The calculation is again defective: 1411 (see prev. note) +140 = 1551. However, as we know, Gung-thang caught fire in 1546 or 1547, respectively. See fn. 179 above.

[693] The three wheels here refer to renunciation, study and work.

[694] We only have fragmentary information on this most important 16th cent. political figure. This is most deplorable. A genealogy of this sKyid-shod noble house written by him is said to exist (a rare Ms entitled *sKyid shod dga' ldan pa'i gdung rabs* (cf. fn. 560 above) was consulted by Dung-dkar Rin-po-che, upon which the foll. tentative dates are based). He was known as a personality of great stamina and erudition who left behind writings (mostly non-extant). His pedigree as ruler of the dGa'-ldan-pa fief or ruler estate (issued from Nyang-bran dGa'-ldan-pa line unrelated to dGa'-ldan of the dGe-lugs-pa) is listed in *Bod kyi deb ther* 184.18–185.12 (= Tucci TPS: 648; Ahmad 1995: 185–86; Nor-brang 1993: 444–45); *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 252–56. Their fortified residence (*rdzong*) was perched on Mt. Bye-ri sTag-rtse. Hence, they were also called Bye-ri-[stag-]rtse *sde pa* after this fortress (at a later point, after the appropriation of the until then independent Brag-dkar bDe-chen-rtse *rdzong* in the around 1555 A.D. that had been tendered to the sKyid-shod-pa after the former line had died out, donated as a reward for his military service in lHo-kha, the sKyid-shod-pa shifted their main seat to bDe-chen in present-day sTag-rtse county. Both estates are listed among the 13 *rdzong* districts set up by Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (see note 542 above).

Initially titled *nang so*, later sKyid-shod *sa skyong* / *zhabs drung* dGa'-ldan-pa *mi'i rje* / *mi dbang* bKra-shis rab-brtan (also referred to as [*a*] *khu* or conjointly *khu dbon* when listed along with his successor in the seat and nephew (*dbon*) g.Yul-rgyal nor-bu (cf. fn. 699 below) and with whom he ruled conjointly) was, as said, one of the most powerful political figures (along with his elder brother Don-grub rgyal-po (= Don-grub [rab-brtan] rgya[l]-po); see below) in northern Central Tibet in the later part of the 16th cent. He took over after the demise of his elder brother in 1568 and ruled until his death.* Earning a great repute due to his military and administrative service to the Phag-mo-gru-pa Gong-ma, he eventually became *rdzong dpon* of the nearby Brag-dkar estate or fief. Registered as patron of the 13th Zha-lu abbot Tshar-chen Blo-gsal rgya-mtsho (inexplicably and questionably in the mid-1540's), he in particular entertained a patron-priest relationship with the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho from *ca*. 1572. Repeatedly mentioned in contemporary sources, and often eulogized for his unfailing support of the dGe-lugs-pa sect; so by the 3rd and in

contucted a fully perfect renovation of these [buildings and their sacred objects]. At one point, having invited '*Phags mchog 'Jig rten dbang phyug* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3rd Dalai Lama, 1543–1588 A.D.][695] [to Gung-thang], the [consecratory] "eye-opening" ritual was performed,[696] whereby many [wondrous] signs [occurred] such as [the display of] a fully clear sky, etc. or, again, once when offerings were presented [to the statues] at Gung-thang, the image of [Bla-ma] Zhang [known as] Yid-bzhin nor-bu [Cintāmaṇi] took off [its] hat [all by itself as a token of veneration in front of the *zhabs drung*], etc. Considering [the nature of these auspices], the statement – according to some of the narratives which are presently [in circulation] – "that *zhabs drung* bKra-shis rab-brtan after having erected the currently existing statue of lHa-chen inserted into its "heart" the right

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particular 4th Dalai Lama who extolled him by comparing him to Hanuman, the monkey champion, the adviser of Sugrīva and companion of Rāma, the epitome of an unfailing helper. He further was an elder contemporary and patron of the 2nd 'Ol-kha *zhabs drung* bsTan-pa rgya-mtsho (1557–1621) and of the 24th throne-holder of dGa'-ldan Chos-rje Byams-pa rgya-mtsho (rl. *ca*. 1575–1582 A.D.), the latter pupil of *paṇ chen* bDe-legs nyi-ma (cf. fn. 666 *supra*). He was a renowned and stout patron of sacred receptacles erected in dGa'-ldan, 'Bras-spungs and Se-ra. He regularly had repair work carried out at Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and Tshal Gung-thang. He e.g. sponsored the erection of a statue of the 3rd Dalai Lama. Under his soubriquet or nome de plume dByangs-can dbang-po'i sde (fuller dByangs-can Ngag gi dbang-phyug bsnyems-pa'i sde [i.e. Sarasvati Vāgīśvara] or sMra-ba'i dbang-phyug, alluding to his great erudition as a man of letters), he composed an ode to the 3rd Dalai Lama at his residence Bye-ri sTag-rtse'i *rdzong*.

We have little information on the number of his children. Aside from (his son?) g.Yul-rgyal, we surmise that a daughter of his (at least) was known by the name bSod-nams dpal kyi bu-khrid who in 1594 gave birth to *zhabs drung* Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1594–1651 A.D.), the future founder and unifier of the Bhutan state.** Another daughter is referred to in *Tāranātha rnam thar* 86b2, born around 1588–89.

Sources: *DL3* 83b4, 85b4, 87b4f., 90b2–92a3, 99a3 etc.; *DL4* 23b3–26a5; *DL5 I* 18b3f.; *Tshar chen rnam thar* 87b4; *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 92; *lHa ldan dkar chag* 9.14–15, 37.16–17; *gShin rje gshed chos'byung II* 231b4, 232b5–6, 259b5, 263b2; *dGe 'dun chos rgyal dbang phyug rnam thar* 5b5; *Hor dam chos dar tshul* 254–55, 544 (= Klafkowski 223–4, 452); *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 256; *sKyid shod sde pa skor* 21f. Cf. also Taube 1966: no. 1210. See Table V.12.3.

* As indicated in our text, he was involved in the invitation of the future 3rd Dalai Lama to Gung-thang in 1553 (see next note). An unique contemporary Central Tibetan document issued (date 30.04.1584) by bKra-shis rab-brtan confirms his lengthy flourit. During the same spell, the house also entertained amicable relations with an array of hierarchs including the Karma-pa, the Sa-skya-pa, 'Bri-gung-pa, the sTag-lung-pa and the 'Brug-pa.

** He was born in mGar-grong sNyams-gnang gzhis-kha, an estate under 'Brug dgon-pa (in gNam of sKyid-smad); later registered as a religious estate of 'Bras-spungs. A mGar-grong dgon-pa is repeatedly mentioned in the writings of Bla-ma Zhang (cf. *ZhK I* 24.3–4; *Rin chen rnam thar* in *ZhK III* (Ca) 281b1–2; above fn. 35); it evidently refers to the mGar-grong lha-khang in gNam district of Chu-shur (see *CTZhZh* 35; *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 28a6), more precisely to the area where the ['Brug] [s]Nyams-[g]nang monastery is located (in central gNam; see Part I: Map 1a; Fig. 69a,b). It also suggests that the sKyid-shod-pa had a residence in sKyid-smad. Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal's mother was formerly married to a gTsang prince, other sources say she has been given as spouse to sKu-rab *sde pa* Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal, and if this information is otherwise corroborated, the latter's birth year 1597 seems untenable. Cf. *lHo'i chos 'byung* 14a3–5. Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal's biography suggests that he was responsible for the death of the gTsang-pa *sde srid* in 1621; cf. Ardussi 1997: 66.

[695] This refers to the invitation of the 11-years old bSod-nams rgya-mtsho to Gung-thang in 1553 (which he had visited for the first time in 1547 where they were received by the residential *sde pa* dGa'-ldan-pa and again 1552 A.D.) and where he carried out or rather supervised the renovation work (followed by the relevant consecration) of the complex in the wake of the 1546 A.D. fire. He e.g. erected anew a (wall) brocade *thangka* (*gos sku*) (this may in fact refer to the *gos sku* erected by Don-grub rab-brtan during the same spell), etc. For a depiction, see Introduction: Fig. 12 taken from a biographical *thangka* of the 3rd Dalai Lama in Tucci TPS 394–96 (Pl. 68). The same year saw severe fightings breaking out in Tibet with the effect that the annual Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa* had to be postponed; cf. *DL3* 29a6–b1, 35b5, 36a4. In 1642, the sKyid-shod-pa *taiji* rDo-rje rnam-rgyal was invited to the annual Flower Festival at Tshal Gung-thang.

[696] This complementary ritual alludes to the [re]painting of the "eyes" (*spyan dbye*) of a deity, mainly on *thangka*, whereby the image became consecrated or vivified (*zhal bsro*, *rab gnas*). See Introduction: Fig 12 for the visit.

arm, the only unscathed remnant of the former statue of lHa-chen after it had been largely destroyed during the fire [of 1546 A.D.]" appears to be [quite] authentic.

Thereupon, [the sKyid-shod] *zhabs drung* Don-grub rab-brtan [d. 1568],[697] commemorating the funeral ceremonies of the consort mother (*yum*),[698] manufactured anew a wall brocade [Thangka] and he succeeded in carrying through in no inferior way a renovation of the statues of the gTsug-lag-khang chen-mo which had been damaged by fire.

Zhabs drung bKra-shis [rab-brtan] too [conducted] repair work and he erected anew the gilded copper [roof] of the Tshe-dpag[-med] lha-khang and a wall brocade [thangka] etc. rGyal-mchog

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[697] Cf. also *GT* 41a above. With this figure the heyday of this house commenced. The flourit of this sKyid-shod *zhabs drung* are to be situated in mid-16th century. The *nang so* Don-grub rgyal-po (see *Bod kyi deb ther* 184 (= Tucci TPS 648, Table; Ahmad 1995: 185) was son* of Ra-nu lHa-bsrung and grand-son of bSod-nams rgyal-po of the dGa'-ldan ruling house. His younger brother was bKra-shis rab-brtan with whom he ruled conjointly from *ca.* 1552. His active flourit to be situated *ca*. 1525–1568 A.D., confirmed by sources such as the biography of Zhig-po gling-pa (1524–1583 A.D.), where the activities of the latter in erecting an octogonal deluge-bulwarking temple or *chu bzlog lha khang* called rDo-rje lha-khang in lHa-sa in the years 1557–58 A.D. are reported, executed on the behest of *sde pa* Don-grub rab-brtan rgya[l]-po (also known as Don-grub mgon-po) of sKyid-shod. He was the figure who "rebelled" against the Phag-gru mother house by disobeying the sNe'u-gdong Gong-ma i.e. Ngag-dbang bKra-shis grags-pa (1488–1564). The warfare of sKyid-shod (of 1553–54) thus began during his tenure. The Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa* and the 1553 *sMon lam chen mo* had to be postponed due to this warring conflict. He occupied sKyor-mo-lung for seven years until 1561. To him is also ascribed the erection or rather refurbishment of the dGa'-ldan khang-gsar mansion** in lHa-sa (famous seat in Tibetan political history), erected (or rather renovated) in 1549 (*sa byi* = *sa bya*; see also *HSLG* Vol. 6: 91–2). Together with *sde pa* bKra-shis rab-brtan, he was involved in the restoration work in the immediate aftermath of the Gung-thang 1546 fire. The patronage, above all, made them the new "rulers" of Gung-thang. He dispatched troops to lHa-kha late in around 1567, shortly after he passed away. See App. V: Table 12.3.

Sources: *Zhig po gling pa rnam thar* 60.3–63.6, 99.2–4; *DL3* 77a1–2; *Sog bzlog bgyis tshul gyi lo rgyus* 224.2; *gShin rje gshed chos'byung II* 256a4–5; *Lung bstan rdo rje lha khang* (= see Akester 2001); *sKyor lung chos 'byung* 51a.

* In *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 256 Ra-nu lha-srung *alias* (*sic*) *dmag dpon* bSod-nams rgyal-po is registered as the eldest brother of Don-grub and bKra-shis rab-brtan. This appears to be in contradiction with the 5th Dalai Lama *Deb ther*, but not infeasible. Since Dung-dkar enjoyed unique access to the crucial *dGa' ldan sKyid shod pa'i gdung rabs*, a clarification of this point must await further research.

** The "New Residence of the dGa'-ldan [sKyid-shod-pa]" (contrary to the old or original dGa'-ldan -pa seat in Nyang-bran?) was euphemized lCang-lo-can or "the Willow-grove [Mansion]." It served as a celebrated residence and guest-house for numerous visiting dignitaries and hierarchs such as the 'Brug-dbang hierarch Ngag-dbang Chos kyi rgyal-po in 1522–24, the 2nd Dalai Lama in 1526, 3rd Dalai Lama in 1553, Pad-ma dkar-po in 1591, the 4th Dalai Lama in 1603 A.D., the 5th 'Brug-chen dPag-bsam dbang-po in 1604, sTag-lung Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal in 1611, and for Tāranātha, etc. to mention a few over the years. Situated outside the core part of inner lHa-sa (at that point barely consisting of more than the Jo-khang and Ra-mo-che temples and its closest *bar skor* surroundings), it was the estate mansion (or *gzhis ka*) of the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa in lHa-sa, serving as their local seat just south of Ra-mo-che monastery. It later became the residence of the Qošod king of Tibet bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal and still later of Pho-lha-nas, etc; cf. e.g. *bKa' blon rtogs brjod* 39, *et passim*. In about 1634, it appears to have been appropriated by the dGe-lugs *phyag mdzod* or administrator bSod-nams rab-brtan, the strongman of Tibet, who renovated it the same year (*DL5* [B] 83b4).

The present-day dGa'-ldan khang-gsar building constitutes the stable of the former main-building. The former mansion was torn down in 1930 and the present building (before it was recently renovated in 1996) dates from this period. Since numerous contemp. sources speak about a dGa'-ldan khang-gsar prior to mid-1550's, it would suggest that the old dGa'-ldan-pa chief merely rebuilt the mansion and that the original mansion was erected a century before by bSod-nams rgyal-po.

[698] It either refers to the mother of Don-grub rgyal-po (i.e. the *yum* and wife of bSod-nams rgyal-po (cf. fn. 534) and of bKra-shis rab-brtan, but this entry is doubtful since she apparently was still alive 1591). Rather it may refer to the passing of one Brag-dkar *lcam* Rin-chen rgyal-mo in 1568 A.D, the same year, in that case, as the sKyid-shod-pa ruler died.

bSod-nams rgya-mtsho was repeatedly invited and he conducted the consecration rites and the fire-offerings, etc. [Thus for his service to the temple] he was in a fully pure way rewarded.

During the tenure of [sKyid-shod] *zhabs drung* g.Yul-rgyal-ba[699] when Gung-thang was in danger of being flooded by water [that overflowed from sKyid-chu river],[700] he felt concerned

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[699] sKyid-shod *sde pa* or *mi'i dbang po* g.Yul-rgyal (~ g.Yul rnam-par rgyal-ba) nor-bu (*ca*. 1550?–1607 A.D.) was nephew (less likely he was son, as given in *Bod kyi deb ther* 185.13–16 [Nor-brang 1993: 445], but "son" may here possibly refer to being a heir on the seat) of bKra-shis rab-brtan (see above) with whom he over some years ruled conjointly. His flourit as ruler – based upon stray references in contemporary literature – to be situated 1589–1607 A.D. He was pupil of 'Khon-ston dPal-'byor lhun-grub (1561–1637), and is e.g. known to have repeatedly urged, just like his uncle/father nang so bKra-shis rab-brtan, Paṇ-chen Blo-bzang chos kyi rgyal-mtshan (1570–1662) to compose treatises (cf. e.g. de Rossi Filibeck 1994: 119, 121). He was apparently also known as *sde pa* Rin-po-che g.Yul-rgyal nor-bu, perhaps indicating a strong religious status or commitment as also indicated from the references. He passed away in 1607, arguably falling victim to a smallpox epidemic raging that year. Evidently the sKyid-shod-pa, as rulers of Central Tibet and as such also during this spell politically responsible for Tshal Gung-thang (where they also had a seat) were regularly involved in inviting high dignitaries to this site such as Pad-ma dkar-po in 1591, who seized the opportunity to compose a poetic eulogy to Bla-ma Zhang.

He earned some ill-repute because he prompted the famous autogenous 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara statue (the Potala 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara – one of the renowned four autogenous Brother (*rang byon mched bzhi*) statues of Avalokiteśvara – which until then and indeed later again had been installed in lHa-sa), to be temporarily moved during his tenure to his Brag-dkar estate; later this famous statue was used by his son to inveigle the Tümed Mongols into supporting the dGa'-ldan-pa alliance including the sKyid-shod-pa towards their joint gTsang foes. For a discussion of this bribery and the celebrated statue's ensuing vicissitudes, cf. Sørensen 2007a.

The four sons with his wife Zhol-bza' Byang-sems dgos-dgos included *sde pa* bSod-nams rnam-rgyal (~ -rgyal-mtshan; also known as sKyid-shod A-dpal; 1586–1636), and sKyid-shod *sde pa* (*alias zhabs drung*) Yid-bzhin nor-bu (1589–after 1647) and finally the hierarch *zhabs drung chos rje* bsTan-'dzin blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1593–1638); for the latter, cf. *sKyid shod chos rje rnam thar* 180–81, *et passim*; further *Ming mdzod* 125; *Mi sna* 644–45; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 254–55; *DL5 I* 139b2–3. The latter had an utmost prolific religious career. He visited lHa-sa and Tshal Gung-thang in 1616.

Yid-bzhin nor-bu (*ibid*. 255–56) along with his elder brother followed his father as secular ruler of sKyid-shod in 1607 A.D. But the former was taken hostage (*bu gte*) by the gTsang antagonists in 1605 and was kept in custody until 1621. bSod-nams rnam-rgyal's sons again were mGon-po Rab-brtan, rDo-rje rgyal-po [~ rnam-rgyal] and *chos rje* mTsho-skyes rdo-rje, who, like his father, again played a major role in the political machinations of the mid-1700's.

Sources on him: *DL4* 22a6–b1, 41b6, *et passim*; *DL5 Thob yig II* 154b3; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 568, 578, 584; *Pad dkar rnam thar II* 438.5; *IV* 50a6-50b4, 52b2–4; *Tāranātha rnam thar* 53b6, 87b7, 94b1, 195b1–3; *dPag bsam dbang po'i rnam thar I* 107.4; *Bod kyi deb ther* 185 (= Ahmad 1995: 186); *sMon lam chen mo bca' yig* 341; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 128.18–21; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 17b2–4, 36b6; *gShin rje gshed chos'byung II* 399b6, 404b4–5; see also in *Se ra chos 'byung* 136, 260; *gSer shing phun tshogs 'dod 'jo* 73b3–4; *sKyid shod sde pa skor* 27f.; TPS Tucci 51, 53.

[700] This may refer to the excessive threat of flooding that faced the lHa-sa area – a phenomenon, incidentally, of regular occurrence – in 1562 A.D. (read *chu bya* for *chu khyi*) as reported in the 3rd Dalai Lama's biography (*DL3* 72b5–73a5) rather than the even earlier 1546 A.D. flooding incident. Another possibility: The severe flooding in 1583 A.D. During the mid-1550's, the *sde pa* sKyid-shod-pa (i.e. Don-grub rab-brtan) entered a patron-priest relationship with the 20th 'Bri-gung throne-holder Phun-tshogs bkra-shis (1547–1602 A.D.), the latter was invited to Tshal and Ba-dkar? by the sKyid-shod-pa in 1596; cf. *Phun tshogs bkra shis rnam thar II* 617. That year (1562) a serious deluge visited the lHa-sa area. The 'Bri-gung-pa hierarch being requested by the sKyid-shod-pa successfully assisted in eliminating the threat, by bringing the heavy rain to a halt and by reverting the course of sKyid-chu river. See *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 225–227; *Phun tshogs bkra shis rnam thar* 581.1–6. For a detailed exposé on the phenomena of flooding and flood control politics, see Part II: App. II.

and committed [himself to construct] a huge dike which would divert [the menacing flow of] water. He thus divided [the stretch of the dike] into separate [units] of [a certain length] and so regulated how each [person in charge] was compelled to resume unfailing responsibility for the [maintenance and regulation] of the dike, [**51b**] etc., [thus his activities] proved immensely beneficial to [upholding] the tradition of the Teaching [of Buddha]. Moreover, his persistence was not of an ordinary nature when [e.g.] he skillfully said: "Since we incessantly have to bring water-offerings to [the statue of] 'Gro-mgon Zhang Rin-po-che, everyone will have to make an effort [to fulfill this objective]!" Hence, with greater and smaller diligence some [consolidated] the dam by loading three loads of [iron-]chains (*zhags thag do gsum*), [others again brought] whatever [could be fetched of old] horse shoes and whatever could be obtained of [old] knifes [or other items of worn-out metal], etc. [So] it is said.[701]

Albeit some of the [succeeding] generations of *zhabs drung* in the sequel were [able] to render service, to administer and safeguard to a small extent the gTsug-lag-khang and its [monk's] com-munity, most of the [monastic complex and its community] remained, as said earlier, desolate or went into utter decay. The remaining [still] surviving receptacles of worship barely served as a shelter in the rain, let alone any [visible improvement in the development of the previously mentioned tradition of] hermeneutics and realization (*bshad sgrub*) even for the major part of the [monk's] community. Without even wearing any proper dress [anymore] [the complex and its monastic community] turned into [a place inhabited] only by married householder monks (*ser khyim*).

[Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol [1604–1669 A.D.]]

[In this dismal state of affairs] the activities of 'Gro-mgon himself not being forgotten, the [local] protectors in *yab yum* [form] called to mind that the time for [the redemption] of the pledge [once given] by the Lord Zhang had come. At that time, when Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol,[702] the crown (*cod paṇ*) of the [Buddha] family [of the principal teacher of] rGyal-mchog Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho [the 5th Dalai Lama, 1617–1682 A.D.] sojourned in Yer-pa sPos-dkar [~ sPos-dga'],[703] and as [a token of his] merit-dedication of the [deceased] *nang pa* Glang-kha-ba [father and son],[704] he was presented with a volume from the *bKa' 'bum* of [Bla-ma] Zhang. At that

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[701] Most of the flood control measures were also ascribed to his uncle/father bKra-shis rab-brtan, who was renowned for his dedicated concern and personal engagement in repairing the dikes; cf. also *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 256–57.

[702] On Zur-chen, the principal tantric preceptor of the 5th Dalai Lama, see the latter's biography *Zur chen rnam thar*, passim. He was born in Upper Chu-ris of 'Brom. Cf. also Karmay 1988a; Gyurme Dorje 1991: 679–683; *HSLG* Vol 1: 74–76. The 5th Dalai Lama reports the visit by the 3rd and the 4th Dalai Lama in the 1600's to the estate of Tshal Zur-khang. This estate alludes to the name of the estate at Gung-thang held by the sKyid-shod-pa, possibly since 1556, when it is mentioned for the first time, yet its origin may go further back in time; cf. *DL3* 46a5–6, 87b4; *DL4* 33a4–b4.

Another major figure active during the mid-to-late 17th century (esp. 1670's) at Gung-thang, not mentioned in the present text, is Gung-thang *mkhas pa*, also known as Gung-thang *rab 'byams pa* or *lo tsā ba* bShes-gnyen rnam-rgyal. Sources: *DL5 I* 242a2, 260b3, 262a1, 264a6; *DL5 III* 2a5–6; *gTer gling rnam thar I* 79, 98, 130; *Shel dkar chos 'byung* 72b; *The Nyingmapa School* 729–30. He e.g. was a principal teacher in the field of Vinaya studies for sMin-gling Lo-chen Dharmaśrī. He was also called mKhas-mchog bShes-gnyen rnam-rgyal and he transmitted Sa-skya and dGe-lugs teaching cycles (cf. Ehrhard 2003: 333, fn. 167). Beyond that, our knowledge of the main actors at Tshal Gung-thang in the early 17th cent. is meagre. An unknown Tshal *spyan snga* is registered for the 1620's; cf. *Kun dga' lhun grub rnam thar* 43.6.

[703] Cf. *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 154.14–15; above fn. 33.

[704] Clarified through the source for this information: *Zur chen rnam thar* 88a4 (= 175.4).

[very] moment a raven, being a manifestation of mGon-po [i.e. Mahākāla], [appeared] and showed many signs of joy, and in a dream [he saw how] a black man appeared [before him] saying: "Come here!" whereupon he was led into a large *lha khang.* He [subsequently] had visionary experiences of how he met someone who said that he was Bla-ma Zhang. This coincided with the utterance of an aspiration prayer [**52a**] which foretold that he must [henceforth] act as *bla ma* of Chos-khri lho-lcog [i.e. The Southern Tower [College][705] of the Dharma-Throne]. The [local] *bla ma* and the Guardians of the Dharma [all] urged him to take over the throne of Gung-thang and he [instinctively] realized [these extraordinary premonitions to be] signs that extensive promotion for the benefit of living beings would come [to this site], since [he was to be assisted] in fulfilling his [karmic] task by the [local] *Dharmapāla*. In particular, having a recollection [through his *abhijñā*] of his former lives in which he himself had [once] been *gdan sa ba* Sangs-rgyas-'bum, he [finally] promised [to take over the responsibility].[706] Shortly afterwards, he was [formally] accompanied [i.e. invited] to the main seat of Gung-thang, being given a perfect [reception of] esteem and respect, such as a procession of monks. He paid a visit to the sacred receptacles of the gTsug-lag-khang, and paying a visit to the *sku 'bum* of gZims-khang-shar [= the sepulchre tomb of Sangs-rgyas-'bum] etc., when he recollected his former live as Sangs-rgyas-'bum, for a moment he dwelled in [the feeling of being] united in nature with Sangs-rgyas-'bum.[707] When he [once] paid a visit to the mGon-khang of the mChod-khang chen-mo,[708] many [wondrous] auspices [occurred] such as the door [to the shrine] opening all by itself, as well as the radiation of a gray light directly from the middle of the countenance of mGon-po, etc.[709] That night many expressions of joy were displayed such as the *chos skyong* bSe-khrab-pa[710] [appearing in front of him] proclaiming: "When you were [once] *bla brang pa* Chos-dpal bzang-po, I was your protector!" etc.[711]

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[705] Chos-khri lho-lcog appears to be the later (dGe-lugs-pa) designation of the Chos-khri lho-nub (above fn. 614).

[706] The entire section here on Zur-chen's activity is gleaned *verbatim* from his biography; cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 85b6–86a1, 87b1–88b5 (= 170.6–171.1, 174.1–176.5). According to the biography, he reached Gung-thang and took over its seat in 1633 A.D. Importantly, he was received by the people of *sde pa* rTse-kha-pa, Lo-pa, Tshe-ru, sPus-grong and Zhal. The 5th Dalai Lama had visited Gung-thang the same year and it may have been during this visit that the idea of asking Zur-chen to take over came to fruition; cf. *DL5 I* 74a1.

[707] Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 12.1–2. On Sangs-rgyas-'bum, the 4th throne-holder of Yang-dgon and founder of the sGom-sde gZims-khang-shar, see above 15b, 16a.

[708] The Great Prayer-Hall, i.e. Assembly Hall of the Gung-thang temple.

[709] Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 176.5–178.4.

[710] bSe-khrab[-can] is considered the wrathful manifestation of the *dharmapāla* Tshangs-pa dkar-po (for a readable essay on its numerous manifestations, see Sle-lung, *Dam can legs bshad II* 53–77). In Tshal Gung-thang, bSe-khrab's place was formerly in the gZims-khang-shar, his chief residence in northern central Tibet is La-mo Byang-chub-lcog (situated east of dGa'-ldan), the first *phyi dar* temple founded by Klu-mes in 1009 A.D., which during the time of the Dalai Lama housed the La-mo Tshangs-pa state oracle. He is also regarded as the principal *srung ma* of the neighbouring Tsher-gseb, the foundation of which is similarily ascribed to Klu-mes (App. V: Table 6). As an independent deity bSe-khrab is worshipped *inter alia* in Khra-'brug, rTse-tshogs-pa and dGa'-ldan chos-'khor-gling (in 'Phan-yul) and he functions as the chief protector god of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog (founded 1073 A.D. by rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab) and its numerous branches. It is conceivable that the protector deity found its way to Tshal Gung-thang via the Tshal-pa (i.e. Chos-'khor-gling) – gSang-phu connection. On bSe-khrab, see also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975, s.v. index; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index. An unusual statue of bSe-khrab-can is to to be found in the Sa-skya Ra-ba-smad monastery (in present-day Gong-dkar district). Cf. *dPal ldan chos skyong rnam thar III* 395–96. Chos-'phel 2002: 9f.

[711] Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 89b4–5 (= 178.4–5). This alludes to the information that Zur-chen was a re-birth of gSang-phu Gling-stod Bla-brang-pa Chos-dpal bzang-po, cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 12.4–5. The latter again may be identified with

In particular, [Chos-dbyings rang-grol] found the decay of the [entire] temple complex difficult to bear [in his heart] and observing that [the general state of] the monastic body too, considered from any aspect of the dual system [i.e. whether from a religious or a secular viewpoint], was largely in disarray, he united into one the separate and distinct monk communities of the Chos-khri lho-nub which [until then] was destitute.[712] Collecting together the barley [gathered] from the lease [of land that made up] the income of the *bla brang*, as well as [the revenue from] the corn gathered by Zur himself from alms-begging [in the entire region stretching] from mTha'-rgyas until Grib,[713] he renovated from the ground up, the gTsug-lag-khang [**52b**] and [erected anew] the Assembly Hall ['Du-khang] of the Chos-khri [Chapel][714] after having put his own nephew etc. in charge of the supervision of the work. In order to gather labourers and a wealth of offerings for these labourers, he instituted the regular tradition of having religious dances (*gar 'chams*) [performed] etc. during the *Tshes bcu* [Festival], [staged] together with [the bestowal of] empowerment [rites] in public.[715] [This is why] the present custom of an annually establishment of funding [i.e. flow of merit (*dge rgyun*)] has originated, [accumulated and acquired from] the offerings donated which reflect the financial level of each individual among the people [participating], [a tradition like the one] called *Gung thang dkar me* [i.e. The Gung-thang Butter-Lamp Festival] that even exists until the present day.[716]

At that [point] Zur-chen personally expanded [the complex] by adding areas for the establishment

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the 11th throne-holder of Gling-stod, Bla-brang-pa Chos-dpal rgyal-mtshan, *fl*. mid-14th cent. Cf. Onoda 1989: 211. Thus he united the erudite tradition of the early Tshal-pa (represented by Sangs-rgyas-'bum), gSang-phu and dGe-lugs-pa.

[712] In *Zur chen rnam thar* 110a1–2 (= 219.1–2), serving here as source, it is claimed that although these individual bodies Chos-khri and lHo-lcog were still nominally in existence, they were individually unable to uphold and sustain a *bla brang* and a *'du khang* themselves, and for this reason they were merged in 1634 A.D.

[713] mTha'-rgyas (also mThar-rgyas) is situated close to dGa'-ldan (cf. *Zur chen rnam thar*: dGa'-ldan zhol Thar [= mTha']-rgyas); it refers to present-day Dar-rgyas (*Xizang Dimingzhi I* 88a: 29°45'N 91°25'E) known as a district center of sTag-rtse *rdzong* (*HSLG* Vol. 1: 17, 43). Already in 1409, mTha'-rgyas was part of the territory under the Brag-dkar *nang so* (cf. *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 314–315). During the foundation of dGa'-ldan monastery, it is said that bTsong-kha-pa established his new seat in lHas between mTha'-rgyas and bTsun-mo-sdings, well within 'Bri-gung territory. For 1519, *gzhis kha* mTha'-rgyas is mentioned in 'Bri-gung sources, cf. *Kun dga' rin chen rnam thar III* 214 (= *gling kha* Dar-rgyas-rtse?; *ibid*. *III* 597). Conspicuously, *DL5 III* 134a2 reports that a number of *lha sde* and *mi sde* of Upper sKyid-shod such as mTha'-rgyas in 1679 A.D. were under Glang-ra (cf. fn. 407 above). It was a *gzhis ka* in the final period of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang period, for a report of flooding hitting the area of Mal-gro in 1870 and again in 1936, see *Rang 'byung gnod 'tshe chu skyon skor* 77–79, 170–73. In the 17th cent., a bDud-'dul mchod-rten was erected in mTha'-rgyas which is classified as one of the *sa gnad gso thabs*, i.e. the strategically located nature-containing sanctuaries or "Means for Restoring Vital [Toponymic] Points" (in the areas of dBus-gTsang). In this context, mTha'-rgyas is specified as the border between Upper and Lower dBu-ru. See App. II: Map 5.

Grib, on the other hand, is the well-known area located opposite lHa-sa. Since Zur-chen attempted to ensure revenue for his restorations from the territories of mTha'-rgyas until Grib, it appears to refer to parts of the Upper sKyid-shod area which were under the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod *sde pa* ruling house.

[714] It may be adduced from sub-section 7 below that the Assembly Hall was the one located in gZims-khang-shar which was also shared and visited by the people of Chos-khri lha-khang.

[715] Cf. *DL5 I* 262a2 and *III* 134b2–3, 135a5, 136b1; *DL7* 368 registering the *'chams* dances performed e.g. by the Tshal Yang-dgon, dBus-gling and Gung-thang Chos-khri-ba during the 1675 and 1679 *Tshes bcu* in lHa-sa. 'Bar'-ra-ba rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1310–1391) reports a visit to Gung-thang *Tshes bcu* festival during a pilgrimage to lHa-sa. Cf. his *rnam thar Byin rlabs char 'bebs* 89.1.

[716] Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 181a3–b1 (= 361.3–362.1), 185a6–b2 (= 369.6–370.2), 188a3–b3 (= 375.3–376.3).

of a few meditation huts, [erected] upon the old Bla-ye Prayer Square[717] of Chos-khri [Dharma-Throne Chapel]. Along the walls of the present 16-pillar Assembly Hall ['Du-khang] including [the walls along] the skylight balustrade (*seng g.yab*),[718] [Chos-dbyings rang-grol] personally executed paintings of many peaceful and wrathful deities, such as the Eight Medicine [Sugata] Buddhas ([sMan-bla] bDe-gshegs brgyad), etc., paintings of the Sixteen Arhats (*gnas* [*brtan*] *bcu* [*drug*]) adapted from [old-style] Chinese imperial court [scroll paintings] from rGyal [Monastery] (*rgyal yi sri thang =si thang*)[719] as well as [erecting] a statue of mGon-po, etc. in the Mahākāla chapel.[720] Similarly, all over [the temple complex], in the upper and lower [parts], in the inner [part] and in the farther[most part] too, he conducted extensive consecratory rites (*pratiṣṭhāvidhi*), and when the Great 5th Dalai Lama on his way to dGa'-ldan etc. for many days sojourned [here, the latter], upon request, personally conducted many [blessing rituals].[721]

Later, in accordance with the request to come to the throne (*khri*) of gZims-khang-shar, [Zur-chen] arrived, where he yielded complete financial support such as conducting a renewal of the Assembly Hall ['Du-khang], including its wall-paintings, etc.[722] From [Yang-dgon] *spyan snga*

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[717] Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 110a5–b1 (= 219.5–220.1) where it is maintained that they were built upon the old *bla brang* of Chos-khri. For Bla-ye, cf. fn. 155 above.

[718] The architectural term *seng g.yab*[*s*] (> *gseng g.yab*; "middle-space shelter," verandah, balustrade) designates the usually square open-air space in the middle of a Tibetan building – corresponding to the four-sided verandah structure around a skylight (*mthongs g.yab*) akin to a compluvium in the middle of an atrium-like construction.

[719] Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 139a1–4 (= 277.1–4), 146b3–147a1 (= 292.3–293.1); see also Jackson: 1996: 217 for the term *si*/*zi thang*, or "silk Thangka," cf. *ibid*. 132–33, 205, 264. We assume that rGyal here does not reflect royal/imperial (*gong ma*), but a toponym: rGyal lha-khang (= rGyal Lug-lhas lha-khang) of 'Phan-yul (loc. in mTsho-stod *xiang* (at 29°56'N 91°01'E) of lHun-grub *rdzong*), the prestigious temple founded by Zhang sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug in 1012 A.D. It burned down in 1240 during a Mongol invasion (headed by the infamous commander Doorda Darqan). The monastery complex is located within the lHa-khang village of the sTag-sgo valley (also called rGyal) and divided into rGyal-stod and -smad, the one adhering to the dGe-lugs, the other to the Sa-skya school (one of the Three Maitreya Brothers Images is kept in rGyal-smad; cf. *HSLG* Vol. 4: 51, 76; *dPal ldan chos skyong rnam thar III* 198; fn. 670; and an old (11th-cent.?) (man-sized) Maitreya *rdo sku* is kept in rGyal-stod; Table V.6: Fig. 15a). The chief *srung ma* of the rGyal-stod temple are rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma and dKar-srung. Here one of Zhang's root-teacher Vairocana stayed for a long period (*ca*. mid-12th cent.). Cf. also *rGya bod yig tshang* 460; MTP Uebach 141; Wylie 1962: 86, 162; Richardson 1998, s.v. index. Its abbatial history needs to be written, but the *TBRC* Database s.v. provides a list of a large number of the incumbents. After a number of early abbots, it was vacant for a period in the 1200's; Chag dGra-bcom-pa (1153–1216) refused to take over the see and the estate and instead settled in his future estate, the main seat of rTe'u-ra in gNyal district.

Both the narrative and the artistic tradition related to the rich transmission of the sixteen arhats is long and most significant; it involved Zur-chen and went back to Klu-mes from whom it spread to rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas and then through a number of important bKa'-gdams-pa masters, esp. the sNar-thang throne-holders, such as mChims Nam-mkha'-grags (1210–85), etc. See the 5th Dalai Lama, *'Dzem med nor bu* (vol. 12 of his *Collected Works*). The topic of the transmission of Sixteen Arhats and the cult and ritual programme associated with them deserves a detailed study.

[720] Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 178b4–5 (= 356.4–5). It was a *'bur sku* or sculpture of the four-armed Mahākāla.

[721] This section is abbreviated, but gleaned *verbatim* from *Zur chen rnam thar* 139a1–4 (= 277.1-4). This took place in 1645 A.D. During the subsequent visit in 1646 to the newly-erected Chos-khri bla-brang in Tshal Gung-thang by the 5th Dalai Lama (a visit he repeated in 1656 where the 5th Dalai Lama also met a *bla ma* dGe-dar, and again in 1662 where he was invited by *sa skyong* Thog-rgod rnam-rgyal, ruler of bDe-chen-rtse), the latter received from Zur-chen long-life empowerments according to the *Byang gter* tradition and the high hierarch himself delivered blessings, in addition to renewing items such as a *gaṇḍhola*, etc. Cf. *DL5 I* 132b4–6; *II* 245b5–46a4; *I* 315b1–2.

[722] Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 162a4–5 (= 323.4–5); 178b3–4 (= 356.3–4). The renewal and renovation resp. of the gZims-khang-shar and the bla-brang was initiated in 1649 A.D.

sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho, the last member of [the *dbon sa*] lineage of the great mGar [clan], he heard some *dharma* cycles of Zhang Rin-po-che.[723] Since the estates [required for the financial support behind] the renovation of the Great Prayer Hall of Gung-thang [Gung-thang mChod-khang chen-mo] always fell upon the one who was respectively in charge of the Gung-thang mChod-khang, *sa skyong* bSod-nams rab-brtan,[724] by offering Zur oversight (*mgo bdag*) of the entire temple complex, provided complete financial support for [renovating] the mChod-khang and its surroundings (*'khor bcas*) [**53a**] from the Chos-khri bla-brang.

For that reason, Zur-chen himself mostly resided [in a state] as if being inseparably [connected] with the rGyal-dbang-mchog [i.e. the 5th Dalai Lama], but as he had become the *bla ma* for many local Mahāpuruṣa, he again and again [had] to travel [around the area].[725] Beyond that, he made Chos-khri bla-brang his permanent residence. He mostly bestowed empowerment and reading authorisation, etc. in Tshe-dpag[-med] lha-khang.[726] It is therefore due to the kindness of this master that – in terms of [the extent of] prostration and offering practise inside our three main mChod-khang [within the entire temple complex of Tshal Gung-thang] along with the mGon-khang – it has today at least not come to complete neglect in these areas [of former glory]. [I] shall later describe his other legacies.

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[723] sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho generally received teachings from Zur-chen, so e.g. in 1646 the former received a number of cycles but in 1647 Zur-chen conversely received from the *spyan snga, dbang* and *lung* of *Zhang bKa' rgya ma*; cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 278.3–4, 315.1–2.

[724] Cf. *verbatim Zur chen rnam thar* 162b2–5 (= 324.2–5). *Sa skyong* bSod-nams rab-brtan, *alias* later bSod-nams chos-'phel (1595?–1657/58 A.D.), formerly the efficient official (*zhal ngo*) and treasurer (*phyag mdzod pa* or *phyag mdzod zhabs drung*) of the 4th and 5th Dalai Lama – in this capacity the most important local Tibetan ally, protector and patron of the dGa'-ldan-pa and the Dalai Lama in the first part of the 17th cent. Along with the sKyid-shod sde-pa, another strong ally and later antagonist, he most actively worked for the involvement of firstly the Tümed Mongol forces, and later the Qošots, in the final struggle for supremacy in Tibet; he eventually became the favourite ally of Güüsi Qan (1582–1654 A.D.), in return for which he in 1642 became regent of Tibet. At that point, he doubtlessly was the strongest lord in Tibet, subordinate only to the Qošot ruler. His actual birth year is uncertain: 1595 is given (*Mi sna* 670–71), but it is still dubious. In 1617, he had been a participant in the search for the *yang srid* or rebirth of the 4th Dalai Lama, acting as *zhal ngo* or official. Since already at that point the gTsang-pa rGyal-po was involved in warfare with the dGe-ldan-pa, he together with the sKyid-shod Bye-ri sTag-rtse rtse-ba'i *sde pa* (i.e. the young dGa'-ldan-pa sKyid-shod *sde pa*) bSod-nams rnam-rgyal and mTsho-skyes rdo-rje (d. 1655; cf. *DL5 I* 240a2–3) went to Mongolia where they succeeded in winning the support of the Qošots (cf. Per K. Sørensen 2007). In 1625, he was holding the title *phyag mdzod sa skyong ba* and otherwise respectfully adressed *sras po* Rab-brtan by the 5th Dalai Lama in the latter's writings. For his service, in 1642 he finally was appointed *sde srid* of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung* at 'Bras-spungs and henceforth known as *sde srid* bSod-nams chos-'phel, the 1st regent from 1642 until 1657/58. His commitments not only covered the building of parts of the Po-ta-la, such as the White Palace, but also the renovation of lHa-sa and Rva-sgreng monasteries, etc.

Sources on his person and his achievements: *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 436; *Zur chen rnam thar* 53a1 (= 105.1), 78a1 (= 156.1), *et passim*; *DL4* 46a5–6, 50a4, 51a4; *DL5* 1 26b5–6, *et passim*; *DL5* [B] 50b6–52a1, etc; further Richardson, 'The Decree' 447f.; *Ming mdzod* 1069–71; Yamaguchi 1995: 4f. and *HSLG* Vol. 3: 81–83 purporting that he was born in rGya-le of sTod-lung.

[725] Cf. e.g. *Zur chen rnam thar* 139a1–2 (= 278.1–2), *et passim*. From 1646 Zur-chen had become a leading preceptor for the governor or *sde pa* dGa'-ldan-pa, and many dignitaries of Upper and Lower sKyid-shod.

[726] Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 139a3–4 (= 278.3–4).

[**D**] [Chos-khri lho-lcog] [The Southern Tower [College] of the Dharma-Throne]

The conditions of the other monasteries [within the complex] have been roughly outlined above in general terms. [Now] concerning the so-called Chos-khri lho-lcog [The Southern Tower [College] of the Chapel of the Dharma-Throne]: [formerly], during the time of [Bla-ma] Zhang it did not exist in reality as a college (*grva tshang*), rather [what existed at that time] was [its forerunner] the so-called Chos-khri lho-nub [The South-Western Dharma-Throne [Square]],[727] which rather could be compared more to a *chos grva* for holding teaching and study [sessions] pertaining to the uncommon [i.e. teachings offered by Bla-ma Zhang] such as cycles related to the instruction and realization (*khrid sgrub*) of the esoteric *mantra* [tradition] given to his monks, both teacher and disciples; [it] could also be compared to a common [i.e. public square] for teaching and debating in connection with the [secular lectures and religious teaching of] the dual system such as public preaching (*khrom chos*). Although it may therefore seem very difficult [to clarify] who among the predecessors (*gong ma*) originally established [this college], nonetheless it is certain that, according to the statement of Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa, it was lCog-chen-pa bKra-shis bzang-po [i.e. Dung-dkar 'Brug-grags], who counted among the personal disciples of *'Jam mgon bla ma* [b]Tsong-kha-pa [that were known] to have relied upon the gifts of studying, who established [there] his own monastery [exclusively] dedicated to the ideal activities of the upholders of the Zhva-ser [Yellow Hat] School. However, from among those in the family lineage [**53b**] of the Tshal-pa who held the throne of Gung-thang, there were even some who assumed the yogic discipline (*vratta*) of the ascetic Muni. Although it is not certain that they [could] not even [have established] their own hermitage or something like a *sgril khungs* for presenting offerings, still thoughtful noble persons who had taken to heart [i.e. remembered] the [former] conditions regarding these sites are rare [which make information scanty]. Original written sources too, disregarding a mere repetition of former letters [i.e. copied from other books], have not been composed in any complete fashion, and so one cannot find any authentic source.

In former times, when Dung-dkar-ba Don-grub rgya-mtsho arrived at this seat [of the college], he abundantly bestowed tea and alms [to the disciples] and gave endless advice as to how [the monks] should remain harmonious internally [towards one another], and externally how they should keep a strict behavioral code, paying great attention to the law of *vinaya* monastic discipline, [as laid down in] the *pratimokṣa*[-*sūtra*] and how they at all times and on all occasions should work to increase their spiritual commitment. As a result, the members of the monastic congregation, with strong genuine faith and devotion, said: "Precious *bla ma*! it is at a late point that you [now] arrive at this monastery! In former times it was said that 'Gro-mgon Zhang Rin-po-che was very skillful in leading the convertees onto the path of liberation. In that aspect [he] resembles you, Precious *bla ma*!" Having spoken thus, tears fell from the eyes of everyone, whether old or young, etc. Such [wondrous events demonstrate that this site] had been blessed by many holy Mahāpuruṣa-s!

Zur-chen, having thus safeguarded throughout his life the majority of his activities [for living beings by being active here at Tshal Gung-thang], finally [went to] 'Bras-spungs, where he sojourned together with rGyal-dbang-mchog [i.e the 5th Dalai Lama]. At that point he displayed the way of passing [into

[727] *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 154.2f.; *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 602.2–3 maintains that in mid-18th cent. it accomodated 67 monk householders (*ser khyim*). Today the locals refer to it as Chos-khri grva-tshang.

the heavenly sphere, i.e. died]. The bodily remains, which were inserted into the cremation pyre at bSam-yas Phying-phu [= mChims-phu], were [later inserted into] an ossuary (*gdung khang*) [made] from the second[-best] precious stone [i.e. silver] [on the initiative of] rGyal-mchog, the 5th Dalai Lama, [with whom a] patron-priest [relationship existed], and the arched doorway (*sgo khyim*) [of the reliquary was adorned] by a statue of Zur[-chen] himself in the *sambhogakāya* form. [**54a**] This is the [reliquary] which today can be seen in Tshe-dpag[-med] lha-khang.[728]

Thus Zur-chen arrived [there] having again the welfare of living beings in mind, and he occupied the throne of this main seat, protected the executive tradition of his predecessors, and [thereby] paid his respect and veneration to the monastic community and to the temple. In particular, he erected anew [the statues of] the deities in the surroundings of the 'Bum-mo-che. He conducted endlessly many renovations of the *ganjira*, *dharmacakra*, *chattra*, the turquoise[-green] glazes, etc. [all renovated] as if being erected anew. Although he conducted an endless number of renovations as well as erected anew the *gser tog* [golden pinnacle] and the *dharmacakra* for all the other lesser reliquaries, etc. still [it was of no avail]. At the time when the Dzungar [army] arrived in Tibet, they destroyed many monasteries and [killed] *bla ma* of the rNying-ma creed. [At that point Dung-dkar-ba?] had passed away at bSam-yas, the colleges too were accused [of heresy] in doctrine and philosophical view, and faced with this great calamity the monastic body dispersed in all directions.

[The 50th dGa'-ldan *khri pa* dGe-'dun phun-tshogs]

The monastic estate and the images having [at that point] been forcefully confiscated, due to the fact that simultaneously the entire trust for the management of the Bla-brang was handed over to the *rje* dGe-'dun phun-tshogs [1648–1724 A.D.], the 50th dGa'-ldan throne-holder,[729] the activities of the three wheels [i.e. renunciation, study and work] for a period not only resembled a vanishing rainbow in the sky, but the worship and reverence paid to each of gTsug-lag-khang too resembled a bridge [set up in vain] between two rivers. Not long after, the Dzungars, without ever getting firmly established [in Tibet] (*phra ma tshugs par*), returned to their homeland. Although

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[728] See below Chap. III.4.D.

[729] Also known as A-mdo Bya-bral or Bya-bral Phun-tshogs. He was born into the Va-shul clan and land in A-mdo (the Va-shul was also residents of sDe-dge of Khams). Formerly acting as Byang-rtse *chos rje*, he later occupied the see of dGa'-ldan between 1715–1722 (other suggest 1712–18; but this may have been part of his second term since he was addressed dGa'-ldan khri-zur in 1710?; cf. *Sle lung rnam thar* 82b5). He became abbot of Gung-thang during the same period after the Qošot lHa-bzang Qan (1658–1717), who at some point after 1706 offered him the entire complex of Gung-thang as benefice, including the two *grva tshang* within its compound, the endowment fund for offering (*mchod thebs*) as well as land and estate, and he received the title Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa. He was, however, driven away from the Gung-thang see in around 1718 by the vandalising Dzungars (see Petech 1972: 54, based upon the above source, *op. cit*., 5b). Following the Dzungar interlude, he soon returned and remained in Gung-thang until his death as *khri chen*; cf. *DL7* 193. He served as *las dpon* during Sle-lung's ordination in early 1716 (*Sle lung rnam thar* 144a1–2; the latter had visited Tshal prior to the ordination*; *ibd.* 139a3–b2). He dedicated the rest of his life to a large-scale restoration of the temple complex. Sources: *dGe ldan gser khri rin po cher dbang bsgyur ba'i skyes mchog dam pa khri chen rim byon rnams kyi rnam thar* (vol. Nga of the Collection of Biographies of the Khri *rin po che*); *Khri byang rnam thar* 4b5–5b2; *Ming mdzod* 173–175; *HSLG* Vol. 2: 70.

* Sle-lung was invited to Tshal *gzhis ka* by Tshal rNam-sras khang-gsar-pa; cf. *ibd*. 169a3–4. Also called sKyid-shod rNam-sras khang-gsar. He may have been responsible for the building of the renewed Vaiśrāvaṇa chapel there.

the state of affairs of the monastic community [**54b**] including the *lha khang*, had already earlier been difficult for [the dGa'-ldan] Khri-chen to bear, since he still had to remain on harmonious terms with the *dpon* and the population, [any changes and improvement] fell by the wayside. Immediately after the Dzungars had returned home, hope materialized [again]. [He] conducted in an excellent way the renovation of each *lha khang*, both externally and internally. Taking as basis [for establishing a new monk body] the many monks who traditionally [visited the main temples of Central Tibet] and who had withdrawn to Se-ra-smad from among the former monks [belonging to the Tshal monk-body], he [furthermore gathered] some of the monks living in the nearest neighbourhood, and also permitted many new enrollments [of monks].

He established the Chos-khri [lho-lcog anew?] in the Iron-Ox year of the 12th sexagenary circle [1721 A.D.]. The remains of the gZims-khang-shar [i.e. Eastern Residence and other institutions] etc. too, on account of persisting in their individual doctrines and philosophical view (*lta grub*), however should remain intact. The material, such as objects of veneration, the trust fund, the storehouse and the monastic kitchen of the Chos-khri, etc. having been impounded and [then] returned to the *rje* [i.e. dGe-'dun phun-tshogs] were [re-]distributed to each [institution]. He also manufactured a large number of objects of veneration, the "floor-covering" (*sa rgyan*) and the "ceiling-covering" (*gnam rgyan*) [i.e. canopy], the tassels (*paṭṭa*), the vessels for aromatic powder (*phye* [*ma'i*] *phur* [*ma*]) of the 'Du-khang and the [long] rugs along the sitting row [in the 'Du-khang], etc. Having introduced the [tradition of] reciting liturgical texts, similar to the majority [of such texts found] in the dGe-lugs [tradition] as well as the earlier tradition of [properly] performing the *bskang gso* [propitiation rituals] etc., he ensured that the ocean [of the teaching] returned to its former place.

Similarly, he accomplished the benevolence which in all respects was incomparable to [the activities] of others, like the activities [already] described of erecting new objects [of veneration] etc. in the *lha khang chen mo*. Finally gathering the arrangement of his form body [i.e. passing away] at this very site [of Gung-thang], the benevolence of this very Khri-chen, similar to that of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che and the '*Jam mgon bla ma* [b]Tsong-kha-pa chen-po [prior to him], was in all respects immeasurable for the monastic community and its temples, and so appeared the line of incarnations known henceforth by the denomination Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa.[730]

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[730] Or Khri Gung-thang-pa. The lineage issued from him was called the Gung-thang gSer-khri *sku phreng* or Gung-thang-tshang Incarnation lineage. Apart from the initial period and apart from the original name Gung-thang, it subsequently had only a little to do with Gung-thang. Its permanent basis was Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil in A-mdo – the original homeland of dGe-'dun phun-tshogs – where the line held high positions.

1. Gung-thang-pa dGe-'dun phun-tshogs (1648–1724 A.D.).

2. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1727–1759 A.D.). Born in Cha (due east of dGa'-ldan), he was identified as the reincarnation of dGe-'dun phun-tshogs. Age three, he was installed at Gung-thang. Age five he was ordained in the presence of rGya-sras Ye-shes grags-pa. He later entered Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil. He was also known under the name Tshangs-sras dGyes-pa'i rdo-rje. 1744 A.D. he ascended the throne to become the 5th and 8th throne-holder of Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil. Age 33, he was invited to Beijing to become imperial preceptor. From that time on, he was considered one of the eight Hutuγtus of Beijing, under the name Khri Gung-thang-tshang.

3. dKon-mchog bstan-pa'i sgron-me (real name mGon-po tshe-brtan) (1762–1823 A.D.) was born in south-east mDo-smad, recognized by 'Jigs-med dbang-po as a rebirth of dGe-'dun phun-tshogs. Highly accomplished and erudite, he later entered 'Bras-spungs. After intense studies, aged 22, he received the *dge bshes lha rams pa* degree.

Thus [**55a**], following the protection [of the see] precisely through this Khri-chen [chair] some generations of abbots (*mkhan rabs*)[731] followed. Yet, since they were permanently separated from the thoughts and deeds, the means and knowledge of the [local] *bla ma* and of those rendering service, with the exception of gathering their respective wages, they remained little concerned with the monastic community. In the inner *lha khang* and in the environs of the vestibule, [the monks] excrement, in some of the *gtsang khang*, one or two greedy monks and laymen, having abandoned the idea that [the present locale in reality] is a gTsug-lag-khang, [instead entertained] the idea that it was a storage room of a private householder, wherefore they piled up grains and peas, as well as [other] utensils of necessities [for trading purposes]. On account of the fact that imaginable bad customs appeared, such as the tethering of animals etc. here and there in the courtyard as well as in the inner and outer [parts of] the vestibule, the utter decay of the complete inner and outer [part of] the *gtsang khang* ensued, and so the three kinds of receptacles were damaged by rain water, by the sun, the wind and by birds and rats. In short, the gTsug-lag-khang including the receptacles turned into [something quite] external [i.e. different] from what has been described earlier, and it turned into a place of dejection for all thoughtful people.

Similarly, at a point when the monastic communities too were devoid of any bestowal of gifts [i.e. offerings from pious devotees] and the activities of the three wheels [i.e. renunciation, study and work] had steadily decreased, the Supreme Head-Ornament of *Saṃsāra* and *Nirvāṇa*, the rGyal-dbang [i.e. Dalai Lama], being indistinguishable from 'Gro-mgon [Zhang] himself, transferred the ownership [of the entire monastic community complex as estate] to the *sku mdun* sNgags-ram[s]-pa and his lineage,[732] in whom the magical power of his *karman* and aspiration

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He became one of the most learned men in Tibet during his time. Returning to bKra-shis-'khyil, barely aged 30, he became its 21st throne-holder. His biography *Gung thang rnam thar*. For a survey of his complete oeuvre, cf. e.g. *gSung 'bum dkar chag* (lHa-sa 1990) 520–31.

4. dKon-mchog bstan-pa'i rgya-mtsho (1824–1859 A.D.) was born into the gDon clan in Tsa-yul of East Tibet, where he was early recognized as the 4th embodiment of Gung-thang-pa. He entered 'Bras-spungs. After returning to the east, he became the 48th throne-holder of bKra-shis-'khyil.

5. 'Jam-dbyangs bstan-pa'i nyi-ma (1860–1925 A.D.). Age four he was recognized as the embodiment of Gung-thang-pa. Age 44 in 1903, he was enthroned as the 69th throne-holder at bKra-shis-'khyil.

6. 'Jigs-med bstan-pa'i dbang-phyug (1926–2000 A.D.). He was from Gung-thang and he generously supported the restoration work of the gTsug-lag-khang in the late 1980's and early 1990's. His throne together with a photograph of him are in the present Rab-gsal lha-khang (Graph 2).

Cf. *Bla brang gdan rabs* 350–375, 384, 460–83, 496; *Ming mdzod* 252–57; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 509-14; *Zangzu dacidian* 273–74. bSod-nams don-grub in his *Bod kyi lo rgyus deb tho* 74 refers to a (non-extant) versified *Gung thang khri rin po che'i rnam thar dByangs can rol mtsho*. Within a short time, it is to be expected that the 7th embodiment will be identified. For details on the Dus-'khor dbang-chen Festivals presided over by the Gung-thang-pa at bSang-khog rTsva-thang close to bKra-shis-'khyil; cf. Dor-zhi 1998: 224–31.

[731] It appears to allude to the abbatial succession of absentees of Khri-pa at Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil (see prev. fn.).

[732] Following the shift of the permanent residence of the Gung-thang-tshang incarnation line during the time of the second incumbent (cf. above), the "ownerless" (*bdag ma thob*) Gung-thang and its institutions again suffered from lack of patronage and from growing neglect. It was expropriated by the government (cf. *Khri byang rnam thar* 5b2–4), the 7th Dalai Lama on behalf of the government taking over the monastic estate of Gung-thang. In a period when governmental loyalty and service were increasingly repaid with landed estates (*sa rigs*) and with grand donations – a policy susceptible to nepotism but often vital for the survival of the institutions themselves – the Gung-thang bla-brang was shortly after handed over to the hierarch's close relative, i.e. bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho's maternal uncle *sku*

had burst forth. In particular, with his unobstructed wisdom it could be seen how reverence and respect in an incomparable way occurred to the gTsug-lag-khang including its community [being executed] with great intention [by] the relative of rGyal-mchog [i.e. bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho, the 7th Dalai Lama, 1708–1757 A.D.], [by the name] *dar han mkhan rin po che* [**55b**] bsKal-bzang yon-tan.[733] The order was given [to the latter] to take over the ownership, and, being motivated by

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mdun sNgags-rams-pa bSam-gtan rgyal-mtshan/rgya-mtsho who belonged to the inner court. He was in fact known as the latter's personal *Zeremonienmeister* or *rim gro pa chen mo*. He was present during the installation of his nephew in 1720 A.D. in Potala, and as warden he followed the high hierarch into banishment to mGar-thar in eastern Tibet in 1729. In particular the performance of White Tārā rites is associated with him. For his service, he was invested with the honourary title *dar han mkhan po** by the emperor along with presents of satin (cf. Wu 1995: 299). The Qing-court harboured grave misgivings towards most family-members of the high hierarch (foremost towards the 7th Dalai Lama's father, bSod-nams dar-rgyas (d. 1744), head of the emergent bSam-'grub pho-brang *yab gzhis*, who was suspected of entertaining anti-Qing or anti-imperial sentiments), evidently with the exception of bSam-gtan rgyal-mtshan. After the return of the Dalai Lama in 1735 from mGar-thar, the entire Tshal Gung-thang monastic estate was conferred upon him. mKhan po sNgags-rams-pa passed away in 1740, possibly victim of a small-pox epidemic in that year.

Sources: *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 594.23–24; *DL7* 132, 135, 142, 171, 231, 242, 260, 290, 476–77, 518; *Khri byang rnam thar* 5b4–6; *Mi dbang rtogs brjod* 232b3–4, 297a2; *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 419.3; *Paṇ chen blo bzang ye shes rnam thar I* 114b3–115a1; see also Petech 1972: 77, 113, 145, 265; *HSLG* Vol. 6: 46–47, 180.

The year 1738 also saw preparations to erect an iron bridge across sKyid-chu. It was to be erected by the retreant *dge slong* Blo-bzang dpal-grub (cf. *DL7* 480). Prior to that, one of several iron-bridges, among others, had been raised at Brag-gdong of Grib around 1430 A.D. by Thang-stong rgyal-po; cf. *Thang stong rnam thar I* 157–58. These bridges, it appears, usually did not survive the floodings that regularly hit the area. Usually Ra-ma-sgang and lHa-gdong Shan-kha (see also *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 2150) were the fords where the river was crossed by boat.

The 1830 A.D. Governmental Tax Survey (*CTZhZh* 10, 22, 39) under the Tshal estate lists the following properties: mThong-smon, lCags-shar, mGar-tshang, lCags-ri shar-ma,** sPel-bzhi, mGon-lha, lHo-sgo, etc.

* It originally was an inheritable title since Yuan time. I.e. "holy" or "sacred" abbot; Manchu *darhan*; Ch. *da'erhan*, *da la han* < Mong. *darqan*. Free Noble, originally a black-smith. Cf. also Laufer 1919: 592–94; Cleaves, *HJAS* 12: 51.

** From this place originated the 11th rTa-tshag rin-po-che, Ngag-dbang thub-bstan sKal-bzang bstan-pa'i sgron-me (1888–1918), from a family under the Tshal Gung-thang private estate. Cf. bSod-nams dbang-grags 1995: 43–45.

[733] The *sku mdun* or *nye 'khor ba* bsKal-bzang yon-tan (1726?–1783/87 A.D.) was a nephew and cousin (*tsha bo*; *sku tsha*) of sNgags-rams-pa (prev. note), and, like the latter, he received a religious education. A monk groomed in the closest entourage of the latter, he too is repeatedly registered as the one who formally served as scribe or secretary behind numerous of the treatises composed by the Dalai Lama (see Taube 1966, s.v. index). He held the title of *dar han mkhan po* from 1740, up until his death in 1783/87 registered for most years during both the reign of the 7th and a good part of the reign of the 8th Dalai Lama. In the 13-article *post*-1751 imperial re-organization in Tibet, the Dalai Lama was charged with the appointment of abbots and bsKal-bzang yon-tan was destined to rise high not only as a *mkhan po* but also to hold office as *bka' blon bla ma* 1767 (i.e. the ecclesiastic minister), only to resign six year later.* It may be speculated that he may be identical with bsKal-bzang bstan-'dzin rnam-rgyal; albeit with some hesitation; cf. Petech 1973: 218. In this case, a Qing decree suggests that he was born in 1726. He then appears to be nephew to Grags-pa mtha'-yas; cf. 816 below. Cf. sGrol-dkar ed. 1995: 44.

In 1782 – the year of the writing of *Gung thang dkar chag* – he is merely listed as *bka' zur* (or ex-*bka' blon*) Gung-thang mkhan-po according to the biographies of the 8th Dalai Lama (cf. Petech 1973: 218).** His role, if any at all, in the compilation of the present treatise *Gung thang dkar chag* remains unknown, since no information can be adduced from the colophon. But he must have been aware, and surely approved of, the endeavour of 'Jog-ri-pa, judged from the numerous references to him in the treatise. The latter family continued to reside at the estate of Gung-thang bla-brang throughout the 19th cent. At the beginning of the 20th century, the estate merged with the Khe-smad (also Kun-bzang-rtse) noble family. The bond between the Khe-smad house and the Gung-thang bla-brang estate is most fortunately described in some detail in the biography of the 3rd Khri-byang Blo-bzang ye-shes bstan-'dzin rgya. Cf. *Khri byang rnam thar* 4b1–6b6, *et passim*; *Shar rtse chos 'byung* 848f.; *dKon mchog bstan 'dzin rnam thar II* 13a4f. and Introduction *supra*.

his magnificent aspiration prayer [expressed] in former [lives], this holy person too accepted [the task] and took possession [of the monastery].

Making himself acquainted with the [wretched] circumstances of the monastic community and the temple, he felt [gloomy at the sight] as if an unendurable pain embraced his mind just like a mother who has beheld the dead corpse of her [only] son. Since those [responsible for] rendering service [to the institutions] had also whetted their minds through trusting faith in the manifestations stemming from the magic power of wholesome deeds [which ensure] auspicious goodness in the present and subsequent [existences], and, without paying any attention to their own property nor [shunning] any hardship, and being motivated by a virtuously [pure] intention (*lhag bsam*), they [thus] undertook in whichever suitable way new constructions mainly from the ground up or they conducted renovations concerning such [parts] as the upper and lower [storeys of] the gTsug-lag-khang, the outer, inner and intermediate [section], the walls, above and below the vestibule, the courtyard, the huge appliqué thangka (*gos sku spe'u*), the *thog shing* [i.e. ceiling wood-work], the wall plaster, as well as the *spen bad* and *la bad* [Tamarisk-stalked horizontal] roof attics of the gTsug-lag-khang and of the different colleges, etc.[734] The unclean places dotted with excrement around the gTsug-lag-khang, he removed to a place further away, and neatly patched up the unsightly holes in the walls. All walled [areas] of less importance, which were [only] inhabitable with difficulty, he reassembled in the best possible way using them for other [purposes]. As the former Eastern Annexe [Glo-'bur shar-ma] bordered on a vacant [i.e. uninhabited] plot, he erected [and expanded] the *lha khang* anew, and, in addition to the older statues of the former [*lha khang*], he also erected a considerable number of new statues. The older statues were renovated and new ones erected [**56a**] in the other *lha khang* too, and in a large number whereupon the position [and lay-out of these new images within the different] *lha khang* were rearranged. Consecration too of all these as well as of the formerly [mentioned] new statues was carried out in considerable numbers by many *mahāpuruṣa* and by officiating monks headed by [those from] the two Tantric colleges, [conducted after these new statues had been inserted with] bone relics [made from *tshva*

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* It is recorded that he intermediately functioned as Zha-lu mkhan-po too. Cf. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 232, 514.

** Formerly, in 1751 A.D. bsKal-bzang yon-tan and his nephew lineage were beneficiaries when they received the mansion of Ka-brgyad smad-pa'i khang-pa in lHa-sa as a result of the redistribution of landed estates and properties (*sa rigs rgyu dngos*) that followed the punitive measures in form of a governmental sequestration (*gzhung bzhes*) of properties formerly adhering to Pho-lha-nas' indifferent and hapless son 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal and his cohort (*DL7* 798–99). It was during his period – in 1755 – that the 33rd Ngor mkhan-chen visited Tshal Yang-dgon and Gung-thang. The latter also registers bsKal-bzang yon-tan for the years 1754–55, cf. *dPal ldan chos skyong rnam thar III* 206, 340, 351–52. Tshal Gung-thang was also visited by Thu'u-kvan Chos kyi nyi-ma (1737–1802) in 1758; see *Thu'u kvan rnam thar* 104.

bsKal-bzang yon-tan was otherwise listed as an affluent donor and sponsor during *sMon lam chen mo*. He was in full addressed 'Chi-med Dza-sag Bla-ma (M. *Jasaγ blama*; Ch. *zhasake*) Gung-thang mkhan-po, where the title *jasaγ blama* (within the official titulary registery among the Mongols) usually reflects the status as an administrative head of a monastery with spiritual and secular power holding both land and retainers (cf. Miller 1959: 50–56). The Gung-thang bla-brang thus had turned from being a monastic estate to a private estate (*sger gzhis*), after it had been presented to him as as private property, see *dGa' bzhi rnam thar* 107; this transference – according to the latter text – took place or at least was reconfirmed already in 1764 A.D. The same text, *op. cit*., 407, registers for the year 1784 A.D. a Gung-thang dGe-rgan (~ Dar-rgan = *dar han*?) mkhan-po Blo-bzang dge-legs (a relative?), which may suggest that in that very year or the year before, bsKal-bzang yon-tan passed away. He is regularly mentioned in contemporary literature, see e.g. *Yongs 'dzin rnam thar* 79b2. Another relative who may have taken over after bsKal-bzang yon-tan was bsKal-bzang dngos-grub; cf. fol. 58a–b.

[734] These renovations, esp. of the huge three-storied appliqué *gos sku* of Munīndra for the *Me tog mchod pa* festival were executed in 1753 by bsKal-bzang yon-tan; cf. *DL7* 843. The *spen ma* or *spen bad* are friezes in the traditional form of a horizontal band decorating the parapet of Tibetan monastic and religious buildings; cf. Larsen *et. al* 2001: 49f.

tshva] of the successive incarnations of the Dalai Lamas and in particular of the [7th] Dalai Lama bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho exclusively with blessing-bestowing substances.

Above these, he erected numerous decorations such as gilt copper victory banners and *gañjira*, etc. and he equipped each individual statue, [both] the old as well as the new ones, with diadems, attire, ceremonial scarves, etc. and yielded in an excellent way service and respect [to the different institutions] by way of [supplying these with décors] such as baldachins, tassel draperies, vessels of aromatic votive powder (*phye* [*ma'i*] *phur* [*ma*]), "ceiling covering-s" (*gnam rgyan*) [i.e. canopies], offerings bowls, musical instruments, as well as "floor covering-s" etc.

Temporarily, for the decorative enrichment of the gTsug-lag-khang and its monastic community, for the protection against the hazards of inundation [threatening] from the upper valleys (*phu chu'i 'jigs skyob*) as well as a resource for the future renovation of the temple, the mother seat and its affiliated [monasteries], etc. he had an enclosure of trees planted around the boundary wall. Similarly, although it earlier had been very difficult at the two colleges to maintain independently the practice of recitation of the [cycles of] Saṃvara and Heruka, [he reintroduced] for these [rituals] through exertion in skillfulness in means (*upāyakauśalya*) and on compassion (*karuṇā*) the [meditative practices of] self[-visualization] [as a deity] (*bdag* [*bskyed*]) and front[-visualization] [of the deity] (*mdun* [*bskyed*]) along with the [relevant] empowerment practice. At the great commemorative [funeral] ceremony of *skyabs mgon* bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho, he combined [and instituted] a full-day *sādhana-pūjā* along with a fire-*pūjā* including its supplementary [ritual], as well as performed [a monthly ceremony that coincided] with the date [of his passing], a full-day ritual of empowerment, [along with the practice of] self[-visualization] and front[-visualization]. On other occasions he supplied [the *lha khang*, etc.] with an endowment fund [serving as financial support for acquiring items] (*sbyor 'jags*) deemed necessary [for the implementation of] these [rituals] such as empowerment utensils made from good quality cloths [**56b**], musical instruments, "floor-coverings", "ceiling-coverings", tassel draperies, and vessels of aromatic votive powder (*phye* [*ma'i*] *phur* [*ma*]), etc.

For the members of monastic body too he was able not only to arrange, in addition to the supply of food, for tea to be served, but also for providing the framework (*go yul*?) for the income being in accord with the level of examination passed within [the subjects of] religious dance, the drawing of lines [of a sand *maṇḍala*] and chanting [prayers], the three (*gar thig dbyangs gsum*), etc. as well as [providing for the endowment of] musical instruments and the liturgical texts for the *sgrigs khongs* of [the cycles of] Saṃvara, and Sarvavid [Vairocana], etc. Further he implemented [the prerequisite for] rendering service and worship such as providing [the distribution of] tea and alms during both regular as well as *ad hoc* [sessions], etc. In short, he provided excellent service, etc. to the distinct *lha khang*, [introduced] a strict code of discipline, as well as [covered] the expenditure [for conducting appropriate rituals]. Based upon this, he also ensured that the members of the monastic body could simply pursue, in the first place, the three fundamental rituals,[735] the three higher disciplines, or the praxis of one of the *tantra* classes, etc. without even needing to aspire, which shows that his kindness [indeed] was beyond the realm of thought. Further, as it will be explained [later], since earlier there had been no [proper] proprietor [to ensure daily care and

[735] The three basic observances prescribed by Buddha for all monks to uphold, i.e. *gso sbyong* or *poṣadha*, a two-month confession ritual; *dbyar gnas*, *vārṣika*, a three-month summer (rainy season) retreat session and *dgag dbye*, *pravāraṇā* or the ritual of lifting the restriction imposed during the latter retreat.

maintenance] for the external or internal [sections of] the *lha khang*, [the recent renovations, etc.] had ensured that nowadays it remains indistinguishable [in splendour] from the lHa-ldan sprul-pa'i gTsug-lag-khang; evidently all these [improvements] are appropriate manifestations [ultimately] stemming from the magical display of the wisdom of both Zhang Rin-po-che and *Khams gsum 'gro ba'i bla ma* [b]Tsong-kha-pa chen-po. Those who were to repay the kindness of these [extraordinary persons and improvements] had realized [the extent] of what had been accomplished after having observed the manifestations of other residences and monasteries, and in order to repay the kindness extraordinary people stepped forward, the details [of their history however] shall be dealt with in the chapter delineating the different receptacles.

[4.] [The Seven Chambers of Worship (*mchod khang*) in the gTsug-lag-khang]

[**A**] [The Northern Annexe [later called] The Central Sanctuarium:
Glo-'bur byang-ma *alias* gTsang-khang dbus-ma]

Thus, a part of the Upper Courtyard [Khyams-stod] of the old gTsug-lag-khang is counted as the Glo-'bur byang-ma, *alias* gTsang-khang dbus-ma [**57a**] including its multi-storied shrine (*khang brtsegs, kūṭāgāra*).[736] Within [the latter sanctuarium the statue of Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po / Mahābodhi *alias* lHa-chen dpal-'bar is installed] according to the clearly elucidated prophecy in *mDo sde gdams ngag 'bog pa'i rgyal po*:[737]

> "From here [i.e. Central India], in the barbarous [region]
> in the northern direction
> The so-called "Sandy Plain of Tshal" (*tshal thang bye ma can*)[738] [is situated];
> This *dge bsnyen* Li-tsa gzhon-nu
> Epitomizing the [mantric] syllable *A*,
> Will appear [there] as the one called sKye-med [i.e. Zhang Rin-po-che].
> [The latter] will erect a huge statue of me [i.e. Maheśvara]
> And cultivate [i.e. convert] the sentient beings too by draconic means;
> His retinue counts 500 [acolytes]."

Accordingly, [the statue] was initially erected by Zhang Rin-po-che himself. As consecratory

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[736] I.e. the Byang-chub *pho brang*. According to the locals, the roof building, a later construction, is also called rGyal-ba pho-brang, alluding to the Dalai Lama who sojourned there.

Karma-Pakṣi (1204–1283 A.D.), in emulation of the Tshal receptacle, later in mTshur-phu erected a lHa-chen dpal-'bar called 'Dzam-gling-rgyan (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 903–05).

[737] In brief also called *gDams ngag 'bogs pa* or full *gDams ngag 'bogs pa'i lung bstan gsal ba'i sgron me* in *mKhar nag chos 'byung* 593.1–2, 594.3–4 (= *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 49b4–6). The same verse also cited in *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 600.11–13.

This treasury text (*gter ma*) – currently non-extant – was replete with prophecies and was regularly cited in the literature, so e.g. in the *Vaiḍūrya ser po*. It is fairly old, since it is also found cited in *lDe'u-2* 91 (last information courtesy of D. Martin). However, it was apparently first quoted by Rong-zom; for its shaky authenticity as a *gsang sngags lung khungs*, see gTer-bdag gling-pa, *Nor bu'i chun po* 481–89.

[738] See fn. 443, 474 *supra*. *dGa' bzhi rnam thar* 17 provides us with a somewhat unusual etymology of [m]Tshal-thang. For this toponym, see Part II: App. IV.

fillings (*nang zhugs*) many blessing-bestowing items were inserted such as numerous *ring bsrel* bone relics of the Jinas and their sons [i.e. Buddhas and Bodhisattvas], statues of deities as well as a wish-granting jewel once given [to Zhang] by one *Jñānaḍākinī* in bSam-yas, and a right-twisting conch (*dakṣināvartaśaṅkha*). [This statue] was consecrated by 'Gro-mgon [Zhang himself], *rje* Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa [1110–1193 A.D.],[739] and by *grub thob* Gling-chen ras-pa [i.e. Padma rdo-rje, 1128–1188 A.D.],[740] etc. In this regard, at the time Gling ras-pa sojourned at Nags-shod,[741] a raven conveyed a message to him from Zhang Rin-po-che. He immediately spoke to a disciple of his: "Close your eyes!" whereupon they [both] went off by magical means and when he opened his eyes again, both teacher and disciple, the two, [in a trice] had arrived in Gung-thang in front of the statue of Jo-bo [Byang-chub chen-po], where he performed the consecration [of the statue] conducted in form of a spiritual song of blessing.[742] Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa on his part having lifted up [the statue of] Zhang Rin-po-che said: "Vanish into it!" whereupon he performed the consecration. Sangs-rgyas dbon-ston [1138–1210 A.D.][743] [once] from the top of the *maṇḍala*-mountain strewed barley grains with his hands [in front of the statue as an act of consecration] and as he thus exorcized the *bgegs* [evil spirits] from the Gung-thang sacred objects and conducted the consecration, a rain of flowers fell upon the sacred objects [**57b**] like the sound of a drum (*khrol khrol*).[744] At the point Zhang [actually] was to passing into *nirvāṇa* [i.e. 1193 A.D.] too, some [particularly] blessed disciples [of his] observed [how he] along with Khyi 'Brong-zhur[745] was in reality absorbed [into the statue].

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[739] The founder of the Karma bKa'-brgyud school who counts as the first in the Zhva-nag Karma-pa lineage. He was one of the most prominent disciples of sGam-po-pa along with Phag-mo gru-pa, Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims and 'Ba'-rom-pa, the latter ones constitute the so-called four "holders of the spiritual lineage" (BA Roerich 462). As one of his teachers prior to his meeting with sGam-po-pa and with rGva-lo rin-po-che, Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa on his part was teacher of Bla-ma Zhang (cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 228–234; *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 554.5–6; BA Roerich 475, 517; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston II* 864.19f., 871.5, 25).

[740] The founder of the 'Brug-pa school, for his biography, see e.g. *Gling ras rnam mgur I.* For his relationship to Bla-ma Zhang and lHa-chen dpal-'bar, see *op. cit*., 39b5–7; *Gling ras rnam thar II* 7b7, 20b3–6.

[741] For Gling-ras-pa's sojourn in Nags-shod (where he went prior to the passing of Phag-mo gru-pa in 1170; he reached the area via Zangs-ri in Central Tibet and after having passed [Dvags-lha] sGam-po and N/Myang-po), see *Deb sngon* 777.15f. (BA Roerich 662f.). It refers to Nags-shod in the 'Bri-ru county in Khams (see Ri-dbang bsTan-'dzin (2002), *Nag shod 'bri ru'i lo rgyus*; Gyurme Dorje 1998: 443, 453). Earlier, it was an area utilized for its forestry or timber production. From Nags-shod, timber was collected for the erection of the *vihāra* of sTag-lung (1224 A.D.), a policy opposed by the 'Bri-gung-pa who similarly nurtured regional claims (cf. BA Roerich 625; App. II below). Nags-shod is listed as *stong sde bu chung* of Sum-pa-ru (MTP Uebach 22, 55; see Ri-dbang bsTan-'dzin (*op. cit*., 15) for the ancient borders of Sum-pa-ru). Zhang stayed here in the early 1150's, see *bKa' thor bu* 29.1; 233.5; 242.1; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 185.13, 187.3; above fn. 31.

[742] *Verbatim* from *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 559.2–5; see also the biography in *Deb sngon* 778.13–16 according to which Gling ras-pa presented a sizable contribution to the construction (of the statue of the) lHa-chen [dpal-'bar] erected by Bla-ma Zhang. He also visited the mChod-khang in Gung-thang; cf. *lHo rong chos'byung* 640.

[743] *Verbatim* from *Rin chen sgang khu dbon rnam thar* 440.2–5. rGya-ma Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston Rin-po-che, *alias* rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang-pa, with the ordination name gZhon-nu 'byung-gnas. For his life, cf. *ibid*. 432.3ff.; *Lam rim bla ma brgyud rnam thar* 291–300.

[744] *Verbatim* from *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 559.4–560.1; *Lam rim bla ma brgyud rnam thar* 298.

[745] Cf. *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 66a1–3. I.e. Dog "Straight Wild Yak" or better 'Brong-zhal, Dog "Wild Yak-faced one"? cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 60. Also known as mGon Khyi-dom (= ldom?)-nag snying-dkar, or the Protector "White-chested Black Stray Dog." Cf. also the Yak-headed Trakṣad Mahākāla. Willson and Brauen 2000: 361; L. Chandra 1991: 882–84, 2464. Cf. Ahmad 1999: 187 and below 798.

Again,[746] at a later point, on account of warfare that drifted back and forth between the [warring] communities, etc. [the amount and nature of] former images of body, speech and mind [in Gung-thang] was indeed both numerous as well as wondrous, still the service rendered [to these receptacles] in form of paying homage and making offerings etc. had become extremely lax. When *grub chen* Thang-stong-pa [rgyal-po][1361/1385–1464/5 A.D.][747] offered liquid gold [the value and weight amounting to] two *zho* to lHa-chen [i.e. Jo-bo lHa-chen dpal-'bar], there occurred a miracle, so that [the amount of liquid gold proved to] completely cover the entire body [of the statue]. For seven full days, he offered butter-lamps, food, incense etc. [in front of the image] and having [thus] ensured that auspicious circumstances prevailed for the improvement of religious service to be rendered, he made prayers, and, so from the [very] heart of the Jo-bo [statue], 'Gro-mgon [Zhang] Rin-po-che [suddenly] made his appearance in person and proclaimed:[748]

"Mind-emanation of the Jina, Rig-'dzin lCags-zam-pa"
and
"Pacify the ferocious converts of barbarian India and Tibet."
as well as
"For you and me, the two of us, in the palace of the celestial realm
Neither a meeting nor a parting take place! Supreme Being, Nirmāṇakāya."

[Having spoken] accordingly, [Zhang] with a [loud] voice was [again] absorbed into the Jo-bo statue, etc. [Hence] the consecratory fillings of the former Jo-bo [statue] were [indeed] plentiful.

[Serving] as a receptacle of inheritance (*rten skal*) for the future, [the body-parts of Zhang Rin-po-che] which had not caught fire [during the cremation, such as] his right hand [etc. were inserted] into the heart [of the statue] in the manner of a "wisdom-being" (*jñānasattva*) [i.e. pristine awareness principle]; in the head [of the statue that served] as a *bzo phud* [i.e. manufacture offering][749] of the Jo-

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[746] A contracted but *verbatim* rendering extracted from the *Thang stong rnam thar I* 106–107. The episode recounted here took place during a visit by Thang-stong rgyal-po to Gung-thang in order to attend the local *Me tog mchod pa* Festival. The chronology of the biography is however problematic, since some data suggest the date 1450 A.D.; but a few pages ahead in the biography (118, 155, 161) the information presented therein suggests that the episode rather may be dated to 1430–32 A.D. *Thang stong rnam thar III* 183–6 suggests the year 1429 (*sa bya* = to be emended to 1408 or *sa byi* in the light of the events following directly thereupon in the biography?). At approximately the same period, *rJe btsun ma* Chos kyi sgron-ma visited Gung-thang; cf. *Chos sgron rnam thar* 148b6–7.

[747] The biography (*Thang stong rnam thar I–III*) of Thang-stong rgyal-po, *alias* dPal Grub-pa'i dbang-phyug brTson-'grus bzang-po.

[748] The full text of the versified proclamation, *op. cit., I* 107; *II* 185:

rgyal ba'i thugs sprul rig 'dzin lcags zam pa || bstan pa'i mthar nye drug cu kha ral dus || mi yi tshe lo brgya phrag bco brgyad bar || rgya bod kla klo gdul bya ma rungs 'dul || smon lam dbang gis gdul bya phyogs mthar rgyas || skyo sun skyid lug spangs pas brtson 'grus ming || 'dod dgu'i char 'bab dge ba dpag med 'grub || chos brgyad mgo snyoms 'dzin med 'khrul pa zhig / bar chad rang grol ltas ngan g.yang du khugs || nga dang khyod gnyis mkha' spyod pho brang du || 'du[*l*] *'bral med de skyes mchog sprul pa'i sku ||* Cf. also *Thang stong rnam thar II* 184.6–185.2.

[749] The making and offering of such (often miniature) manufacture specimen or *bzo phud* is deemed of great importance prior to the successful and auspicious outcome of the actual manufacture of a main statue. Similar to other sorts of "first portion" offerings, whether involving the first specimen of the material (*rgyu*) such as stone, wood or the like when e.g. erecting an edifice, objects or specimen (often, as said, smaller statues) usually stem from the first cast when the main statue in question, *in casu* the lHa-chen dpal-'bar, was manufactured. The Yid-bzhin nor-bu statue was erected by Mar-pa lHa-dkar, cf. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 560.2–3.

bo [statue] the effigy [called] Yid-bzhin nor-bu [i.e. Cintāmaṇi], along with 108 effigies [of different measure] [were inserted] such as [those measuring] one *'dzub* [= *mdzub*] *gang ma*, one *khyud re ma*, and one *tshon re ma*, etc.[750] [which had once been] erected by *dpon* Mar-pa lHa-dkar.[751] [The statue of lHa-chen] was made to be consecrated by 'Gro-mgon [Zhang] himself. The particularly small [images] were blessed by being inserted into the mouth [of the main statue] and were therefore known as *mu*[*r*] *ru ma* [i.e. "the licked ones"][**58a**] [The statue] [containing numerous other miniature statues] like a pod full of sesame grains displayed the *mudrā* of subduing Māra, and was attired in *nirmāṇakāya* [fashion] garb. Being [later] given the monk's robes (*snam sbyar*) of Khri-chen Ngag-dbang mchog-ldan [1677–1751][752] and being equipped with the *stod le* upper garment and the *ras bse* fabrics, etc.[753] [the statue of lHa-chen, its ornaments and paraphernalia thus] turned into the attire of a *sambhogakāya*. At a later point [again, the statue of lHa-chen was presented with] a gilt *'phrul ris* [= *'phrul mig*; lattice-work] ornament, inlaid ornaments made form different precious stones, an excellently crafted headdress, ear-ornaments, as well as necklaces, including silk ribbons (*dar dpyang*) and *do shal*-necklace (*niṣka*) [tendered by] *skyabs mgon* rGyal-tshab De-mo Rin-po-che,[754] as well as a necklace enriched by diffent sorts of inlaid precious jewels was presented by rDo-ring No-yon [i.e. rDo-ring Paṇḍita *alias* dGa'-bzhi mGon-po dNgos-grub rab-brtan, 1721–1792 A.D.].[755]

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[750] Cf. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 560.5–6. The terms designate sculptural measurements – mainly miniature and small-size statues – respectively sized *mdzub gang ma* or "one full *mdzub*" i.e. the distance on the second finger from the tip to the first joint; the *khyud re ma* measures the distance between two hands outstretched to the tips of the fingers as well as *tshon re ma* which indicates a measure of one full thumb; cf. *Tshig mdzod* 266, 2298, 2336.

[751] This person is counted among the *'phrin las grub pa'i bu chen group* of Bla-ma Zhang disciples. He is also called [d]Mar-sgom, after having erected 108 images of Zhang, known as Mar-pa lHa-dkar-ma. A number of these statues was consecrated by Khams-pa *rin po che* dBu-se (a disciple of Zhang). Cf. *Tshal rnam* 61b 4–5, 63b6–7: Zhang rin-po-che'i *lugs sku* (or cast statues); *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 58a1–2; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 204.15–16; *Deb dmar* 129.7; *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 560.5–6; *dPon Dar ma gzhon nu'i zhus lan* in *bKa' rgya ma*. See App. V: Table 5, fn. 2.

We have information that once on the way to dGa'-ldan, in a house belonging to one Rag-pa'i *nye gnas* Don-rin in Rag-mda' (cf. fn. 517 above), *chos rje* bKra-shis dpal-ldan dreamt that the room was full of Bla-ma Zhang statues known as Mar-pa lHa-dkar-ma (*bKra shis dpal ldan rnam thar* 102–03). A statue of Bla-ma Zhang erected by him as principal statue of g.Yas-ru Byang-pa is known as Mar-pa lHa-skal-ma (i.e. the Hereditary Statue from Mar-pa, i.e. Mar-sgom), mentioned in *Zur chen rnam thar* 107a1–2 (=213.1–2). He finally was the pupil who motivated Bla-ma Zhang to compose his most celebrated treatise Path of Ultimate Profundity (see Martin 2001). He evidently was the main architect behind the *mchod gnas* Byang-chub chen-po *alias* lHa-chen dpal-'bar; cf. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 558.

[752] This refers to the 54th *khri* of dGa'-ldan (rl. 1739–46 A.D.), A-chi-thu No-mon-han (Ačitu Nom-un qan) [mkhan-chen] Ngag-dbang mchog-ldan (1677–1751 A.D.), pupil, among others, of the 50th throne-holder dGe-'dun phun-tshogs (see fn. 729) and *yongs 'dzin* of the 7th Dalai Lama. His biography was written by lCang-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (found in the latter's *Coll. Works* Vol. 2: 92 fols.). He was also registered as 1st Rva-sgreng hierarch. See *Se ra chos 'byung* 406–09, 424–36, 539–41. Ngag-dbang mchog-ldan also played a role in the early phase of the rDo-rje Shugs-ldan affair.

[753] The *stod le* shirt designates an upper garment which is decorated with depictions of peaceful *bodhisattva*. The *ras bse* designates a garment made from either glued or coloured (lacquered) mixtures or patchworks of cotton-linen (*skyo sbyar*, *rtsi btang*).

[754] It refers to the 1st De-mo Ho-thog-thu [~ sprul sku] Ngag-dbang 'jam-dpal bde-legs rgya-mtsho who acted as regent (*rgyal tshab*) during the minority of the 8th Dalai Lama, tenure from 17.06.1757 until 01.03.1777 A.D. when he passed away (cf. Petech 1988e: 136-37). His main residence later was the hapless bsTan-rgyas-gling. Cf. also Schuh 1981: 110–119. For the Kong-po De-mo *sprul sku* line, cf. Klong rdol's *gSung 'bum II* 395.2–10.

[755] For his biography, see *dGa' bzhi rnam thar* 25, *et passim*. A key political figure in 18th century Tibet, see Petech 1973: 53–55.

Further, to the left and right, [statues of] the Supreme Pair [i.e. Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra], along with Ārya Lokeśvara and Khasarpāṇi the four and the main statue, five in all [were installed]. [Further] a backrest [behind the statue] endowed with the six ornamental supports (*drug 'gyogs*),[756] along with a *paṭa* and [statues of] the eight Bodhisattva Sons with their countenances facing in the northern direction, as well as two wrathful Door-keepers (*dvarapāla*) [were erected]. The upper and lower garment of the main statue and his retinue, consisting of pieces of loose-hanging multi-coloured silk draperies (*dar lhug* [= *hrug*] *tshon sna*), as well as the canopies both outside and inside, the vessels of aromatic votive powder (*phye* [*ma'i*] *phur* [*ma*]), pillar-draperies, beam-draperies, and *lda ldi* (= *dar gyi lda ldi*[*ng*]) [multi-coloured silken] tassels – [all] these items being of excellent material and craft had been manufactured by Dar-han mkhan Rin-po-che [bsKal-bzang yon-tan] and his relative Phyag-mdzod sde-pa bsKal-bzang dngos-grub, master and servants. Left and right of the main statue [of Jo-bo lHa-chen] were [statues] of Amitāyus, as well as the six statues respectively of Amitāyus and Bhaiṣajyaguru [situated] to the east and west [of the main statue], of [Buddha] Nagendrarāja and of [Buddha] Akṣobhya, [all] erected by Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa [i.e. dGe-'dun phun-tshogs]. [This terminates] the description of gTsang-khang dbus-ma.[757]

[**B**] [The Western Annexe, [later called] Western Sanctuarium]
[Glo-'bur nub-ma *alias* gTsang-khang nub-ma]

The Western Sanctuarium was earlier known as the Western Annexe.[758] [**58b**] In the center is the statue of Zhang Rin-po-che known as Yid-bzhin nor-bu [i.e. Cintāmaṇi]. The second [statue] to the right represents the first throne-holder [of Yang-dgon] (*gdan rabs thog ma*) mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes, and the third [statue] to the left is that of the assistant-intendant of Zhang, Dar-ma gzhon-nu. These three statues were erected during the time of 'Gro-mgon and his disciples by *dpon* Mar-pa lHa-dkar [which served] as *bzo phud* for the erection of [the statue of] lHa-chen dpal-'bar. Hence they are of the same material as the [main statue of] Jo-bo and [these as well as] the consecratory fillings (*nang zhugs*) etc., not being victims of the fire [that raged in 1546 A.D.], remain there [until this very day] unchanged and in the same position as in earlier [times]. The consecration was conducted by 'Gro-mgon himself. In particular, the [statue known as] the Precious Effigy (*'dra sku rin po che*) [of Zhang Rin-po-che] [indeed displayed wondrous signs]: at a time when Zhang himself visited the areas [located] to the left and right [of the statue in this sanctuarium] too, [the statue delivered] answers [to the questions raised]: "Are the teacher and the disciples doing well?"; in accordance with his pleasing [behaviour], [this statue] was blessed as his own representative. Later too, Sangs-rgyas gNub-sgom from g.Ya'-bzang [i.e. g.Ya'-bzang-pa Chos kyi smon-lam,

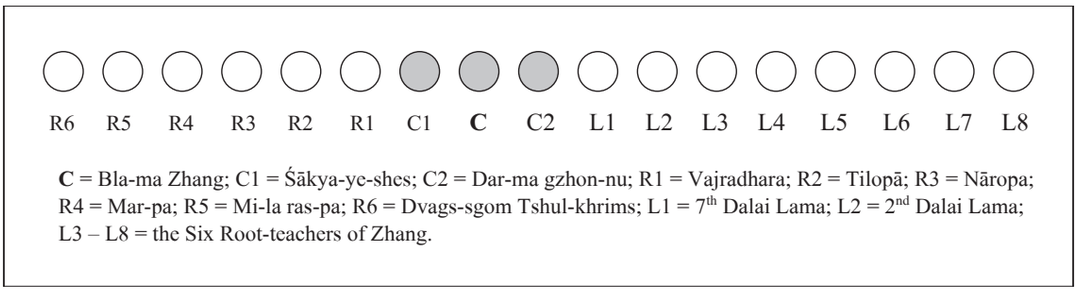
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[756] These six ornaments of the main statue either refer to the six ornamental supports of the throne (*khri*) itself consisting of the following paired figures: *seng ge*, *glang chen*, *rta mchog*, *rma bya*, *shang shang* and *gyad kyi mi* or it refers, here more likely, to the ditto décors of the backrest (*khri rgyab* [*yol*]): *bya khyung*, *klu gdengs ka can*, *chu srin*, *mdzes pa'i bu rgyan*, *ri dvags sha ral can*, *glang po che rgyan ldan*. See *Sangs rgyas chos gzhung* 87.

[757] The current condition of the dBus-ma: four new statues (i.e. Jo-bo flanked by Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra and Tshe-dpag med) and a small virtrine containing images of the Tshal Gung-thang triad: rGva-lo, Zhang and Dar-ma gzhon-nu. Some parts of the backrest of the Jo-bo throne are preserved. The walls are empty.

[758] The chamber or cella described here corresponds to the Zhal lha-khang, the northern part of the ground-floor of the Glo-'bur-nub complex (Graph 2).

1169–1233 A.D.] and [the latter's disciple] *dpal rgyal ba* lHa [Go-ra] gdong-pa,[759] etc. [received] an endlees number of religious teachings, etc. when many rays of light emanated from the *'dra sku rin po che*. By virtue of the fact that the principle of wisdom (*ye shes pa*) truly dwelt [in this statue], at the time when Zur-chen rin-po-che was about to direct his thoughts at something else [i.e. was distracted], [the statue] several times took off his hat [displaying] a mien of lamentation.[760] [Thus] it was [indeed] a blessing-bestowing [statue] which on several occasions also spoke, etc.



Graph 6: The main statues of the gTsang-khang nub-ma

The third [statue] from the right was that of rGyal-mchog lNga-pa chen-po [i.e. the 5th Dalai Lama], [followed by statues of] Vajradhara, Tilopā, Nāro[-pa], Mar-pa, Mi-la [ras-pa], sGam-po-pa and Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims snying-po. The fourth [statue] from the left [i.e. the second from the left; counting from the main statue] was that of *dbyangs can bzhad pa* dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho, [followed by statues of] *rje btsun* rGva-lo-ba, Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims snying-po, Mal Yer-pa-ba, Bla-ma rNgog-pa, Bla-ma 'Ol-kha-ba, Bla-ma Bai-ro-ba. These are statues of [Bla-ma] Zhang's six root teachers [**59a**] which had been [once] erected by Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol. The very excellent image at the beginning of the left row [depicts] *skyabs mgon* rGyal-mchog bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama installed] along with throne and backrest, as well as, [appropriate decor, namely] "ceiling-coverings" [i.e. a canopy], and with the distinct dresses and hats, [all] these [items] were erected by Dar-han mkhan Rin-po-che [i.e. bsKal-bzang yon-tan], master and servants. [This terminates] the description of Zhang lha-khang.

[**C**] [The Eastern Annexe, [later called] Eastern Sanctuarium
[Glo-'bur shar-ma *alias* gTsang-khang shar-ma]

The larger part of the Eastern Sanctuarium, formerly known as the Eastern Annexe was in the main renovated from the ground up by Dar-han mkhan rin-po-che [bsKal-bzang yon-tan] and his retinue.

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[759] *Verbatim* from *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 660.3–5. Chos kyi smon-lam, the founder of the g.Ya'-bzang bKa'-brgyud-pa in Yar-stod counts among the disciples of Bla-ma Zhang. The lHa Bug-pa-can-pa Go-ra gdong-pa Sangs-rgyas lHa-sgom was one of Chos kyi smon-lam's favourite disciples. See CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 30, 72, 77, 215.

Another 13th century ascetic who visited Gung-thang, circumambulated the 'Bum-pa and paid homage to the *sku 'bag* of Bla-ma Zhang was Gu-ru Chos-dbang (1212–70); cf. *Gu ru chos dbang rnam thar* 323.6–324.4.

[760] The statue of Zhang was also called gSung-byon-ma. Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 209b4–210a2 (= 418.4–419.2), 215a4–5 (= 429.4–5). The event dates from 1657 A.D. It was evidently also visited by the young 9th Dalai Lama in 1807 and in 1808; see *DL9* [A] 22b2, 34a2–6.

The main reliquary [installed in] the center [of the sanctuarium] is the ossuary (*gdung rten*) known as bKra-shis 'od-'bar[761] which had been jointly erected by [Zhang's closest disciple], the one called *nye gnas* Dar-ma gzhon-nu, the incarnation of the Devendra (*lha*[*ōi*] *dbang* [*po*]) Indra [brGya-byin] and by the first *gdan rabs* mNyam-med Rin-po-che [i.e. Śākya ye-shes]. [Utterly] countless are the blessing-bestowing concecratory fillings [placed inside the reliquary of the bKra-shis 'od-'bar ossuary] such as the bone relics [left behind after the cremation of] Zhang Rin-po-che, etc. The material [used] was made from precious stones. [Further] the [statue of] *rje btsun* Tārā [sGrol-ma] with the countenance facing towards the east [is installed there], erected during the time of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che. This blessing-bestowing [statue] too was famous by name as sGrol-ma gSung-byon-ma [Speaking Tārā][762] and Me-thub-ma [Fire-Proof].[763] Further, the four large cast metal (*li ma*) statues of Munīndra, the statue of Amitābha [and] Munīndra Grong-khyer-ma[764] etc. as well as larger and smaller ossuary shrines, [were installed here]. These too are exclusively blessing-bestowing old reliquaries of yore [i.e. erected prior to the Great Fire of 1546]. [These reliquaries were] formerly scattered throughout many [different] *lha khang* [both within as well as outside the Gung-thang monastic precinct], remaining in a desolate [i.e. woeful] state (*'o brgyal bar bzhugs*),[765] wherefore the treasurer of Dar-han [i.e. *Phyag mdzod sde pa* bsKal-bzang dngos-grub, the treasurer of Dar-han mkhan Rin-po-che bsKal-bzang yon-tan] assembled [the scattered statues installed in different localities and had them set up] in this place, [**59b**] [then] erected anew a residential shrine, a shrine pavillion (*khang* [*bu*] *brtsegs, kūṭāgāra*), as well as [iconographic array of] rock-landscapes etc., above which he arranged [the erection] of the eight [different types of] Sugata Stūpa-s[766] in the form of a *gaṇḍhola*-pinnacle. Among these an image of Pha Dam-pa

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[761] bKra-shis 'od-'bar as monument designates a *gdung rten* or ossuary type, in particular erected in connection with bKa'-gdams-pa and bKa'-brgyud-pa hierarchs; cf. CFS Gyalbo *et al*.: 85–86; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 104. The *gdung rten* was situated in the sGrol-ma lha-khang, the northern chamber of the ground-floor of the Glo-'bur-nub.

[762] Speaking Tārā are found in numerous temples throughout Tibet. Cf. e.g. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 68–69.

[763] Alluding to the fact that it survived the Great Fire of 1546 A.D. See next note.

[764] In the 5th Dalai Lama's *sNyan shel zhal byang*, it (or a different object) is called Me-thub-ma Zhang rin-po-che'i *sku*. A statue called Me-thub-ma or dGe-'dun-'phel which earlier was installed in the gTsang-khang shar-ma subsequently was transferred to the Byams-chen Zhal-ras lha-khang of Se-ra, cf. *Se ra chos 'byung* 181–82; *Grva sa chen po bzhi chags tshul* 64.13–17; *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 597.14'17; *DL7* 617. It is said to be a speaking statue that was brought from Za-dam Karma chos-rdzong; hence commonly known as the Grong-khyer-ma Za-dam-pa). On Za-dam, see above fns. 408, 670.

Numerous Me-thub-ma and Grong-khyer-ma statues are registered: A statue of the 3rd Dalai Lama kept in 'Ol-dga' rDzing-phyi was known accordingly when it surfaced unharmed at the point the temple caught fire; cf. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 393–94. A Virupa *thangka* and *thugs dam rten* of Atiśa; *ibd*. 568.

In 1575 A.D., another Grong-khyer-ma form of Śākyamuni was set up in bShad-sgrub-gling (of Dvags-po district) by the 5th Zhva-dmar dKon-mchog yan-lag; cf. *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 59a2–3. In Li-ma lha-khang of Potala, a Munendra Me-thub-ma is registered (cf. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 394). A main statue of Sa-skya-pa is also mentioned; *Paṇ chen blo bzang ye shes rnam thar I* 48a5. dPag-bsam dbang-po refers to a South Indian Grong-khyer-ma statue of Muni in sTag-lung; see also *sTag lung chos 'byung I* [A] 1454. *dPag bsam dbang po rnam thar I* 53b5–54a1 list a red-*li ma* statue Munīndra Grong-khyer-ma, a *thugs dam* statue of sTag-lung-pa. *DL6* 413 registers a similar dBus-li statue. In Bya-yul, another Thub-pa Grong-khyer-ma is registered for 1580; cf. *Rin-chen dpal bzang rnam thar* 22b3–4. *Deb ther rgya mtsho* 334 reports a self-originated statue made exclusively from wood. Its artistic and stylistic history is still not properly written.

[765] This expression suggests that the statues and reliquaries had neither been subject to any renovation, nor had over long period received any public veneration and ritual service (*bsnyen bkur*).

[766] See Kottkamp 1992: 93f., 433, 632.

[sangs-rgyas][d. 1117 A.D.],[767] an old reliquary [formerly] installed in gZims-phug nub[-ma] of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, was [subsequently] brought into this row [of re-arranged statues in this sanctuarium]. Further on (*de phyin*), [followed statues of] the Eleven-headed Mahākāruṇika facing south, the rGyal-mchog Gong-ma [the Former [i.e. 7th] Dalai Lama], Cakrasaṃvara. [Further statues of] the Jo-bo yab-sras [i.e. Atiśa, father and sons] facing towards the west, '*Jam mgon* [b]Tsong-kha-pa, 'Gro-mgon g.Yu-brag-pa, *Paṇ chen Thams cad mkhyen pa* Blo-bzang dpal-ldan ye-shes [i.e. the 2nd/ 5th Paṇ-chen Lama, 1663–1737 A.D.] *Phyag na padmo* 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtsho [the 8th Dalai Lama, 1758–1804 A.D.], along with [their respective] seats, throne of the Pañcakūla and rock landscapes. These [statues] were equipped with gowns made from good quality brocade, along with canopies, vessels of aromatic votive powder (*phye* [*ma'i*] *phur* [*ma*]), pedestals, and offerings bowls. These were [all] erected by Dar-han Rin-po-che [i.e. bsKal-bzang yon-tan] and [his] relative *Phyag mdzod sde ba* bsKal-bzang dngos-grub,[768] etc. [The statue of] Tārā Protecting From the Eight Fears [Aṣṭabhayatrāṇā] ['Jigs-pa brgyad-skyob[-ma]] facing to the north, along with seat and rock-landscape [etc.] these [statues] were erected after religious devotees from the four quarters of lHa-sa [*lha ldan sde bzhi chos mdzad*][769] had provided the financial prerequisites [for their erection]. [This terminates] the description of the Eastern Annexe.

[**D**] [The Chapel of Amitāyus: Tshe-dpag[-med] lha-khang]

The main statue of the Chapel of Amitāyus is that of Amitāyus,[770] [along with] [images of the] Eight [Medicine] [Sugata] Buddha ([sMan-bla] bDe-gshegs brgyad), a [main] statue endowed with ornamental excellence (*rgyan 'gros* = *spras*?), with throne, backrest, aureola (*'od bskor*) and *paṭa*. These objects of perfect artistic design had been erected by sKyid-shod *zhab drung* bKra-shis rab-brtan, father and sons. Blessing-bestowing [statues and objects] that were consecrated [**60a**] after rGyal-mchog bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3rd Dalai Lama] had been invited to [Gung-thang].[771] The silver-plated ossuary on the northern side, is the silver ossuary of Zur[-chen] Chos-dbyings rang-grol, [a reliquary] measuring 17 maces in height (*rgyug* [*m*]*tho* = *dbyug* [*m*]*tho*) and having the shape of a [Mahā-]Bodhi *stūpa,* since consecratory fillings [containing] the head-skull and heart of Zur himself, four relics, as well as an endless number of blessing-bestowing reliquaries [were inserted].[772] It had been erected by rGyal-mchog lNga-pa chen-po and donated as a present to this seat [i.e. chapel]. The *bKa' 'gyur* too, [brought] from rGyal-rtse, was personally presented to this [seat] in connection with the commemorative [funeral] ceremony of Zur-chen by rGyal-mchog [i.e. the 5th Dalai Lama].[773] It certainly is a blessing-bestowing [object of veneration] written with molten gold upon dark-blue paper and consecrated by many holy persons (*puruṣa*). Furthermore, [this chapel] holds two sets of *bKa' 'gyur* and one set of *bsTan 'gyur*, [set up and arranged along

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[767] On this famous yogi and teacher, see e.e. Kollmar-Paulenz 1993: 42–69; see also above fns. 179, 416, 670.

[768] bsKal-bzang dngos-grub was registered both as steward (*mgron gnyer*) [of Gung-thang bla-brang] and as monk; cf. *DL7* 908.

[769] On lHa-ldan (~lHa-sa) sde-bzhi, see App. II: Chap. 1.

[770] The Tshe-dpag-med lha-khang corresponds to the southern chamber of the ground-floor of the Glo-'bur shar-ma. It has been recently renovated in 2005/06 with the installation of sevaral new statues (statues of Tshe-dpag-med, sGrol-ma and rNam-rgyal at the northern wall, and statues of bDe-mchog, gSang-'dus and gShin-rje at the western wall).

[771] This consecration took place around 1553, following the repair works in the wake of the 1546 Fire; cf. fn. 179.

[772] Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 431.4–6.

[773] Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 432.4–6.

with sets of] wood-blocks, book-straps, book-covers with attached silk-clothed [title and number] sigla (*zhal khebs gdong dar*) as well as shelf-walls. The gowns of [the statues of] the other gods, along with the "ceiling-coverings" [i.e. canopies], the draperies, the vessels of aromatic votive powder (*phye* [*ma'i*] *phur* [*ma*]) had [all] been erected anew by Dar-han mkhan Rin-po-che, master and disciples. The reliquary-*stūpa*, an ossuary of the father of Zur-chen located in the southern direction, as well as [the statues of] rJe *yab sras* [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa and his two chief disciples] the three, [as well as statues and images of] Jina Pañcakūla [Buddhas of the Five Families], Buddha of the Three Times, Rigs-gsum mgon-po, Jo-bo Atiśa, Phag[-mo] gru[-pa] [rDo-rje rgyal-po], [Vajra-]Vidāraṇa ([rDo-rje] rNam-'joms), of Mahākāruṇika Cittaviśrāmaṇa (Thugs-rje chen-po Sems-nyid ngal-gso), Śrī Devī ([dPal[-ldan] lha[-mo]), the main statue and retinue, three in all. These [statues] too were erected by Zur-chen Rin-po-che. [The statue of] Avalokiteśvara Gaganarāja [Nam-mkha' rgyal-po] had been brought from another gTsug-lag-khang and installed here. [This terminates] the description of Chapel of Tshe-dpag[-med].

[**E**] [The Chapel of Maitreya: Byams[-pa lha-]khang]

[**60b**] In the Chapel of Maitreya the main support is the image of [Lord] Ajita ([mGon-po] Mi-pham-pa] [i.e. Maitreya],[774] known to have been erected by Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa [i.e. dGe-'dun phun-tshogs]. In some books it is asserted that Zur-chen *sprul sku* erected [the statue of] Maitreya surrounded by the eight *bodhisattva*. It is, however, also said [elsewhere] that in the wake of the erection [of the statue], on account of the animosity (*dgongs ph*[*y*]*ogs*) [i.e. resistance] of the Dzungars, [he had to] leave it behind [unfinished]. [Further, here are found] the attire [ornamenting the statues] installed to the left and to the right [of the main statue], namely of Paramārya Avalokiteśvara Siṃhanāda [*'phags mchog* sPyan-ras-gzigs Seng-ge'i sgra], the Eight [Medicine] [Sugata] Buddha [[sMan-bla] bDe-gshegs brgyad], Ārya [Avalokiteśvara] Cittaviśrāmaṇa ['Phags-pa Sems-nyid ngal-gso], the Jina Pañcakūla, [the trinity] Guhyasamāja [gSang-ba 'dus-pa], Cakrasaṃvara [*'Khor-lo sdom-pa],[775] and Vajrabhairava [rDo-rje 'Jigs-byed], as well as a brocade [huge wall Thangka], having as central figure Munīndra intended to be on display during the *Me tog mchod pa* [Festival], etc. made from different good-quality brocade, a blessing-bestowing brocade [wall Thanka] personally sprinkled [i.e. consecrated] by Blo-bzang bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho [the 7th Dalai Lama]. Moreover, "ceiling-coverings" [i.e. canopies] along with vessels of aromatic votive powder (*phye* [*ma'i*] *phur* [*ma*]), [all] these [objects] had been made from good-quality brocade, which were also erected anew by Dar-han-mkhan Rin-po-che, master and disciples. Among these [objects of veneration] [is found] an old brocade [wall Thangka] (*gos sku*), a blessing-bstowing [object of veneration] which has as its central figure Munīndra and which has been manufactured anew,[776] at the same time as the [establishment of] the Chapel of Amitāyus by sKyid-shod *zhabs drung* Don-'grub rab-brtan and his brother. It [had subsequently] been personally sprinkled [i.e. consecrated] by *Thams cad mkhyen pa* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3rd Dalai Lama]. [This terminates] the description of the Chapel of Maitreya.

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[774] The statue was installed at the eastern wall of the Byams-pa lha-khang (i.e. the southern chamber of the Glo-'bur nub-ma). During the *Me tog mchod pa* Festival the chamber served as residence for the Gung-thang lha-mo which was set up in front of the Maitreya statue.

[775] The text reads Kālacakra.

[776] Cf. *DL7* 843.

[**F**] [The Grand Chapel for the Protective Deity Mahākāla: mGon-khang chen-mo]

The mGon-khang chen-mo had been built by Zhang Rin-po-che's disciple intendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu and by mNyam-med chen-po [Śākya ye-shes] [conjointly]. It was visited by successive Dalai Lamas, such as sKyabs-mgon bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [the 3rd Dalai Lama, 1543–1588 A.D.], rGyal-mchog Yon-tan rgya-mtsho [the 4th Dalai Lama, 1589–1616 A.D.] and rGyal-ba lNga-pa chen-po [the 5th Dalai Lama, 1617–1682 A.D.], etc. [**61a**] and hence numerous [rituals] were conducted such as offerings, praises, and invocations. Many wondrous signs occurred too such as during one visit by the former Dalai Lama [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama] *amṛta* dropped from the feet of [the statue of] mGon-po [Mahākāla], etc.[777] The [exorcist] *hom khung* [> *homa*; fire-pit] which had been built by rGyal-dbang Yon-tan rgya-mtsho in the presence of [the statue of] mGon-po [established in connection with mustering] the ritual of applied forceful suppression [= violent sorcery] (*mngon spyod kyi las sbyor*; *abhicāruka*) is in reality still there. Many narrative reports prevail concerning the indescribably large number of [incidents] of activities and [manifestations] of [wondrous] signs such as the actual appearance of a raven from the heart of [the statue of the Raven-headed Mahākāla] *Kākāsya [Bya-rog gdong-can][778] during many [times of] unrest. At the time when *kun mkhyen* Padma dkar-po [1527–1592 A.D.] visited [the chapel] for the first time it appeared as if the countenance of the statue of mGon-po had a very thick layer of gold; when he finally visited [i.e. faced the statue], it was as if [it merely was] a reflection in a mirror, etc.[779] [such incidents] are clear sign[s] that the wisdom being (*ye shes pa*) truly resides [in the statue]. A [statue of] [Bya-rog] gdong-can like this, along with [acolytes such as] Gang-po and mDzes-ma, the main statue and retinue, six in all [are installed in this chapel].

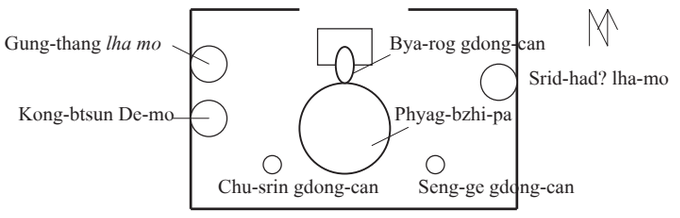
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[777] I.e. Ye-shes mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa, the chief religious protector of Gung-thang. The central image is flanked by Seng-ge gdong-can and Chu-srin gdong-can (two of his acolytes). Two statues of lha-mo, Sihe lha-mo (= the bsTan-ma rDo-rje g.Ya'-mo-sil?) and Kong-btsun De-mo (*alias* rDo-rje Bod-khams-skyong) are installed along the eastern and western wall of the mGon-khang. In the north-eastern corner is the great statue of the Gung-thang lha-mo (see below). In front of the Phyag-bzhi-pa, there is the image of the powerful Raven-faced mGon-po placed upon an old stone with the carved image of an enemy (Fig. 17–18). He is one of several forms of Mahākāla which we find in the Tshal tradition and which are considered attendants of Phyag-bzhi-pa, such as mGon-po Beng, mGon Khyi, Gur mGon. Zhang received the Mahākāla tradition from rGva *lo tsā ba* who himself received the specific teaching cycles from Tsa-mi *lo tsā ba* Sangs-rgyas grags-pa. It was also transferred upon the founders of the Phag-mo gru-pa, the Karma-pa and sTag-lung-pa bKa'-brgyud. The chief Mahākāla of Tshal Gung-thang later became known as the Tshal-lugs kyi Ye-shes mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa. See Willson and Brauen 2000: 342–343; cf. also BA Roerich 474. Apart from rGva-lo rNgog mDo-sde is also mentioned as Zhang's Mahākāla teacher (above fns. 19, 56). An episode involving the statue in Tshal, with Legs-ldan nag-po and crowds of ravens occurred when in about 1400, the 10th throne-holder of 'Bri-gung visited Tshal, cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 136.

The latter episode obviously took place during one of the two occasions when the 7th Dalai Lama visited Gung-thang in 1754; cf. *DL7* 874, 907-08. Incidentally, the 9th Dalai Lama too entertained spiritual bonds with Bla-ma Zhang; cf. *DL9* [A] 22a1, [B] 645–48, 661, 667.

[778] The 4th Dalai Lama visited Tshal Gung-thang in 1604; cf. *DL4* 33a4–7; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 36b6. At that point, a *gzhis ka* called Tshal Zur-khang existed on its premises, being attached to the sKyid-shod-pa ruling house. See also previous note.

[779] This incident is actually ascribed to the 5th 'Brug-chen dPag-bsam dbang-po (1593–1641 A.D.), the cousin of the 5th Dalai Lama, during his visit to Tshal Gung-thang in 1624 A.D. (and again 1629). Cf. *verbatim dPag bsam dbang po rnam thar I* 126a2–5 (= 251.2-5), 164a6–b1 (= 326.6–327.1). It is conceivable that the author of *GT* had been mistaken in identifying the 4th 'Brug-dbang Pad-ma dkar-po, recalling that the former is an incarnation of the latter.



Graph 7: mGon-khang

The stuffed effigy (*sku gsob*) of [Śrī Devī, dPal-ldan lha-mo] 'Dod-khams dBang-phyug-ma,[780] also called Gung-thang *lha mo,* was known from the time of Zhang Rin-po-che to have been honoured in tandem with mGon-po [Mahākāla]. Known are narrative reports [concerning her] which declare that [her] activities [lead] to prompt [success when properly propitiated], and, moreover, [the statue is famed for] possessing a strict command (*bka' gnyan* [*po*]),[781] such as [once] when [she] displayed her real countenance as rGyal-mchog dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 2nd Dalai Lama] was paying [her] a visit, etc.[782] Although [the statue] was formerly installed in the so-called lHa-mo-khang, [which was erected] along one wall of the dBu-rtse, atop the gTsug-lag-khang, in the meantime while Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa was conducting repair-works, [it was removed and installed] alongside [the statue of mGon-po] in the mGon-khang. [Moreover,] the gowns of good-quality brocade, the prayer-flags on top of the head-gear, the umbrella made from peacock-feathers, etc. [**61b**] [decorating] this [Gung-thang] *lha mo*, the objects of offerings for the protective deities (*spyan gzigs*), as well as the silken ceremonial scarfs, etc.[783] were presented by Dar-han [-mkhan Rin-po-che], master and disciples. [This terminates] the description of the Chapel of the Grand Chapel of mGon-po.

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[780] *Alias* Ma-gcig rDo-rje Rab-brtan-ma; see e.g. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 35; Richardson 1993: 87; 1998 'The Jo-khang', 259. The wrathful 'Dod-khams [dBang-phyug-]ma or *Kāmadhātu-īśvarī appears in the train of the Mahākāla form of Gur mGon-po lcam-dral (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *op. cit*., 49; Willson and Brauen 2000: 336f.); the special attribute of the Gung-thang lha-mo is a *ne'u le* in the left hand (cf. also Willson and Brauen, *op.cit*., 343). Until recently the statue was kept in the mGon-khang (Graph 7), more recently it has been placed in a separate box on the western wall of the gTsug-lag-khang. Her original place is said to have been the lHa-sa Jo-khang where she lived together with her sisters and where she falls in love with rDzong-btsan, i.e. the god of Grib who used to visit her every year during the Gung-thang Flower Offering. The common mother of the dPal-lha sisters is the dPal-ldan lha-mo dMag-zor-rgyal who is also worshipped in Tshal.

It is said that in the wake of Bla-ma Zhang's successful warfare, and in connection with the consecration of the Jo-bo statue in lHa-sa conducted by him, the dPal-ldan lha-mo took up permanent residence in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang; *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 56b6–57a6. However, this rather refers to the wrathful dPal lha-mo, the younger sister of the Gung-thang lha-mo. See App. IV: Chap. 2.2.

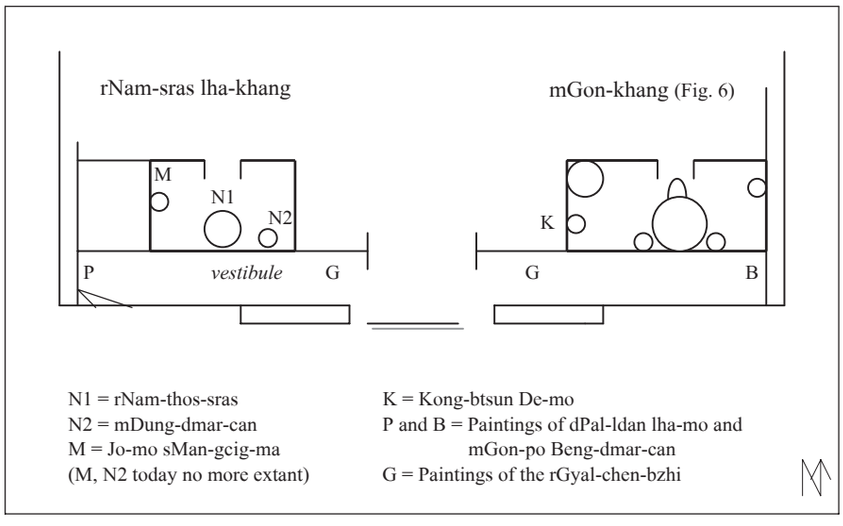
[781] This indicates that if proper worship and propitiation fails, her retribution can be severe.

[782] It refers to his visit in around 1511 A.D. cf. *DL2* 526.

[783] This term refers either to various objects of offering in form of dough, and *dam rdzas* or, in fact, to the court or entourage of a protective deity consisting of stuffed animals (e.g. wild yaks and leopards) functioning as messengers and guards of the deity, etc., cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 21, 401–2, 433.

[**G**] [The Chapel of Vaiśravaṇa: rNam[-thos]-sras lha-khang]

In the Chapel of Vaiśravaṇa [located] to the west,[784] the statues of the gold-coloured rGyal-chen Vaiśravaṇa, as well as that of the Red-lanced [Vaiśravaṇa] mDung-dmar-can [i.e. *Raktaśūla Vaiśravaṇa],[785] equipped with hand-held emblems (*hastacihna*), [are installed]. Their countenances are [completely] immaculate. In particular, [narrative reports prevail which document the wondrous signs that occurred] such as how [once] when rGyal-mchog bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho paid [the statues] a visit, *amṛta* dropped from the eyes of [Vaiśravaṇa] mDung-dmar-can, etc. [Further] the filled statue inside [this chapel] is the blessing-bestowing stuffed statue of the *gzhi bdag* of Bya-mkhar, Jo-mo sMan gcig-ma.[786] [This terminates] the description of the Chapel of Vaiśravaṇa.



Graph 8: rNam-sras lha-khang, mGon-khang and the vestibule of the gTsug-lag-khang

Furthermore, the murals along the walls of the [pillared] courtyard (*khyams*), as well as [the figures of] the peaceful and wrathful [deities] such as Mārīcī ['Od-zer-can-ma], etc. [painted along the walls] of the Vestibule (*sgo khang*) were executed anew by Dar-han [mkhan Rin-po-che], master and his attendants. [They] also renovated [the paintings of] the Four Great [World-Guardian] Kings (*lokapāla*) [that decorated] the external walls of the Vestibule. The two figures of dPal-ldan lha-mo and the Red-staffed Mahākāla [mGon-po Beng-dmar[-can]], [painted] in the face-to-face style on the internal eastern and western walls of the Vestibule had [once] been blessed by Zhang Rin-po-che and his disciples. Due to the fact that the principle of wisdom being (*ye shes pa*) actually resided in [the figure of mGon-po], this mGon-po [once] spoke to Se-ra-Byes zhal-snga-nas Don-yod dpal-ldan-pa[787] and [thus] made prophecies concerning future incidents. In

[784] The Vaiśravaṇa chapel is located in the south-western corner of the gTsug-lag-khang. Today it contains the (golden) statue of rNam-thos-sras (see below) as well as some traces of former paintings.

[785] Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 217; L. Chandra, *Buddhist Iconography* no. 807, 2465; Willson and Brauen 2000, s.v. index; below Fig. 19–20.

[786] The statue is no longer extant. The deity corresponds to the br/sTan-ma goddess rDo-rje sMan gcig-ma from the group of the *sman mo chen bzhi* (above fn. 39). The group of the four *sman mo* is headed by Kong-btsun De-mo whose image is in the opposite mGon-khang (Graph 7 and 8). See also App. IV.

[787] I.e. the 10th *mkhan po* of Se-ra; cf. fn. 664 above.

particular, since the countenance of this statue of lHa-mo was completely bereft of any impurity and [her] command very strict [the statue was thus capable of] directly showing portents of what is good or bad, wherefore the statue remained unchanged just like in former [times] with the mere exception of some appropriate paintwork [of the statue], etc.

Thus, a [description] of seven chapels during the initial, the intermediate and the final [period of their expansion] as well as [the account] how the throne-holders [**62a**] along with how the benefactors had paid their respect and worshipped these [chapels], etc. have [now] been briefly offered [above]. [In the sequel a description of the remaining reliquaries will therefore be presented].

[5.] [The Great Stūpa and its Satellite Stūpa]

[**A**] [The Great Stūpa: sKu-'bum chen-mo]

As for the sKu-'bum chen-mo [i.e. Grand Tomb-Dome] [located] in the western direction [from the gTsug-lag-khang]:[788] [Once] at bZang-yul Mon-pa-gdong, Zhang himself in a dream had a vision where he saw the cremated remains of his [own] deceased body [were resting] upon the sKu-'bum chen-mo, which [until that point had been finished] up until the third plinth (*parisaṇḍa*), [and he saw how] the *lha*, the *klu*, the *ḍākinī* and the *dharmapāla*, as well as the assemblages of his disciples lamented and paid worship [to his bodily remains].[789] [Later] after Zhang Rin-po-che along with some from his retinue, had gone to the place where the *stūpa* were to be erected, a prognostication was conducted [in order to inquire] whether [the erection of] the *stūpa* [could] be realized or not. In accordance with the portent's proving positive [for its erection and completion], he subsequently drew the lines [for its ground-plan] and when the cornerstones were set up, the *db*/*pon* Dar-ma gzhon-nu inquired: "What size is the *stūpa* going to be?" to which [Zhang] responded: "In accordance with the cornerstones [already] laid down!" But the intendant instead requested: "This [would be enough] to raise a house! It will prove difficult to finish [the edifice] if it is erected too big. I therefore request [you] to reduce [the size] somewhat!" But Zhang Rin-po-che only replied: "Whoever jeopardizes this illusory manifestation of conventional truth [is bound to] fail! To say that the *stūpa* is [too] large [in order to be finished on time] is indeed a very grave sin. As atonement for [this ill-fated remark], you will have to expand [the *stūpa*] one arm-span [further] in each direction!"

Approaching the point when the master and his disciples had completed the *stūpa* up until the third *parisaṇḍa*-plinth [which had been raised] in the shape of [one of the eight *mahā-caitya* types, i.e. the type known as] the *Descent from* [*the Abode of the*] *Gods*, Zhang himself, having attained the age of 71, in the female Water-Ox year [1193 A.D.],[790] on the tenth day of the fifth month[791] arrived at the Western [Tower College of] the Dharma-Throne [Chos-khri-nub] [in

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[788] For a picture of the sKu-'bum chen-mo (now in ruins), see Richardson 1993: 89; below Figs. 4, 6, 7.

[789] Cf. Zhang's vision described above 11b.

[790] Repeated in *lHo rong chos 'byung* 214. Other sources such as *Mar pa lung pa rnam thar* (90b2; Vitali 1996: 365), commonly marred with a dubious chronology, suggest that he died in the Wood-Tiger year, i.e. 1194 on the tenth day of the first autumn month i.e. seventh Hor month – corresponding to *ca*. 31.07.1194 of the Western calender. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 542.2–4 maintain that he passed away age 70 at Ra-sa rdzong-mgo (*sic*).

[791] *Verbatim* from *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 570.1–2. Corresponding to *ca*. 12.06.1193.

Gung-thang].[792] He proclaimed: "This year the dust will be shaken off my teaching (*chos la rdul sprug byed*)!" At the end, having delivered oratory expositions such as his own *bKa' 'bum*, his *Yon tan btsal mchog ma*,[793] [**62b**] as well as [expositions] on the benefit of erecting *caitya* etc., he displayed the manner of passing into *nirvāṇa*. At that point, the bodily remains [of Zhang] were brought [and positioned] upon the remaining [part] of the former *stūpa* under construction, and, during the cremation, at a point when [Zhang's] disciple known as *grub chen* Brag-nag-pa[794] [was about] to make a prayer in loud voice, a [last] precept [from Zhang] sounded [that came] from the funeral pyre (*spur khang*). Immediately, the fire of wisdom ignited the bodily remains all by itself. His heart, his tongue and his eyes, the three, as well as [miniature images of] Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, etc. along with relics that had manifested themselves [intact from the cremation] were [subsequently] inserted into the ossuary [of Zhang known as] bKra-shis 'od-'bar. Wrapping up the remnants [i.e. leftover materials and ashes etc. from the pyre] in the upper part of the *bum pa* [dome of the *stūpa*], [it should be known] that although the *bum pa* dome formerly accomodated no more that one *lha khang*, the *drung chen* sMon-lam rdo-rje [i.e. the 9th *dpon sa ba* 1284–1346/7 A.D.] added an external coating [around the *stūpa*]. In the four directions at the base of the *bum pa* [dome of the *stūpa*] within four *lha khang* being [erected] in the form of arched doorways (*sgo khyim*), the basic deities of the Vajradhātu[-*maṇḍala*] [were installed] as the principal objects of worship crafted in the aspect of the Pañcakūla [Buddhas], as well as [constructing minor] statues of the retinue, [all] being appropriately executed both in painted as well as in relief form. Furthermore, although it is maintained that a complete set[795] of mural depictions of the 1000 images [of Buddha] as well as wall paintings (*rgyud ris*), etc. [also] existed, in the meantime, apart from the basic deities [of the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala*] [still being intact], the majority of the other objects of veneration had sunk into [utter] decay.[796] Later, Zur-chen po'i *sprul sku* had the statues of the [minor] deities of the entourage supplemented in accordance with the *maṇḍala* of the system of [Vajra-]śekhara (*rtse mo'i thugs dkyil* = ? [*rdo rje'i*] *rtse mo'i lugs* [*kyi*] *dkyil* [*'khor*]). Moreover, [objects like] *dharmacakra*-rings, *chattra*-umbrellas, along with gilt[797] turrets (*gser 'phru*) were in the main constructed anew by *drung chen* sMon-lam rdo-rje, after he had taken as basis the older [identical samples stemming] from former times. Zur *sprul* and some of the throne-holding *bla ma*s too conducted repair-works. In short, although narrative stories and accounts of the origin of the

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[792] *Verbatim* from *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 569.5–6. The Chos-khri nub-ma (or gZims-phug nub-ma), the original private residence of Bla-ma Zhang in Gung-thang (see below sub-chap. 6).

[793] Also called *Yon tan rtsal mchog gsung 'phros* in *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 569.6. The small treatise is a religious manifesto of his, interspersed with quotations by [Mal] Yer-pa, Nāgārjuna, etc. It is found among Bla-ma Zhang's writings (*ZhK II* Vl. (separate Ms) 172b6–179b5). He started writing it in a Pig year at Gr[v]a-thang and completed it at bZang-yul Mon-pa-gdong (fn. 62). Here it is treated as an epilogue or as part of Zhang's valedictories.

[794] This evidently refers to the Zhang disciple Yar-'brog Brag-nag-pa chen-po listed in the *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba*. See App. V: Table 5. He is named after the Bla-ma Zhang retreat of sTag-lung Brag-nag of Yar-'brog (perhaps the present-day Brag-steng of sTag-lung; *Xizang Dimingzhi II* 172). A monastery at Brag-nag is reported to have been built by rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab prior to his foundation of gSang-phu sNe'u-thog in 1073 (cf. BA Roerich 325; van der Kuijp 1987: 106–07; see also Ehrhard 2002c: 44f. for Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho's itinerary). Legs-pa'i shes-rab was a native of Yar-'brog. However, it may refer to Brag-nag in the vicinity of gSang-phu in sKyid-smad. For details on [lHo / Yar-'brog] sTag-lung, see also fn. 85.

[795] The text erroneously reads *stong sku par ma* (*sic*) *cha tshang*; a parallel passage 70a *infra* reads *stong sku cha tshang*.

[796] For details, see *Tshal rnam* 19b1–4.

[797] For this kind of ornament, see Jackson 1996: 324.

godly abodes [i.e. iconographic *maṇḍala*-representations] in the four directions of the sKu-'bum chen-mo [**63a**] of [Bla-ma] Zhang, of the *chattra*, the *dharmacakra*, the gilded turrets, the iron-chains drawn in [each] corner [i.e. tethering the *stūpa*], as well as concerning the stone-made lions [whereto] the end [of the iron-chains] were fastened along with its ambulatory that circumscribed [the *stūpa*] are quite endless, [I] have [here] merely written a brief [account].

The majority of the minor '*bum* [tomb domes] that accompanied [the *sku 'bum chen mo*] were [erected] by the attendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu from the leftover [building materials] of the *sku'bum chen mo*, being completed in the form of an amendment [for the erection of] the eight [*mahā-*]*caitya*s. Later [this group of *caitya*] was apparently expanded by [adding] ossuaries of throne-holding *bla ma*. Due to the fact that no exact narrative stories prevail [to elucidate and document their history], it [nevertheless] appears that the former [throne-holding *bla ma*] too remained indifferent [to these reliquaries]. Zur *sprul* apparently manufactured anew all the *dharmacakra* and gilt turrets for these [reliquaries].

[**B**] [The Sri-gnon mchod-rten *alias* Khyi-'bum]

As to the [*stūpa*] now [called] Sri-gnon mchod-rten [the Sri-Spirit Suppressing *Stūpa*], [formerly famed] as Khyi-'bum [The Dog *Stūpa* Dome]: mGon Khyi-dom [= ldom?]-nag snying-dkar[798] also named 'Brong-zhur, was a miraculous manifestation of Bya-rog gdong-can,[799] the close executive attendant (*bka' sdod*) of the Four-armed mGon-po [Mahākāla]; [concerning him it can be said that] if Bla-ma [Zhang] was ever about to go [somewhere] the following day, [Khyi 'Brong-zhur] had [already] proceeded to that place the previous evening. Furthermore, whenever other people were around, [Khyi 'Brong-zhur] [behaved and moved] in a traditional way; when nobody was around, he moved through space. Headed by this [acolyte] who was the one executing all the [hegemonic] commitments of [Bla-ma] Zhang Rin-po-che, he tamed by way of violent [militant] means countless classes [of evil personages and spirits] who [innately] had shown hatred against the precious Teaching [of Buddha] such as the lCang-rgyab *btsad po* and the gDol-po *btsad po*,[800] etc. He suppressed the lungs, heart and all the limbs of these *btsad po*. Pledging that [**63b**] "Safeguarding [your] future disciples along with their lineages so that they can pay respect to and

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[798] I.e. the Guardian Deity "White-chested Black Stray-Dog/Dog-Bear." Cf. also foll. note.

[799] This is either the raven-headed *gnod sbyin* Bya-rog gdong-can (attribute: *rkang gling* cornet) or Bya-rgod kyi gdong-pa-can, the vulture-headed one listed as one of the eight *ḍākinī* of the mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa according to the "rGva-lo and Tshal-pa system merged into one (*lugs gnyis gcig tu sgril*)" (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 46–48). Among the *parivāra* or entourage of eight *ḍākinī*, one is represented by the dog-headed acolyte or Khyi'i gdong-pa-can which appears to be associated with the other mGon-Khyi representations mentioned in the *Gung thang dkar chag* (cf. especially the story of the *klu rgyal* gTsug-na rin-chen, above fn. 588).

[800] The local rulers or *btsad po* of lCang-rgyab issue from the sub-lineage of one A-tsa-ra descending from the Yum-brtan *brgyud* (Gyalbo *et al*. 2000: 189f.). lCang-rgyab evidently refers to the area of present-day lCang (-stod/-smad) in the lower sKyid-chu region. It is reported that Bla-ma Zhang displayed thaumaturgic feats (such as walking on water without sinking, and leaving foot-prints in stones) in order to convert the lCang-rgyab *btsad po* and others; cf. *DL6* 834.

gDol should be read as Dol, a locality adjacent to gZhung (fn. 423 above). The activities of the mGon-khyi manifestation appears to be an euphemism of Bla-ma Zhang's belligerent activities which led to several lingering conflicts with neighbouring local rulers initiated by him in order to secure material support for his hegemonic pursuit. Also cited in *Life of the Fifth Dalai Lama* (Vol. IV. Part. 1) 109–110 (Ahmad 1999: 187).

worship my *stūpa* and circumambulate it, etc., [I] shall revert the harm caused by the *sri* spirits,[801] etc." [he] left behind an object of veneration in the form of a dog's bone. At that moment this very form of bone relic, which contained the [original, i.e.] the actual [essence] of the emanation (*sprul pa dngos gzhi bsdus pa*) [i.e. Khyi 'Brong-zhur], was pressed down upon the lungs and heart, etc. of the *btsad po*, [a ritual executed] at dusk on the 29th [day of the last month of] the waning year,[802] and prayers were made [in order sa as to] revert all evil omens, vicious *sri* [threats], major catastrophes and miseries for all living beings. [Above this bone relic] a *stūpa* was erected, whereupon it was consecrated. It is therefore said that when [the faithful disciples] make their circumambulation, pay their respects and make obeisance worship to this [*stūpa*], etc. all inauspicious circumstances such as [the harm caused by] the class of nefarious *sri* spirits are reverted.

[**C**] [The Tshe-sgrub 'bum-pa, rTa-'bum and Nor-'bum]

The so-called Tshe-sgrub 'bum-pa, the rTa-'bum and the Nor-'bum [reliquaries][803] were furthermore erected in order to execute the rituals of [securing] the longevity (*tshe sgrub*) of the former [throne-holding] lineage predecessors and in order to revert losses [incurred concerning horses and cattle], whereupon [these reliquaries gradually] expanded. If homage were paid and offerings made to these [objects of veneration], then [these reliquaries represent] nothing but blessing-bestowing objects known even today to accomplish their aims such as [being capable of] prolonging the life [of people], etc. After *drung chen* sMon-lam rdo-rje earlier had erected anew a gTsug-lag-khang to the north of the 'Bum-mo-che, along with [representations of] the three types of supports [i.e. statues, scriptures and *stūpa*] as well as [Chinese-style] roofs, many learned persons who committed themselves to the study of the classic treatises of medicine gathered [there]. rJe *Thams cad mkhyen pa* [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa] too [received] the basic classics of medicine from *sman pa* dKon-mchog-skyabs,[804] here and even today some [utensils] exist such as one said to be the medicinal bowl (*sman ting*) that rJe Thams-cad mkhyen-pa used at that time to personally grind the medical [ingredients] by hand, etc. The family line of the so-called *sman sgom* 'Bang rgyas-pa, belonging to the descendants of *sman pa* dKon-mchog-skyabs, appeared there until later times [i.e. most recently]. Nowadays, it appears that one can only visit the [ruined] remains [**64a**] of the gTsug-lag-khang and within this area also [only] a statue of mGon-po.[805] These [details merely constitute] an abbreviated narrative description of the sKu-'bum chen-mo and its surrounding [satellite *stūpa*].

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[801] For the nature of the malicious *sri* spirits, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 300–303.

[802] The text appears corrupt. It has *lo zad*. Or should we read of the 60th year of the seagenary cycle, i.e. 1146 A.D.?

[803] The "Long-life" or "Life-prolongation" reliquary, the "Horse" and the "Cattle" (*nor* = *nor phyugs*) reliquary, respectively.

[804] On this figure, see above 19b.

[805] Today there are no more traces of these buildings.

[6.] [The Western [Chapel of the] Dharma-Throne *alias* the Western Residential Cave: Chos-khri nub-ma *alias* gZims-phug nub-ma]

The chapel (*lha khang*) known as Zhang Rin-po-che's [personal] Western Residence or [also] the Western Dharma-Throne[806] was earlier the private residence [or cella] (*gzims chung*) of 'Gro-mgon himself and [the place] where he offered particular disciples secret teachings (*lkog chos*) such as on [the meditative stages of] visual generation and completion (*utpattikrama*, *saṃpannakrama*) of the esoteric mantra-system, etc. and [thus] it was a blessing-bestowing place too, where he finally passed into *nirvāṇa*. The image inside this [chapel] was the blessing-bestowing [statue] known as gSung-byon-ma [The Speaking Statue] or gSer-shog-ma [the Gold-leaf Statue] [of Bla-ma Zhang].[807]

Concerning the history of the *stūpa* [installed here], at the time when ['Gro-mgon Rin-po-che], by way of applied violent sorcery, [e.g. by] sending forth armies of magically created dogs, etc. was eliminating many sinful people such as those entertaining perverse views against 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, or those fettered by avarice or those who destroy the wealth of others, a time as well when [he] displayed [activities] such as going to teach disciples in other realms having made his body invisible – [at that point Bla-ma Zhang] said to his intendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu:[808] "I am going into retreat for seven days. In the meantime do not come [and disturb me]!" When [Dar-ma gzhon-nu] a few days later [nevertheless] peeped through the door-opening (*sgo phrag*), he did not see anything on the throne except the [*bla ma*'s] cloak (*sku ber*) and a luminescent letter *A*. When the intendant entered [the room] and shouted: "O my *bla ma*!" this very cloak [of Bla-ma Zhang] known as "The *A*-Lettered One" [i.e. A-gcig-ma] made the Bla-ma [Zhang] visible [again]. As is well-known, [that very cloak] as well as the precious throne seat which [Bla-ma Zhang] permanently [used] when preaching the Dharma, these two [objects] were subsequently inserted into it [as consecratory fillings], [after the *stūpa*] had been [properly] erected, .

[Furthermore, in this chapel are installed] a *ras se ma*[809] image of Mal Yer-pa-ba, the root teacher of [**64b**] 'Gro-mgon himself [as well as a statue of] Munīndra and an ossuary (*gdung rten*), the two, [both originally adhering to] the row of older objects of veneration [stemming from] former times. Furthermore, the foot-prints of 'Gro-mgon himself and of mGon-khyi, as well as the formerly [installed] blessing-bestowing statue [of Dam-pa rgya-gar,[810] known as] Dam-pa rgya-gar-ma, a statue which currently is in the sGrol-ma lha-khang. The walls of the courtyard (*mdo'i khyams*) are painted with murals depicting [iconographic scenes] from the three inner, outer and secret biographies of Zhang Rin-po-che, etc. [In fact] this place is a particularly blessed [site of pilgrimage] where water springs gushing forth all by themselves after *rJe dbon* Blo-bzang nyi-ma [1439–1492 A.D.],[811] the 9th throneholder [of dGa'-ldan] established a hermitage. Today it is

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[806] This is clearly different from the aforementioned Chos-khri lho-lcog grva-tshang. The Western Residence was located close to the sGom-sde college (see Graph 3).

[807] Cf. also *Zur chen rnam thar* 215a4.

[808] See more detailed the biography of Dar-ma gzhon-nu (Chap. II) in *bKa' rgya ma I* 114.3–118.3.

[809] The term *ras se ma* either refers to a hoarse cotton or canvas (*ras ma*) made statue, or, more likely, read *ras bse ma*, a statue the external surface of which was made from glued, or was varnished or painted with a cotton-like fabrics so as to make it shine.

[810] rJe-btsun Dam-pa rGya-gar refers to the Indian saint [Pha] Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas.

[811] According to *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 152, it was mainly on his incentive that Tshal Gung-thang was turned into a dGe-

known that this hermitage has been absorbed into Chos-khri. [This terminates] the description of the gZims-phug [of Bla-ma Zhang].

[7.] [The Assembly Hall of the Chos-khri and the gZims-khang-shar [Chapels]]

The [16-pillar] Assembly Hall (*'du khang*) [adhering to] the Chos-khri [lho-lcog] and the gZims-khang-shar [chapels] was – if one disregards earlier and later [additions and refurbishments] – erected anew by Zur-chen [Chos-dbyings rang-grol]. As detailed earlier [in this text], the wall-paintings too were personally executed by Zur[-chen]'s hand.[812]

As main support of gZims-khang-shar [the Eastern Residence] the ossuary *stūpa* (*sku gdung gi mchod rten*) of the *gdan sa ba* Sangs-rgyas-'bum was installed. [The place] was also known to hold many [representations of] the three types of supports of body, speech and mind [i.e. statues, scriptures and *stūpa*] of former times [i.e. prior to the 1546 A.D. fire]. [This seat] is adhering [on the one side] to the fully pure system of dPal-ldan Sa-skya but [on the other side] also utmostly devoted to the system of *'Jam mgon* [b]Tsong-kha-pa [i.e. the dGe-lugs], [still an account of the provenance of these objects will nevetheless be halted] here with what has been said [so far], since I have not seen any detailed description of the images.

The main support [inside the Chapel of] Chos-khri is the statue of rJe Rin-po-che [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa] [known as] bKra-shis rDo-kha-ma.[813] [Further,] the Speaking Statue [gSung-byon-ma] of 'Gro-

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lugs bastion. The 9th throne-holder of dGa'-ldan was born into the nephew line of bTsong-kha-pa; he held the see 1490–92. Prior to this, 1481 he was elected as *chos rje* of gSang-phu Gling-smad. Cf. Onoda 1989: 207; *Ming mdzod* 655.

[812] Cf. Sub-chapter C.2 (fol. 52b) above. See also *Zur chen rnam thar* 323.4–5; 356.3–4. This thorough renewal took place in 1649 A.D.

[813] Also bKra-shis [r]Do-kha. It alludes to a specific sculptural form of Tsong-kha-pa so coined after a favourite site of his called bKra-shis rDo-kha located in 'On. Cf. Ferrari 1958: 47, 119; Chan 1994: 510–11; Chos-'phel 2002: 61f. The site is sometimes written bKra-shis rDo-mkhar – here e.g. *gter ston* Kun-dga'-'bum was born (cf. *gTer ston lo rgyus* 113b4). bTsong-kha-pa sojourned here on several occasions. The original blessing-bestowing statue(s) – seven in all made from clay according to one source – denoted bKra-shis rDo-kha-ma, was (or were) erected in around 1414 A.D., having been manufactured by an artist of magic manifestation (usually an euphemism indicating a highly gifted or talented artist or, conversely, that the images allegedly were considered autogenous, i.e. as naturally created). During bTsong-kha-pa's sojourn there in 1414–15, he met 'Gos *lo tsā ba*; cf. *'Gos lo rnam thar* 9b6–7. They were sponsored by Tsong-kha-pa's leading patron *mi dbang* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan. Different legends have been spun around their provenance: One legend purports that bTsong-kha-pa in one day washed his hair seven times, whereupon the magical artist(s) each time manufactured one statue of him. See Dze-smad, *dGa' ldan ngag sgron thor bu* 224; further *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar I* 385–86, 542; *gShin rje gshed chos'byung II* 136b2; *Shar rtse chos 'byung* 703–04; *bSod nams rgyal mtshan rnam thar* 40a3-4; cf. also *DL5 I* 165b3–4 for a bKra-shis rDo-kha-ma statue in Khra-'brug, reported for 1652. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 84, 86.

One specimen of the Tsong-kha-pa image was installed in Zhal-ras lha-khang in lHa-sa (i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang), see *Sle lung rnam thar* 32b1–2; another was set up in the mNga'-ris grva tshang (cf. *dBus gtsang gnas yig* 177); another was until recently (1947) found in the lNga-mchod grva-tshang (of rTsed-thang); cf. *Tshong dpon gnas bskor* 98. It is unclear when (one of) the(se) statue(s) was brought to Tshal Gung-thang. The distinctive feature of the seven rDo-kha-ma sculptures was that each was hollow and among its consecretarory fillings contained hairs which originally belonged to Tsong-kha-pa. Additional samples of this statuary typus are reportedly found in the Potala (in the Nyi-'od chamber), at dGa'-ldan in the Byang-rtse'i gzims khang, at bKra-shis lhun-po, Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil, sKu-'bum, etc. A gilded

mgon g.Yu-brag-pa chen-po is a blessing-bestowing statue which had been personally blessed with barley (*phyag nas ma*)[814] [by] Zhang Rin-po-che himself and which has also spoken several times. This [statue] delivered many profound teachings to [persons] such as *bla ma* mDo-sde-mgon of Pho-rog[s]-pa of gTsang[815] [**65a**], etc. Once when a pilgrim was paying this image a visit, [he] thought that [the image in reality] was a *bla ma* living [in the chapel] wherefore he, after having hung his leather bag of [*rtsam pa*] flour upon the [stone-]lion set up at the doorway, went away saying [to the *bla ma*]: "Precious *bla ma*! Please take care of this [bag] for a moment (*yug gcig = yud cig*)!" In his absence another person arrived, but as he [tried to] carry away the leather bag of flour, the precious image [of Zhang] spoke: "This bag is in my custody, so don't take it away!" Again, at another time, a thief appeared and gradually took away clothes [from the statue], but when he then [attempted to] take away the monk's gown [the statue responded]: "I am a *bhikṣu* monk, so leave [my gown] behind!" Such utterances etc. [prove that] the statue bestows exraordinarly blessings. Furthermore, [this chapel] is [also] known to hold many objects [of veneration] headed by a *ras se ma* image of Mal Yer-pa-ba, the root teacher of Zhang, a statue of Maitreya, the blessing-bestowing statue[s] of the Ārya Sthaviras with retinue made from *nāga*-clay and once brought from the private residence of Byams-chen *chos kyi rje* Śākya ye-shes. Furthermore [an ensemble of statues of] the 16 Sthaviras, the successive incarnations of the Victor [i.e. Dalai Lama], the throne of the Great 5th, and the blessing-bestowing statue of mGon-po erected by Zur-chen, which directly displayed [wondrous] signs of good and bad, such as, at the point of Khri-chen Gung-thang's passing into *nirvāṇa*, it threw a [ritual] dagger on the floor, etc. In particular, this very [monastic] seat is famed for [upholding] an utmost pure doctrine and philosophical view (*lta grub = lta ba dang grub mtha'*)[816] as well as being famous for its upholders who pay heed to high moral conduct.

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bTsong-kha-pa statue with the characteristic *dbu lo bubs bzhugs* (i.e. hollow hair) was manufactured by the famous mid-15th-cent. Sle'u-chung-pa (hence called Sle'u-chung-ma; see above fn. 426) which was the *bsngo rten* for 'Phyong-rgyas Chu-mig-nas; cf. *DL5 I* 108b1–2. For further ref., see e.g. *Mi dbang rtogs brjod* 298a2; *Paṇ chen chos rgyal rnam thar* 299; *Grva sa chen bzhi chags tshul* [B] 24–25; *DL9* [A] 25a4, 32b6, [B] 648, 655; *DL10* 135, 183; *Paṇ chen blo bzang ye shes rnam thar I* 145a3; *DL11* 351; *DL12* 549, 582; see also *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 194–95.

Bis mdo dgon chen gdan rabs 415 reports about the existence of a gilded (*gser sku*) rDo-kha-ma-styled statue of rJe bTsong-kha-pa, but here evidently representing a re-manufactured specimen (i.e. taking the original rDo-kha-ma image as model) personally executed (*phyag bzo*) by Paṇ-chen Byams-pa gling-pa bSod-nams rnam-rgyal (1401–75 A.D.), in other words fairly soon after the manufacture of the originals. This information would suggest that some of the above listed rDo-kha-ma specimen or exemplars indeed may have been manufactured by later sculptors.

bKra-shis rDo-kha is said to have been built upon a former hermitage of rG[v]a *lo tsā ba* (cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 187–88; *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 186.5, 191.2). In the Se-gseb valley of Upper 'On, the remarkable L-shaped ensemble of five *stūpa* is found, which in Chan *op. cit*., 512 is spelled "Tshezig" (?) and mentioned as a foundation of (the rGva-lo disciple) Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang. This appears to be a confusion with the contemporary [Bla-ma] Zhang [g]Sum-thog-pa (from the disciple group of sGam-po-pa) who founded here the Se-gseb *vihāra* to which evidently the *stūpa* belonged. He is *inter alia* known as teacher of the 'Bri-gung founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po (cf. BA Roerich 462, 569, 597, 601, 707; *Bri gung gdan rabs III* 77; App. V: Table 11; geographical location of bKag-dkar (the village at the entrance to Se-gseb): 29°25'N 91°50'E.

[814] It indicates that the statue was blessed with especially sacred/blessed barley corns. A statue of the Four-armed Māhakāla and lCam-dral personally consecrated with sacred grains by Bla-ma Zhang is reported in the Bod-'brug bla-brang; cf. *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 143a3–4. Occasionally also spelled *phyag gnas ma*, it qualifies thus blessed objects.

[815] Pho-rog mDo-sde-mgon a.k.a. Bya-skyungs-pa (1195–1257 A.D.); he was one of the chief disciples of Ko-brag-pa (1170–1249/1182–1261 A.D.); cf. e.g. BA Roerich 728.

[816] I.e. *dṛṣṭi* / *darśana* and *siddhānta*, i.e. philosophical view and doxographical position; another, clearly less likely reading is *lta ba dang sgrub pa*, i.e. philosophical position and level of realization.

Consequently, [**65b**] it is the highest place for serving as support and riches, where heed is payed [to the practise] of the Three [Higher] Disciplines ([*lhag pa'i*] *bslab pa gsum, traya*-[*adhi*]*śikṣā*) of one's mind. Therefore this [seat] is excellent. Thus, the brief narrative account of the Descriptive Inventory dealing with the [history of] origin of the Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang including its distinctive monastic communities has for the time being been completed.

[Concluding intermediate stanzas (*antaraśloka, bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa*) [**65b2–b5**]

CHAPTER IV

The Sacred Objects of Veneration
[65b6–72b4]

Fourthly, a brief description [follows] of the receptacles [and how they are to be properly venerated]. Those paying a visit to the receptacles [in the distinct chapels and annexes] [should] orient [themselves] directly towards the receptacles described [here], they then should join the palms of their hands, and – whether standing or sitting with whatever appropriate behaviour – [the pious pilgrim] [expected] to take up his position [in the row of visitors], whereupon [each visiting pilgrim] himself, after having made three prostrations [towards the objects of veneration], [should] hold in his right hand an incense-stick and with his left hand scatter flower petals. He [then should] say:

His Body [of Buddha] produced from 10 million auspicious perfections
His Speech [of Buddha] fulfilling the hopes of an endless [number of] living beings
His Mind [of Buddha] beholding without exception [all] knowable [objects]
as they [really] are –
To him, Foremost among the Śākya-s,we respectfully pay our homage.

To [b]Tsong-kha-pa, the universal embodiment of Compassion, the leader
To the precious [Paṇ-chen] Blo-bzang ye-shes, the beautiful ornament of
the three [higher] disciplines,
To bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho, the Holder of the White Lotus,
To these peerless three *bla ma*, we respectfully pay our homage.

[To] 'Gro-mgon g.Yu-brag, the Lord, the forefather of the bKa'-brgyud
[To] Heruka, the unification of the animate and inanimate [sphere], all-pervading
[To] [mGon-po] Legs-ldan nag-po [*Kṛṣṇa Bhagavat/*Kalyāṇa-Kāla],
[mGon-po] Phyag-bzhi[-pa] [*[Mahākāla] Caturbhuja] and
'Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma [*Kāmadhātvīśvarī [Rematī]],
And to the holy assemblage of the Three Highest Jewels (Triratna), we pay our homage.

Thus preceded by a praise and homage, [we may here reiterate again that] the forefather of the teachings of the bKa'-brgyud [school], the one called Zhang g.Yu-brag-pa, being the one carrying many distinguished names, was formerly, immeasurably many aeons ago, a Buddha under the name Tathāgata 'Od-zer Kun-'phags dPal-brtsegs [kyi] rgyal-po, who with his emanation covered [all places] permeated by space.[817] [Later] in particular, he displayed the mode of taking birth – similar to the fate of [all other] humans – in Tsha-ba-gru, [a locale] adjacent to lHa-ldan sprul-pa'i gTsug-lag-khang, the Vajrāsana of Tibet. He relied on numerous *bla ma*, such as Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims snying-po, etc. and thus brought to perfection [his studies and cultivation of] the three[-fold stages of wisdom accruing from] studying, reflection and meditation. When then [Zhang Rin-po-che] along with [other] *bla ma*, such as dPal rG[v]a-lo-chen-po, Zhang Rin-po-che's root teacher [**66b**], as well as the *yi dam* and local [protective] deities (*gzhi bdag*), they all established the monastic community and the gTsug-lag-khang [of Tshal Gung-thang], [erected in

[817] A manifestation of Avalokiteśvara; so also in the *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 69; *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 1061.

order] to render ritual service to the lHa-ldan Jo-bo [statues], he made prophecies which [proved] highly beneficial for the Teaching [of Buddha] and the living beings in the future. In particular, due to the [fact that] Zhang personally [in his vision] saw at this very site in the form of a *maṇḍala* of Cakrasamvara along with its buildings and reliquaries, he wished to establish a gTsug-lag-khang. At the time he supervised the foundation of the walls, the Sangs-rgyas rab-bdun, the Eight Medicine [Bhaiṣajyaguru Sugata] Buddhas ([sMan-bla] bDe-gshegs brgyad), etc. arrived on the firmament. [Thus] occurred specific auspicious portends which brought about the strewing of flowers, etc.

[**A**] [The Objects of Veneration of the gTsang-khang dBus-ma]

Although similarly in former times the Upper and the Lower Courtyard (Khyams-stod, -smad), as well as the intermediate and outer ambulatories (*bar skor*, *phyi skor*) [of Tshal Gung-thang] [in lay-out] showed no difference from the lHa-sa'i gTsug-lag-khang, at the time of the great fire of Gung-thang [in 1546 A.D.] [these edifices] for the most part disappeared. Later, the inner ambulatory (*nang 'khor* = *skor*) was renovated along with the chapel[s]. Thus, concerning this very statue of the Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po *alias* the lHa-chen dpal-'bar [installed in] the gTsang-khang dBus-ma of the gTsug-lag-khang: [a statue] made from *dzn*[*y*]*ee kṣim* cast metal,[818]

[818] The *li ma* alloy cast metal denoted *dznyee kṣim* (var. *ji* / *rdzi* / *zi khyim*; origin unclear, corrupt for? *kaṃsa*) is found in a variety of forms. So-called pure *dznyee kṣim* is obtained from the earth and resembles natural bronze. The colour is dark and the metal itself is of fine quality. Artificial *dznyee kṣim* is an alloy mixed with gold, silver and other precious metals in varying degrees. Lo Bue argues that artificial *zi khyim* = *li khra* is nothing but brass and natural *zi khyim* = *li dmar* is copper; see Lo Bue in Oddy and Zwalf 1991: 41–44. For further details on *li ma*; cf. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1955–56 based upon Karma Rang-byung rdo-rje's *Rin po che sna tshogs kyi brtag thabs* and De'u-dmar's *Rig pa bzo yi gnas la 'dod rgur sgyur ba 'od kyi snang brnyan*.

Countless *dznyee kṣim li ma* alloy statues (usually small-sized) are reported to exist all over Tibet. Among the most prominent, we may list: in dGa'-ldan and Potala (in Li-ma lha-khang); a Vairocana statue (cf. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 394; *DL7* 58–49, 617), and at mTshur-phu statues of Hevajra, etc. (*mTshur phu dkar chag* 76–77, 158) referring to a statue of Guru Rinpoche once discovered by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa. A similar *dznyee kṣim* statue of Munīndra Grong-khyer-ma (cf. fn. 737 above), a gift to Padma dkar-po, was donated in 1577 A.D. by the Rin-spungs-pa ruler 'Jig-rten dbang-phyug grags-pa; cf. *Pad dkar rnam thar III* 5b1; in the same year, the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho at Ko-khyim of 'Dam (on his way to Altan Qan in Mongolia) offered to his faithful sKu-mdun chos-mdzad, a *dznyee kṣim li ma* statue of Muni, considered as a miniature offering (*bzo phud*) from the manufacture of the Jo-bo rin po che (in lHa-sa); see *DL3* 90a6–b1, 92a3–4. Most spectacular, sTag-lung Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal reports in 1605 the principal image on Potala, a *zi khyim* Munendra statue originally erected in Varaṇasi; cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 582.

The 2nd bDe-chen Chos-'khor Kun-dga' lhun-grub reports the acquisition of a thugs dam statue of Vaiśravaṇa in the late 1630's originally belonging to Bu-ston and made from this alloy. Cf. *Kun dga' lhun grub rnam thar* 152.2. 'Bri-gung Chos kyi grags-pa (1595–1659) reports a Hayagrīva statue brought along from bSam-yas once by Rang-byung rdo-rje; cf. *Chos grags rnam thar I* 233.1–2. Sle-lung reports in 1719 a Muni statue denoted lHa-yul-ma donated to sMin-grol-gling by the Phug-nas *sde pa* 'Gyur-med Tshe-dbang phun-tshogs; cf. *Sle lung rnam thar* 190b4–5; for another statue in 'Bras-mo dgon-pa in gTsang, see *Myang chos 'byung* 35. mDo-mkhar-ba mentions for 1724 A.D. a personal statue of his, a *jinendra* Ajita made from this alloy, originally a *thugs dam* image of Chag-lo (1197–1264 A.D.); cf. *bKa' blon rtogs brjod* 18. In 1901 A.D., the 13th Dalai Lama refers to a special statue of Muni; cf. *DL13* 274. Finally, a number of early statues at 'Bri-gung (esp. of the founder); for a discussion of their provenance, cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 95, IV 29–30, 36–37, 43. Another *rten skal* statue is the *'ja' zug ma* Amitāyuḥ statue; cf. *DL11* 444. Finally, a *gdung rten* made of this alloy is reported from a visit in 1949 to Chu-mig ring-mo monastery in gTsang; *Tshong dpon gnas bskor* 160. The same text (48) lists a Muni statue called rGya-gar grong-gshegs-ma (in Tibetan Me-sdug-ma) in gTsang.

once erected by 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, which suffered minor fire damage, was inserted into the heart [i.e. torso of Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po] in the form of *jñānasattva* [i.e. wisdom being]. In height measuring nine fathoms, and formerly in *nirmaṇākāya*-attire, it was decorated with a *ras se* diadem, etc. by Khri-chen Ngag-dbang mchog-ldan [1677–1751 A.D.], whereby the [mien of the] countenance was altered. Later, sKyabs-mgon rGyal-tshab De-mo Rin-po-che [i.e. Ngag-dbang 'Jam-dpal bDe-legs rgya-mtsho][819] donated these richly jewelled ornamental [items currently to be seen] such as a diadem made from gilt copper, etc.

Furthermore, to the left and right side, are four [statues of] *śrāvaka* and [*bodhi*]*sattva* and below the eight Bodhisattva-sons along with the [two] wrathful [**67a**] [deities]. They were manufactured exclusively from clay mixed with herbal substances (*sman 'dam*), etc. [garnished with ingredients] such as blessing-bestowing items (*byin rten*) [like] brocade [pieces] stemming from many *mahā-puruṣa*, such as the Indian and Tibetan *paṇḍita* and *siddha*, from rJe [bTsong-kha-pa], [his two] spiritual sons as well as successive Dalai Lamas and Paṇ-chen Lamas, etc., the main ingredient being the "corpse salt" (*spur tshva*) [i.e. ashes extracted after the cremation] of bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho, the previous rGyal-dbang [i.e. 7th Dalai Lama], the crest ornament of Existence and Peace (*bhava-śanti = samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*). These [statues], fully wrapped up with *dharmakāya-śarīra*-relics [inserted] as consecratory fillings, were consecrated by the majority of learned scholars of the Snow-capped Land [of Tibet] such as rGyal-dbang [i.e. the Dalai Lamas], father and spiritual sons, whereby they were made into merit fields for living beings. The [statues] of Amitāyus installed to the left and right have evidently been erected by Khri-chen Rin-po-che dGe-'dun phun-tshogs [1648-1724 A.D]. All [the decor such as] the gowns, along with the canopies and the "floor-coverings" of these [statues] too, were donated by [Dar-han-]mkhan Rin-po-che.

[**B**] [The Objects of Veneration of the gTsang-khang nub-ma *alias* Glo-'bur-nub-ma]

Concerning the [miniature] image (*'dra sku*) [i.e. simulacrum] called Cintāmāṇi [Yid-bzhin nor-bu] of Zhang Rin-po-che inside the gTsang-khang nub-ma, formerly called Glo-'bur nub[-ma]: it was formerly erected as *bzo phud* [first offering specimen] for [the erection of the large statue of] lHa-chen dpal-'bar. It was personally consecrated (*rab gnas ma*) by Zhang himself, [and it was a statue] which spoke on several occasions. [Such incidents of its wondrous properties]: The image itself possessed permanent heat, so even during winter-time when it was exceedingly cold [it was able] directly to ensure that the oblation water [on the alter] in this sanctuarium never froze. At one point when rGyal-ba bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3rd Dalai Lama] was paying this image a visit, it took off its hat [in respectful salutation]. [Further,] although *rTogs ldan* Za-lung-pa chen-po [once] in inconceivably [many ways] underwent austerities in [order to enhance his] practise of [meditative] realization, still no insight was born [in him]. In a dream a *ḍākinī* spoke to him: "Make prayers to this image [of Zhang]!" When he [subsequently] offered a *maṇḍala* in front [**67b**] of the statue, and persistently made prayers, he [finally] won insight in front of this very statue, etc.[820] [Such wonders provide proof that this statue indeed] is blessing-bestowing.

For further details on this metal, cf. Lo Bue ref. above; Dagyab 1977: 51–52, based upon 'Jigs-med gling-pa's *Rin po che brtag thabs* in *gTam tshogs* 114.6–7, 120.3, 120, 15 (Pl. 74). See also von BST von Schroeder 762–764, 802 e.g. with statuary samples of Kṣitigarbha.

[819] For other restorations completed by De-mo sprul sku, cf. Klong-rdol *gSung 'bum II* 456.

[820] Cf. above 22b; Za-lung-pa chen-po is *rtogs ldan* mDzes-pa, the founder of Za-lung monastery. In 1252 A.D.

The second [statue] to the right is that of the First Throne-holder mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes, and the third to the left is the statue of the one called *nye gnas* Dar-ma gzhon-nu. All three statues were made from the same materials and erected at the same time, therefore [they are considered] blessing-bestowing statues belonging to the row of main statues [installed during] the life-time of Zhang. The second [statue] to the right[821] is that of rGyal-mchog lNga-pa chen-po, then [follow] statues of bKa'-brgyud *bla ma* such as Te-lo [Tilopā], Na-ro [Nāropa], etc. [Installed to the] left [were statues of] rGyal-mchog dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho, along with statues of [Bla-ma] Zhang's root teachers, dPal rG[v]a-lo, Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims snying-po, Byang-sems 'Ol-kha-ba, Mal Yer-pa, the teacher rNgog-pa and *bla ma* Be (~ Bai)-ro-ba, [all] bless-bestowing statues which had been erected by Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol and subsequently consecrated by Zur-chen personally as well as by the successive rGyal-mchog-s. [Further on] at the top-most position of the row to the left [the statue of rGyal-mchog bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho [the 7th Dalai Lama] [is installed], made from gilt copper and equipped with a backrest. Furthermore, the [different items and decors] such as canopies and gown for the distinct statues, along with [different] offering articles, were provided by [Dar-han-]mkhan Rin-po-che, master and pupils.

[**C**] [The Objects of Veneration in the gTsang-khang shar-ma *alias* Glo-'bur shar-ma]

Concerning the main object [of veneration] installed to the left in the gTsang-khang [shar-ma], formerly called Glo-'bur shar-ma, [it must initially be said that] at a later point *sku mdun* Dar-han [bsKal-bzang yon-tan], master and pupils, expanded [the sanctuarium] in the northern direction, whereupon they had new paintings made. The main [object of] this [sanctuarium] is the so-called bKra-shis 'od-'bar ossuary of Zhang Rin-po-che, which, after [Zhang] had passed into *nirvāṇa* [**68a**], had been finished up until the third plinth (*parisaṇḍa*) of this sKu-'bum chen-mo by the personal disciples of [Zhang] such as *nye gnas* Dar-ma gzhon-nu, etc. At the point when [Zhang's] corpse was being cremated upon [the third plinth of the reliquary], the skull, the tongue and the eyes, these three [relics of Bla-ma Zhang] along with [other] relics were inserted [into the ossuary] as consecratory fillings. It is an exceptional reliquary to which the disciples and *siddha*-ascetics [of Bla-ma Zhang] can direct their prayers. If one pays homage and makes offerings to this [reliquary], etc. it is maintained that one shall not be dispatched to the damned places (*durgati*) and one [will] even [be able to] cleanse all defilements of many previous lives.

Concerning the [statue] known as the Speaking Tārā [gSung-byon-ma]: it is a particular main object [of veneration] of earlier time [i.e. prior to Great Fire of 1546 A.D.] which constituted a reliquary, [being the object] of offering prayers [in order to secure both] temporary and ultimate [happiness in this life and beyond][822] for the family lineage of the sKyid-shod Tshal-pa. Further, the [other] cast metal [statues of Munīndra, etc.] and old reliquaries were [initially] installed in the dilapidated chapel in the wake of the fire [of 1546 A.D.], but when [later] Dar-han[-mkhan

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rGyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa too paid the statue of Zhang in the Glo-'bur-nub temple a visit, where he also had visions of the Gung-thang master; cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 707, *Yang dgon pa rnam thar* 407–409. Cf. also *DL11* 317.

[821] The text is here evidently corrupt since this position is already taken up by the statue of mNyam-med. Alternatively, it may allude to the second statue to the right of mNyam-med.

[822] These states refer to the high statue (*abhyudaya*), i.e. the three higher realms (*svarga*) of *saṃsāra* and the state of the definite goodness *(niḥśreyasa*), i.e. liberation from the same samsaric existence. Cf. fn. 5 above.

Rin-po-che], master and pupils erected the [new] *khang brtsegs* abode here [in the sanctuarium], etc. [they] were rearranged in one place. The statue of Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas was brought to this site from the cave hermitage of Zhang. The statues [installed] in the northern, the eastern and the southern directions [of the sanctuarium] [represented figures] manufactured from clay mixed with herbal substances, [and containing] inconceivably [many] blessing-bestowing [objects] beginning with the "corpse salt" (*spur tshva*) [i.e. ashes extracted after the cremation] of the former Dalai Lama [rGyal-mchog gong-ma] Blo-bzang bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho. As consecratory fillings too [they contained] indescribably [many] relics, etc. The canopies, and offering articles along with gowns too were manufactured anew by *sku mdun* [Dar-han-]mkhan Rin-po-che [**68b**].

[**D**] [The Object of Veneration in the Tshe-dpag-med lha-khang]

Concerning the main object [of veneration] of the Tshe-dpag[-med] lha-khang: it is a statue of Amitāyus made from gilt copper. It was erected during the time when the sKyid-shod *zhabs drung* bKra-shis rab-brtan, father and sons were conducting a large-scale renovation of this sanctuarium, its main statue and retinue. [In fact] it is a blessing-bestowing [statue] which had been consecrated after *Thams cad mkhyen pa* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3rd Dalai Lama] had been invited [to Gung-thang]. The silver-plated ossuary [installed] in the northern direction is the ossuary of Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol, which had been erected by the Great 5th Dalai Lama and which had been donated [to this sanctuarium by the latter] along with the *bKa' 'gyur* [edition] [initially] *brought* from rGyal-rtse. Further, two printed sets of *bKa' 'gyur* and one complete edition of the *bsTan 'gyur* were donated by *sku mdun* [Dar-han-]mkhan Rin-po-che. Moreover, the statues as well as the ossuaries along the southern side were erected by Zur-chen. The majority of gowns and offering articles were donated by *sku mdun* Tshang.[823]

[**E**] [The Objects of Veneration in the Byams[-pa] [lha-]khang]

It is known that the main object [of veneration] of the Byams[-pa lha-]khang, the statue of Maitreya, was erected by Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa [i.e. dGe-'dun phun-tshogs]. The statues [installed] to the right and the left, along with the brocade [wall] Thangka, the main figure of which was Munīndra were [all] erected anew by Dar-han-mkhan Rin-po-che. They are blessing-bestowing statues, objects that have been blessed and personally consecrated by many holy *mahāpuruṣa* such as the rGyal-dbang [i.e. the Dalai Lamas], father and sons, etc. Concerning the brocade [wall] Thangka, the main figure of which was Munīndra, it is a blessing-bestowing reliquary personally consecrated by *Phyag na padmo* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3rd Dalai Lama]. The [statues of] the wrathful deities [erected in accordance with] the [system] of the early translation [period] and [installed] in the front were erected by the Omniscient 5th [i.e. Dalai Lama] along with his patrons, [set up] in order to revert the evil [forces] in the region. Later, they were brought to this gTsug-lag-khang [**69a**]. The gowns and the object articles of the main statue and the retinue too were supplied anew by Dar-han-mkhan Rin-po-che, master and pupils.

[823] This figure is still not properly identified.

[**F**] [The Objects of Veneration in the mGon-khang]

The main object in the mGon-khang is the [four-armed] Ye-shes mgon-po along with its retinue [of five acolytes], six [in all] which had been erected by the personal disciples of 'Gro-mgon, such as the attendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu, etc. [It] displayed numerous wonderous signs; not only during the Great Fire [of 1546 A.D.] when mGon-po [succeeded] in instantly quelling the fire merely by stretching out its legs, but also at one point when the former rGyal-mchog [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama] paid it a visit, [how] *amṛta* dripped from its feet, as well as once when Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol for the first time paid [the statue] a visit, white rays of light emitted from the heart of mGon-po, whereby the entire interior of the mGon-khang became covered in a diffuse gray light.[824] As for the statue [of the Raven-headed Mahākāla] Bya-rog gdong-can [* Kākāsya] too, during numerous occasions when conflicts [and warfare raged] a raven actually manifested itself from its heart and visually displayed [wondrous] signs such as mustering applied violent sorcery (*mngon spyod*) against malevolent foes. The stuffed effigy (*sku gsob*) of [Śrī Devī, dPal-ldan lha-mo] 'Dod-khams dBang-phyug-ma, famed as the Gung-thang lHa-mo, too is known to have been erected by *sprul sku* [the master artist] dBu-Gru-bzhi.[825] There exist numerous narratives [which corroborate] how fearsome and efficient this lHa-mo is, and how having directly shown her countenance to rGyal-dbang dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 2nd Dalai Lama] too,[826] he accomplished his objectives an unhindered way. [Although the statue] formerly was installed in the lHa-mo-khang, [erected along one wall] of the dBu-rtse of the gTsug-lag-khang, it was [however] later [removed and installed] in this very mGon-khang. The brocade gowns of these statues were manufactured anew by Dar-han[-mkhan Rin-po-che], master and disciples. The silken ceremonial scarfs and [**69b**] the objects of offerings for the protective deities, etc. were presented by gZhung-sa rin-po-che [i.e. the precious Tibetan Government or the Dalai Lama] and Dar-han-mkhan Rin-po-che, etc.

[**G**] [The Objects of Veneration in the rNam-sras lha-khang]

The two statues of the gold-coloured Vaiśravaṇa as well as the [Red-lanced] mDung-dmar-can [i.e. *Raktaśūla Vaiśravaṇa] are known to be old statues which even during the fire [of 1546 A.D.] did not catch fire wherefore they are known as Me-thub-ma [i.e. Fire-proof]. In particular, the [statue of] mDung-dmar-can displayed numerous [wondrous] signs such as possessing a counteance completely unsoiled by any dust particles as well as being able to shed *amṛta* from its eyes following the visit paid by the former rGyal-mchog [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama], etc. [Narratives also exist which tell] how the sorrow of poverty is eliminated merely by beholding its countenance, etc. The filled statue [installed here] is an utmost important blessing-bestowing stuffed statue of Jo-mo sMan-gcig-ma, the *gzhi bdag* of the holy pilgrim site (*gnas chen*) of Bya-mkhar. The brocade gowns, the hand insignia and the ceremonial scarves etc. of the main object and its retinue had been presented by *sku mdun* [Dar-han-]mkhan Rin-po-che [i.e. bsKal-bzang yon-tan]. Furthermore, the wall paintings, the wall plaster, the *spen bad* [Tamarisk-stalk] roof frieze, the

[824] mGon-po bSod-nams mchog-ldan reports a similar episode in 1650; *mGon po rnam thar* 75a2–4.

[825] For a relic raised by this artist (var. *sprul sku* mGo-gru-bzhi) in lHa-sa, *lHa ldan dkar chag* 29.8–11; Shakabpa *Guide* 69. The latter text adds that in the Ra-sa temple there is a statue of the wrathful dPal-lha with a tortoise-face or dPal-lha drag-mo sBal-gdong-ma made from natural black stone excavated by Bla-ma Zhang in Bya[ng]-mkhar.

[826] During the visits of this Dalai Lama in 1511 A.D. cf. *DL2* 526.

gilt roof ornaments as well as the offering requisites, etc. adhering to all [sections of] the gTsug-lag-khang, both the outer, the inner and the intermediate parts, were in the main manufactured anew or repaired by *sku mdun* [Dar-han-]mkhan Rin-po-che, master and servants.

[**H**] [The sKu-'bum chen-mo]

As for the sKu-'bum chen-mo: [Once] at bZang-yul Mon-[pa-]gdong, 'Gro-mgon [Zhang] himself in a vision perceived how the cremated remains of his [own] body, after having entered *nirvāṇa*, rested upon the sKu-'bum chen-mo, which [at that point had been finished] up until the third plinth (*parisaṇḍa*); [and he saw how] from the upper, the intermediate sphere as well as from the underworld, the three, the *deva*, the *nāga*, the *gandharva*, as well as the disciples etc. were lamenting and worshipping [his bodily remains]. In accordance with this, when [in fact] later the master and his disciples were involved in erecting the *stūpa*, close to the point when they had brought it to completion up until the third plinth (*parisaṇḍa*); [**70a**] [Zhang] arrived at the [plain in front of] the Western Dharma-Throne [Chos-khri-nub] [in Gung-thang] and gave teachings about the benefits, etc. of erecting a *stūpa.* At the end of [this proclamation] Zhang himself, having reached the age of 71, in the female Water-Ox year [1193 A.D.] at dawn on the10th day of the fifth month[827] demonstrated the way of passing into *nirvāṇa*. His bodily were brought onto the third plinth of the *stūpa* to be cremated, but [the body] initially would not catch fire. When his disciples then with great intensity offered prayers, [Zhang] emerged elevated above the funeral pyre and spoke numerous instructions. Thereupon, the fire of wisdom ignited all by itself from his heart, [the remnants of the] bones, except his heart and his tongue, etc., were wrapped up [and inserted] into the upper part of the *bum pa* [dome of the Grand *Stūpa*]. The different [dome sections], including [the so-called] eastern *lha-khang* [located] inside the dome (*bum pa*) were erected by [his] disciples, whereas the *lha khang* of the other directions [i.e. the western, the northern and the southern located at the base of the dome] and the basic deities of the Vajradhātu[-*maṇḍala*] [were erected] as the principal objects of worship crafted in the aspect of the Pañcakūla [Buddhas], as well as [constructing minor] statues of the retinue, [all] being appropriately executed both in painted as well as in relief form.

Although a complete set of mural depictions of the 1000 images [of Buddha] as well as wall paintings (*rgyud ris*), etc. had been erected by *drung chen* sMon-lam rdo-rje, in the meantime, disregarding the fact that the basic deities [of the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala* remained intact], the majority of the other objects of veneration had sunk into [utter] decay. Later, since Zur-chen *sprul sku* had the statues of the [minor] deities of the entourage supplemented in accordance with the *maṇḍala* of the system of [Vajra-]śekhara (*rtse mo'i thugs dkyil* = ? [*rdo rje'i*] *rtse mo'i lugs* [*kyi*] *dkyil* [*'khor*]), it goes without saying [that the visiting devotees should] venerate, make offerings and circumambulate these [holy objects of veneration]. Finally, whoever would behold [this *Stūpa*] with pellucid eyes, or merely touch it, or smell [the scent of its fragrant materials] or hear the ringing of the wind-bells [decorating it], [this devotee] will doubtlessly produce the seeds which shall enable [him] to [win final] liberation after the door to a [re]birth in the [three] lower realms (*durgati*) [**70b**] had been closed.

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[827] It corresponds to *ca*. 12.06.1193 A.D. of the Western calender. For his death: *Deb dmar* 128.

The majority of the surrounding [minor] *stūpa* [that accompanied the *sku 'bum chen mo*] were known to have been erected by the disciples from the leftover [building materials] of the *sku' bum chen mo*, who added to it in the form of the eight [*mahā*-]*caitya*. [Again] Some of these are ossuaries of former successive throne-holders. Furthermore, [one finds] the Tshe-sgrub 'bum-pa erected in order to avert any obstacle to the life of some of the family members [of the Tshal ruling lineage] as well as a *stūpa* erected in order to avert any damage [in form of the loss of] horse or cattle, etc. Even today, it is maintained that anyone who prostrates or circumambulates these *stūpa*, will, after having averted any obstacle to one's life, secure endless benefits such as the prolongation of one's life or prosperity and riches in the form of horse or cattle, etc.

[**I**] [The Sri-gcod 'bum-pa or Khyi-'bum]

As for the [*stūpa*] known as Sri-gcod 'bum-pa or Khyi-'bum: during the life-time of 'Gro-mgon, the Four-armed [*chos skyong*] Ye-shes mGon-po, having manifested himself miraculously as Khyi-dom-nag, all the most important magnetizing (*dbang, vaśa*) and subjugating (*drag, abhicāra*) [hegemonic] commitments of [Bla-ma] Zhang [Rin-po-che] were executed. At the point when the emanation was close to collecting [itself, i.e. returning to its original form, Ye-shes mGon-po] (*sprul pa bsdu bar nye ba*), [he came] into the presence of Zhang, and pledged: "Safeguarding [your] future disciples along with their lineages, [I] shall reverse all harm such as damages [caused] by the *sri* spirits in order that they can pay respect and worship my *stūpa* and circumambulate it, etc.!" He thereafter left behind an object of veneration in the form of a dog's bone, and the *stūpa* was erected upon this very bone relic which contained [the original form. i.e. essence of] the emanation (*sprul pa bsdus pa'i sku rus*). It is therefore said that endless benefits accrue such as allaying all harms such as injuries caused by [nefarious] *sri* spirits if [the faithful disciples adequately] make their circumambulations, make praises or pay their respect to this [*stūpa*], etc.[828]

[J] [The Objects of Veneration of the gZims-chung nub-ma]

As for [the chapel] formerly known as gZims-phug nub-ma, currently [**71a**] [merely] gZims-phug: It was [formerly] the private residence [or cella] (*gzims chung*) of Zhang Rin-po-che and the place where he offered particular disciples secret teachings (*lkog chos*) such as on [the meditative stages of] visual generation and completion (*utpatti*[*krama*], *saṃpanna*[*krama*]) of the esoteric *mantra* system, etc. Since [Bla-ma Zhang] finally demonstrated the way of passing into *nirvāṇa*, it is a [particularly] blessing-bestowing place. The image inside this [chapel] was the blessing-bestowing statue known as Nga-'dra-ma ["My Likeness"] or gSer-shog-ma [the Gold-leaved Statue] [of Bla-ma Zhang] and it was [a statue] consecrated (*phyag nas ma*) by 'Gro-mgon personally.[829] The material of the statue was made from *ras se* and regarding its consecratory fillings inside [the statue] it not only contained many particular [sacred objects], but also spoke on several occasions. Furthermore, [in this chapel one encounters] two ossuaries (*gdung rten*) along with [a statue of] Munīndra, [originally adhering to] the row of older objects of venerations [from] former times. A blessing-bestowing statue known as *ras se ma,* an image of rJe-btsun

[828] Offerings conducted at this *stūpa* in 1756 are reported; cf. *DL7* 1021.

[829] See e.g. *DL9* [A] 37a1–2.

Yer-pa-ba, indistinguishable from Vajrayoginī, [the teacher] definitely counted among the four root *bla ma* of 'Gro-mgon. [Further] foot-prints of Zhang personally and of mGon-khyi, as well as holy scriptures as already described above, and as a blessing-bestowing throne [once used] when [Zhang] finally demonstrated the way of passing into *nirvāṇa*. Using many bless-bstowing objects as consecratory fillings such as the personal cloak of [Bla-ma] Zhang known as "the *A*-Lettered One" [i.e. A-gcig-ma], etc. [these were inserted into] a *stūpa* erected by his disciples. In the courtyard many highly blessing-bestowing old and new [sacred objects such as] paintings of the peaceful and wrathful gods are also found, as well as, most importantly, [depictions] of the Biography [i.e. ideal life] of Zhang himself displaying the way of passing into *nirvāṇa*.

[Concluding intermediate stanzas (*antaraśloka, bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa*)] [**71a6–71b4**]

CHAPTER V

[The Virtuous Benefits (*phan yon, anuśaṃsa*) Accruing from Visiting the Objects] [**71b5–76b6**]

Fifthly, as thus delineated above the founder of the Gung-thang dPal gyi gTsug-lag-khang, the sanctuary including their objects [of veneration], was Gro-mgon [Zhang], father and sons [i.e. his disciples] and the way these [buildings and objects] had to be shown respect and reverence in all brevity have accordingly been delineated in accordance with the sacred writings of the former successors and authoritative oral discourses. Now, if we turn [our attention towards] offering a brief explication of the benefits accruing from paying homage and making offerings to these [objects], [we may start with a description being] in accordance with the explications [found] in the [*Prajñāpāramitā*] *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya*[*-gāthā*] [*Yon tan rin po che bsdus* [= *sdud*] *pa*]:[830]

> If someone equal to the sand (*ji* = *bye*) [found] in the river Ganges, in the fields
> Would discipline in Arhantship as many sentient beings as that,
> Whoever having copied this Perfection of Wisdom (*Prajñāpāramitā*)
> And would give this book to another sentient being – he would
> have the more distinguished merit.

and according to the Lord Nāgārjuna [in his *Suhṛllekha, bShes pa'i spring yig*][831]

> Just like figures of Sugata made from wood
> Or the like, to which wise men pay homage.

The most important [point to make] in times [like] these having uniquely attained [a precious human body endowed with the states] of [eight] freedoms and [ten] opportunities (*kṣana-saṃpat, dal 'byor*)[832] is that one should not delude oneself. Having entered the portal to the precious Teaching [of the Buddha], one should at least receive the fully pure basis of [a prohibitive novice] training (*śikṣāpada*) including seeking refuge in the Three Jewels. In addition, relying correctly upon true spiritual friends, if one is able to establish the karmic residues (*vāsanā*) in one's consciousness including the instruction (*zhe dam* = *zhal gdams*) to practise what has been taught by these [*kalyāṇamitra*], this is more sublime than all other roots of merit that agitate the three doors [i.e. body, speech and mind]. It is also the objective behind the mental intent of the Jinas and their sons [i.e. Bodhisattva]. Should one, either due to means or due to capability, prove unable to [act]

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[830] Cf. *RGSG* V.3 (ed. Obermiller 1937: 29; tr. Conze 1973:19; for the idiosyncratic grammatical forms of *RGSG*, cf. Yuyama 1973). The corresponding skt. text reads:

> *yāvanti gaṅganadivālikatulyakṣetre*
> *tāvanti sattva arahanti vineya kaścit* |
> *yaś caiva prajña ima pāramitā likhitvā*
> *parasattvi pustaku dadeyu viśiṣṭapuṇyaḥ* ||

This hyberbolic analogy is cherished in canonical and hermeneutical literature, and frequently cited; see e.g. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 923.17–19; *bSam yas dkar chag* 242–43.

[831] Cf. *SL k. I* 2ab, cf. tr. Tharchin 1995: 20.

[832] The human form endowed with optimal conditions for practising Dharma; cf. e.g. sGam-po-pa's *Thar rgyan*.

accordingly, yet having made the [Three] Jewels the object of their mind and taken refuge, if they by way of reciting specific mantric formulaes, making prayers or rendering ritual service to specific objects of veneration by way of making prostration and homage, by way of erecting new statues, whether painted or sculptured, of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, by way of repairing old [dilapidated temples and objects], or by rendering service to the *lha khang* lacking veneration, etc. thus on a daily basis developed and expanded a basis of merits, and thus [having been able to] grasp the essence in connection [with the state of eight] freedoms and [ten] opportunities, then the wealth accumulated by their own means will not be wasted. Based upon this, and having cleansed any karmic obscuration, they will due to the compassion stemming from the [Three] Jewels easily realize all the objectives of temporary and ultimate [happiness],[833] reduce [cases of] illness and expand [their material] wealth. [**72b**] The production of roots of merits too will increase steadily, etc. [Such] immeasurable benefits [accruing from these activities] have been spoken of in many unerring words by the Jina.

In particular, as delineated above, Zhang Rin-po-che himself subsumes the essential nature of the karmic activities of [all] the Jinas and [Bodhisattva] sons, wherefore these [sacred] images too are not just manifestations of images, [whether] painted or sculptured, [erected] for the sake of promoting the benefit of the living beings, but [embody also] the very essential nature of Wisdom (*ye shes kyi ngo bo nyid*, **jñānasvabhāvatā*). Therefore, the benefit accruing from making offerings, etc. to these [images of Tshal Gung-thang] are [far] larger compared to the offerings given to other gTsug-lag-khangs; still, since our mind has been suppressed by a thick [layer of] residues of karmic obscurations (*karmāvaraṇavāsanā*) [abstaining from doing this previously] is [surely] due to our having paid no heed! Now, since not only the holy personages of former times as well as the disciple lineage of Zhang Rin-po-che, who had all reached the lofty level of accomplishment (*siddha*), have enthusiastically applied themselves to render service to these objects of veneration [at Tshal Gung-thang], now also the Jina, father and son [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa and his two favourite disciples, etc.] have extensively made offerings to and praised [these images]. These [holy saints] have thus executed [these activities], having in mind that [these objects indeed] are particular [blessing-bestowing objects]. The [authoritative] sources for these [activities] have been [amply] expounded in [different] *sūtra*, *tantra* and *śāstra*, still citing these [authoritative canonical sources] would [easily] develop into a huge heap of letters, wherefore [we shall abstain here from further elaboration] and whoever may wish to know [more] may look into the different *sūtra* and *śāstra*.

[Concluding eleven [15- and 9-syllable] Stanzas [**72b5–73b2**]

[833] See fn. 822 above.

[Colophon, Acknowledgements, Benedictory Prayers and Dedicatory Transference of Merit] [**73b2–76b6**]

[The writing of] this [treatise] denoted "*A Descriptive Inventory of the Glorious sKyid-shod Gung-thang Temple including the History of its Origin*, [also called] *The Injunction of Jagannātha* [Bla-ma Zhang], [which resembles] *A Current of Ambrosia*" was with great devotion and aspiration encouraged by *dge slong* Ngag-dbang yar-'phel, the [current] *dbu mdzad* of the Gung-thang Chos-khri grva-tshang, by *dge slong* bsTan-'dzin chos-'phel, by the retired (*zur pa*) *'cham*[*s*] *dpon*, *dge slong* bsKal-bzang mthu-stobs, the current *'cham*[*s*] *dpon* in-charge (*las thog pa*), by bsKal-bzang chos-grags, the *dge skos* of the Grva-tshang, as well as by *dge slong* Thub-bstan bsam-'phel, the current joint *dkon gnyer* of the mChod-khang chen-mo and *spyi gnyer* of the Grva-tshang, etc. – [urged] by many such personages knowledgeable of the two systems (*nīti*) [i.e. the secular and ecclesiastic]. In particular, *dka' bcu* Grags-pa mkhas-grub [dpal-bzang-po],[834] an advocate of the basic theoretical treatises (*gzhung lugs smra ba,* **grantha-vāda*) and adhering to the leading monks [of the author's own] college, [urged the author] with [the following] statement: "With the old records dealing with these themes [i.e. Tshal Gung-thang and its inventory], it is difficult to [acquire] a suitable understanding of the present [holdings]. A description of the objects of veneration, etc. is essential for these esteemed objects of veneration, still it is nonetheless difficult to gather [a proper and informative picture] from the old records. By all means [we therefore] need a descriptive inventory [delineating] its former history authentically bringing together all [relevant] explanations of the objects of veneration like this!" On account of [such] repeated and emphatic motivations, and due to having been fully accepted by many holy spiritual friends such as the Lord (*mnga' bdag*) of the Fully Perfect Teaching, *rje btsun* Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan [1713–1793 A.D.] etc., a little discernment was obtained concerning the general and specific [teachings contained] in the precious sacred scripture of Jina (*jinapravacana*), whereupon the sPos-dga' ri-khrod[835] retreatant, the lazy person, [carrying] the ordination name Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin phrin-las rnam-rgyal [eventually brought this work] to completion at the end of the fifth day of the 12th Hor month of the male Water-Tiger year [1782 A.D.],[836] being the [36th] year

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[834] *Chos rje Zhal snga nas* (or dPal-ldan *bla ma* dam-pa mTshungs-med) Grags-pa mkhas-grub [dpal-bzang-po] (alt. name Grags-pa mtha'-yas) is registered as Se-ra *smad* mkhan-po. He is listed as a younger contemporary and a main disciple of our *Gung thang dkar chag* author 'Jog-ri-ba, wherefore his flourit should be situated in the later or last part of the 18th century, and is also registered in the writings of the 8th Dalai Lama as one who urged the hierarch to write.

Formerly, (evidently) serving as *gsol dpon* to the 7th Dalai Lama, Grags-pa mtha'-yas is mentioned in the biography of *DL7* and *DL8* 484 and *DL9* [A] 45b2–3, 60a5. At the latest, he is registered as *mkhan zur* for 1808. In fact, he was maternal uncle (*zhang po*) to bsKal-bzang rnam-rgyal (= *tsha bo drung yig* bsKal-bzang yon-tan; cf. fn. 733 above). He served as *mkhan po che* for many years in the inner circles of court. sGrol-dkar (ed.) 1995: 44. He was also involved, along with lHa-btsun mChog gi sprul-sku Blo-bzang 'jam-dpal rab-rgyas, probably around the same period as *GT* was written, in re-manufacturing a 5-vols. edition of the Bla-ma Zhang *bka' 'bum*; cf. the printing colophon *smon tshig* to *Zhang bka' 'bum II*, *passim*. In 1811, he wrote the *dGa' ldan khri rabs rnam thar* covering the vitas of the 47th until the 67th throne-holder as well as a *Shar rtse grva tshang chos 'byung* in 1814; cf. *Shar rtse chos 'byung* 666. See also *Ming mdzod* 1785.

[835] Possible not the (Mal Yer-pa foundation of) Yer-pa sPos-dga'(~ dkar) is meant here (see fn. 33), but the later dGe-lugs establishment of sPos-dkar *ri khrod* est. by sPos-dkar Bla-ma Blo-bzang mchog-grub (17th cent.; cf. *HSLG* Vol 4: 54). It is situated in the sPos-dkar valley of central 'Phan-yul (north of 'Phan-po township; below Map 4); and it is part of present-day dGa'-ldan chos-'khor *xiang* of lHun-grub county; cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 45b: 29°55'N 91°15'E.

[836] It corresponds to *ca*. 09.01.1783 A.D. of the Western calender.

called *śubhakṛt* of the 13th *prabhava*, [also] being 2743 years after the birth of our compassionate teacher [Gautama Siddhārtha] in the Garden of Lumbinī, being 2709 years after the wheel of [the preaching] the Four Truths had been turned for the retinue consisting of the group of five excellent [disciples] [**74a**] at Vārāṇasī, being 662 years after 'Gro-mgon g.Yu-brag-pa chen-po, the source of the Teaching of the bKa'-brgyud, took birth [i.e. 1123 A.D.] at Tsha-ba-gru of sKyid-shod after having become mindful of the welfare of the living beings, being 608 years after this holy personage had established Tshal [monastery] [i.e. 1175 A.D.], erected in order to render [ritual] service for the two Jo[-bo] Śā[kya] statues in lHa-ldan, being 596 years after the establishment [i.e. 1187 A.D.] of the Gung-thang-dpal gyi gTsug-lag-khang, being 426 years after the birth [i.e. 1357 A.D.] of Khams-gsum Chos kyi rgyal-po [b]Tsong-kha-pa in [b]Tsong-kha of mDo-smad, being 374 years after that the selfsame holy personage [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa] had established [i.e. 1409 A.D.] the 'Brog Ri-bo dGe-ldan rnam-par rgyal-ba'i gling [i.e. dGa'-ldan],[837] the source of the precious teaching of those who wear our gold-coloured crown [i.e. dGe-lugs-pa] of ours. May this [work] composed [at a location] adjacent to the lHa-ldan sprul-pa'i gtsug-lag-khang, become a cause for the benefit of the teaching [of Buddha] and for sentient beings!

Hail! Well-being!

"Manifestly emerging from the nature of the precious
two Accumulations (*saṃbhāra*)
Reigning over the precious treasury of the Three Bodies
Into 100.000-fold light-nets of karmic activity;
To [him] capable of unfolding [such activities],
'Gro-mgon g.Yu-brag-pa, [we] pay homage.
Lord, you have since long greatly won rulership over Enlightenment
Still in order to give relief of protection to the host of living beings
At the end of time, you have not only showed respect to
and relied upon *kalyāṇamitra*
But in every way also turned the wheel of immeasurable [altruistic] deeds.
In particular, the Mahāmudrā, the essence of the true transmission, extensively
Expanding the activities of upholding, protecting and disseminating
[these systems] forcefully
Its all-surpassing, peerless, incomparable, superb system
The fame of the harmonious-sounding Tshal-pa system ablaze!
Being equal to the number of stars [in space] the host of disciples, [all]
born from the sacred words [i.e. teachings of you, Jina] (*[*jina*]*pravacana-jata*], so
The Teaching [of yours], being the essence of the Lineage of Accomplishment
(*sgrub brgyud*) [in the bKa'-brgyud Tradition], the excellent system
Has been spread, thus penetrating all directions of the universe, [**74b**]
From which the Upper, Intermediate and Lower Tshal [school]
won universal acclaim.

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[837] The 'Brog-ri (also Grog-ri, 'Gog-pa-ri) refers to the monastery mountain of dGa'-ldan (below Fig. 55–56). It is part of the greater mountain range of dBang-bskur-ri (Fig. 54) which is said to be the place where Srong-btsan sgam-po was crowned (see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 233–236). On the founding story of dGa'-ldan; see e.g. Kaschewsky 1971: 185f.; *dGa' ldan dgon pa'i lo rgyus* (in *HSLG* Vol. 2: 1ff.).

Specifically, the nimbus of the earth, i.e. dBus-'gyur [i.e. the lHa-sa area]
A *gaṇḍola* comprising the support and the supported
[i.e. the buildings and objects of veneration, i.e. Gung-thang]
Along with an assembled host of *piṭakadhara* [sojourning there]
The maturation of the livelihood of innumerable living beings have been effectuated.

There, mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes etc.
[Secured] the lineage of the see which upheld the tradition of the Dharma
For the dissemination of the dual system [of secular and ecclesiastic rule],
Dar-ma gzhon-nu, etc.
Lords of Men, in the manner of secular rule, limitless [in number] arrived.

These [men of excellence] too, by way of the four kinds [enlightened] karmic activities
Ruled the wide expanse of the universe,
Bringing to maturation what nurtured the Teaching and the living beings of fully white
Magnificent deeds, its [victory-]banner [by them] have been hoisted
to [reach] the peak of cyclic existence (*bhavāgra*).

Here at the end of time [i.e. most recently] too, the supreme,
quintessential Teaching [of bTsong-kha-pa]
After the excellent system of those carrying the golden colour
[i.e. the dGe-lugs] is being upheld [there], too
The many holy [personages] such as the Lord of the Snowland
[Avalokiteśvara embodying, i.e. the Dalai Lamas]
May they disseminate [this teaching] wide and make it remain for long!

Thus, beginning with 'Gro-mgon personally and henceforth
Erected perforce of the karmic activities of the successively arriving holy personages
The Yang-dgon [temple], the Chos-khri and the dBus-gling [colleges], etc.
Great communities in which are coming together the three [higher] trainings
based upon the moral code, and
[Housing] a treasury, the bless-bestowing and wonderous
[image of Bla-ma Zhang, called] "Meaningful to Behold"
The peerless [statues and receptacles of] Munīndra and Mahābodhi, and
Headed by the image of 'Gro-mgon, [called] the "Wish-granting Jewel"
There are portrait images, etc. of many successively arriving lineage-holders,
Wonderous objects of the three types (*rten gsum*), installed as main objects
Of the gTsug-lag-khang, greatly being [pure] *amṛta* for the eyes,
Including its buildings and objects of veneration, for the living beings
Manifestly exalted as an oceanic field of merit.
Towards these [objects] in order to generate devotion, faith and
Inspiration, the histories of their origin, etc.
Composed in a chain of [words] lauding their qualities.
This *Descriptive Inventory,* [**75a**] [denoted] *The Exhortation of Jagannātha* [Bla-ma Zhang]
The supreme Lord establishing the ultimate meaning (*nitārtha*)

Called Ngag gi dbang-po,[838] of incomparable kindness
Merely the name alone [is capable] of eliminating all decay,
The Protector, [this book] has emerged from his great secret speech.
In order to [ensure] that it remains for a long time without decline and
For all living beings, who [with their senses] see, hear, recollect and touch
in order to plant the seed of pious [karmic acts] in their consciousness
[This *Inventory*, being] a great charitable offering
has been disseminated inexhaustibly in all directions.

All monks and lay people related in this way [to the manufacturing] and
In particular, [to the person who], whether in the beginning, at the end or
in the intermediate phase,
Carried great responsibility and any dependency on others
Not relying upon, the peerless rJe-btsun, supreme *bla ma*
Carrying the name[-element] Grags-pa [i.e. dKa'-bcu Grags-pa mkhas-grub]
of [whose] three secrets [i.e. of the body, speech and mind]
Any adverse condition was allayed, and for the benefit of
the Teaching and of the living beings
All executing activities [of his] like the ascending node of the moon
May [these] promulgate more and more!
[As] sponsor [of materials], [as] learned [person] and [as] supreme observer of precepts
The Yang-dgon *bla ma* Blo-bzang 'byung-gnas and
Rig-grol bde-chen from the Chos-khri grva-tshang as well as
The rGyud-chen *dge slong* bsKal-bzang rab-'byor,
dBu mdzad dge slong bShes-gnyen Tshul-khrims,
dGe bskos dge slong Blo-bzang phun-tshogs and
sPyi gnyer dge slong Blo-bzang bde-chos and
Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal, Ngag-dbang rgyal-mtshan. etc.
Taking as basis [their] monastic communities along with its population
Such as *dge slong* Blo-gros rgya-mtsho, etc.
[Belonging to] dBus-gling and their general assemblage, and furthermore
Many pious and knowledgable [monks]
Motivated by their fully pure intention
In order to bring about a magnificent auspiciousness
for this and subsequent existences
Each and everyone supplied numerous quantities of material objects.
Summing up, an immensely huge [amount of] wealth
[Once] being secured, because of this, all these sponsored wealth too
[Having contributed to] pacify all hindrances and adverse conditions
of timely [happiness in *saṃsāra*]
As well as purified the mental continuum by way of the [five] paths
and the two stages [of visualization and completion]
[in order to secure] ultimate [happiness; i.e. *nirvāṇa*]

[838] The Lord of the Speech (Vāgīśvara) alludes to the author of the treatise 'Jog-ri-pa Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin phrin-las rnam-rgyal. He was born in Bye-ri sTag-rtse (fn. 542) in 1747. His ordination name was Grags-pa blo-gros.

May [the personage mentioned above] before long attain the stage of the four bodies!
Bringing into being this very charitable offering [i.e. this book] with one-pointed
Excellent [pure] intention and trustworthiness
Scribes, letter-carvers, proof-readers, etc.
For all [these persons] too, any kind of harmful and unwanted [situation] in this very life
Having been completely quelled, for all existences
Without [ever] being separated from the Teaching of 'Jam-dpal snying-po,[839]
Having brought to perfection the realization (*samaya*) throughoout
[all] [ten Bodhisattva] stages and [five] paths
May they become the cause for realizing the welfare of oneself and others
(*svaparārtha*)!

Having become the fundament for the happiness and benefit of living beings
[during] the degenerate aeons (*kaliyuga*)
The Chos-khri, Yang-dgon, dBus-gling sGom-sde, etc.
Along with their assemblage of monks, the three types of shrines and temple,
May [these institutions and reliquaries, etc.] remain unsullied for aeons!

Furthermore, [through] whatever merit thus accumulated [here]
[May] the Teaching of the Jina [i.e. Buddha] disseminate,
and may those upholding [this teaching gain] a firm lotus-foot [i.e. perpetuate] and
For living beings a feast of joy of Dharma, wealth and happiness
May [they] ripe to [gain] the good fortune of enjoying [these]!
In short, illustrated by this [execution of the work], for all, oneself as well as others,
The host of merit [whatever has been accumulated]
throughout the three times, without exemption
Having been united into one, and reconciled here, all bodied [persons]
May [they] touch [i.e. reach] the level of Vajradhara!
Infallible Three Jewels, Blessing of Compassion,
The truth of the infallible [principles of]
interdependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*) as well as
Through virtuous deeds of pure intention [made] by me, etc.
May all the aims of [one's] aspiration effortlessly be realized!"

The Descriptive Inventory denoted *The Injunction of Jagannātha* [Bla-ma Zhang], [a description of Tshal Gung-thang] that had not been formerly available, was composed [being based upon] fully authentic historical sources [delineating] the origins of the Tshal Gung-thang gi gTsug-lag-khang including its [numerous specimens of] three [types] of shrines and its the monk assembly – emerged from the secret speech activities (*gsung gi gsang ba*)[840] of 'Jog [~ 'Jo]-ri-pa Ngag gi dbang-po [bstan-'dzin 'phrin-las rnam-rgyal]. In order to disseminate [it] widely [in form of a] charitable offering and to [ensure] that it remains undeteriorated for a long time, this very [book was written with a view] to the restoration of faith [**76a**] and devotion [among] all [living beings whether]

[839] It alludes to bTsong-kha-pa, whose birth name in Tuṣita was 'Jam-dpal snying-po. Hence the teaching refers to the dGe-lugs system. See *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar*, *passim*; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 152.20 *et passim*; Kaschewsky 1971: 171.

[840] One of the *rdo rje gsum gyi gsang ba*, the three adamant secrets, resp. of body, speech and mind.

oneself or others. In particular, the prominent disciple of this very *bla ma* [i.e. 'Jog-ri-pa] himself, [namely] mTshungs-med Chos kyi rje zhal-snga-nas Grags-pa mkhas-grub took upon himself in a most extraordinary way the responsibility [for its execution] throughout the three places, the initial, the intermediate and the final phase. In accordance with this, the spender of a charitable offering [in form of] supplying financial means, namely the Tshal Yang-dgon *bla ma* [Blo-bzang] 'byung-gnas donated a *kha btags phyi mdzod* [scarf], eleven silver *srang*, and about 150 pieces of paper which served as basis for writing (*'bag 'bri*) as well as two wooden printing blocks; *zhabs pad* lHa-sdings dGe-slong rin-po-che donated five silver *srang*; gYu-thog *sprul sku* donated 2,5 silver *srang*. The *phyag mdzod dge slong*, assistant of sKyabs-mgon Bla-ma Rin-po-che donated 15 silver *srang* and 5 silver *zho*. The deceased rGyud-chen *dge slong* bsKal-bzang rab-'byor, stemming from the monks of Chos-khri grva-tshang donated 10 silver *srang* [taken] from his belongings. The *dGe slong* bShes-gnyen Tshul-khrims, *dbu mdzad* of the Gung-thang Chos-khri grva-tshang, the *dge bskos* Blo-bzang phun-tshogs, the *phyi gnyer* Blo-bzang bde-chos, Blo-bzang mkhyen-rab, the *dkon gnyer* of mChod-khang chen-mo, Ngag-dbang rgyal-mtshan, the *phyag mdzod* of Grva-tshang, including Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal, the *phyag mdzod zur pa*, in the capacity of representing the entire college [of Chos-khri grva-tshang] 32 silver *srang*, 9 *zho* and 5 *skar* [*ma*].

From the Tshal dBus-gling grva-tshang collectively one silver *srang* and one *kha btags phyi mdzod* [scarf] was donated. [Further] dBus-gling *dge slong* Blo-gros rgya-mtsho donated one silver *srang*. Ngag-dbang lhun-grub, the Yang-dgon *bla ma dbu mdzad* donated five silver *zho* and one *bsod btags* [scarf]. Ngag-dbang mkhas-grub, the Chu-bzang *dge bshes* donated five silver *zho*. The Qalqa [i.e. Mongolian] Tshul-khrims-pa belonging to monks of Ser-byes donated one *srang*. Gung-ru Phun-tshogs dpal-ldan, belonging to the monks of Ser-smad donated three wooden printing blocks. bShes-gnyen [Tshul-khrims], a Chos-khri *dbu mdzad* donated 10 *ṭam*. Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal, the Chos-khri *dge slong*, Blo-bzang shes-rab and Blo-bzang zla-ba, the three altogether donated one silver *srang*, one silver *zho* and 7,5 *skar* [*ma*], one wooden printing block, as well as one *bsod btags* [scarf]. Blo-bzang mkhyen-rab, the *dkon gnyer* mChod-khang privately donated seven *zho* and five *skar* [*ma*]. Don-ldan, the Chos-khri *dge slong* donated three *zho*. Byams-pa shes-rab, the Chos-khri *dge slong* donated one *zho* and five *skar* [*ma*], in addition to a *bsod btags* [scarf] and one wooden printing block. gShes-gnyen, the Chos-khri *dge slong* donated five *skar* [*ma*]. From the nuns of Bya-mkhar[841] [**76b**] collectively three silver *srang* were donated.

Kun-dga' chos-'phel, the sGom-sde gZims[-khang]-shar *mdzod pa* and Byams-pa dam-chos, the two in charge donated on behalf of the collective Grva-tshang one *bsod btags* [scarf] as well as five silver *zho*. Byams-pa dam-chos, the *phyag mdzod*, donated one *bsod btags* and 7,5 silver *skar* [*ma*]. 'Jam-dbyangs bstan-'dzin, the Chos-khri *dge slong*, donated one *ṭam*.[842]

A dGe-tshul-ma of sMon-mkhar sPyil-bu[843] [finally] donated three *srang*. [The above donations] serving as basis [for the expenditure of printing], in the capacity of having assumed the responsibility and having provided the [financial] means in a most outstanding way, *dPal ldan Bla ma dam pa* mTshungs-med kyi Zhal-snga-nas Grags-pa mkhas-grub dpal-bzang-po [issued] an injunction

[841] The Bya[ng]-mkhar nunnery is the former Bla-ma Zhang retreat situated in Zhal; fn. 62.

[842] This passage appears in the text in smaller letters.

[843] The "meditation hut" of sMon-mkhar remains unknown. There are several sMon-mkhar/dga' in Central Tibet (cf. e.g. CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 79, 191; *VS* 224). Perhaps it is the sMon-grong/mkhar of sTod-lung (above fn. 415). Less likely: sMon-mkhar sPyil-bu refers to the sPyil-bu-dgon of Klung-shod (see e.g. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 317).

that said: "Such an aspiration prayer for the printing colophon is neccessary in connection with its printing," whereupon the Ser-stod mkhan-po carrying the *sprul sku* name rGyal-dbang Blo-bzang 'phrin-las rnam-rgyal voluntarily complied with it and wrote:

They shall prevail (*jayantu*)!

[Whose] Dharmakāya is unconditioned pure light
[Whose] Sambhogakāya is adorned with
the [32 major] marks and [80 minor] characteristics in their entirety
[Whose] Nirmāṇakāya fulfills [all] wishes, desires and hope
To 'Gro-mgon g.Yu-brag-pa, [we] make prayers.

Great Being (*mahāsattva*) sojourning on the ten *bhūmi*
Imbued with a wrathful [mien] whose brilliance glows like fire
Eliminating [all] foes and [demonic] hindrances hostile to the Teaching
To the host [surrounding] Ye-shes mgon-po, [we] respectfully bow.
[Being] Amitābha, the Principal among the Jinas,
The Lord of all [beings], the Sovereign of *Siddha* (*siddheśvara*)
Jagannātha g.Yu-brag-pa
May you rejoice at [this] *amṛta* of wisdom!

[Recite:][844]

OṂ AMARĀNI JĪVANTI YE SVĀHĀ
OṂ BHRUṂ SVĀHĀ OṂ AMṚTĀYUR DADE SVĀHĀ
OṂ TĀRE TUTTĀRE MAMA ĀYUḤ-PUṆYAIR [= *-PUṆYA*]*-JÑĀNA-PUṢTIṂ KURU YE SVĀHĀ*
OṂ AMARĀṆI JĪVANTI YE SVĀHĀ
OṂ BHRUṂ SVĀHĀ OṂ AMṚTĀYUR DADE SVĀHĀ
OṂ TĀRE TUTTĀRE MAMA ĀYUḤ-PUṆYAIR [= *-PUṆYA*]*-JÑĀNA-PUṢTIṂ KURU YE SVĀHĀ*
OṂ AMARĀṆI JĪVANTI YE SVĀHĀ OṂ BHRUṂ SVĀHĀ OṂ AMṚTĀYUR DADE SVĀHĀ

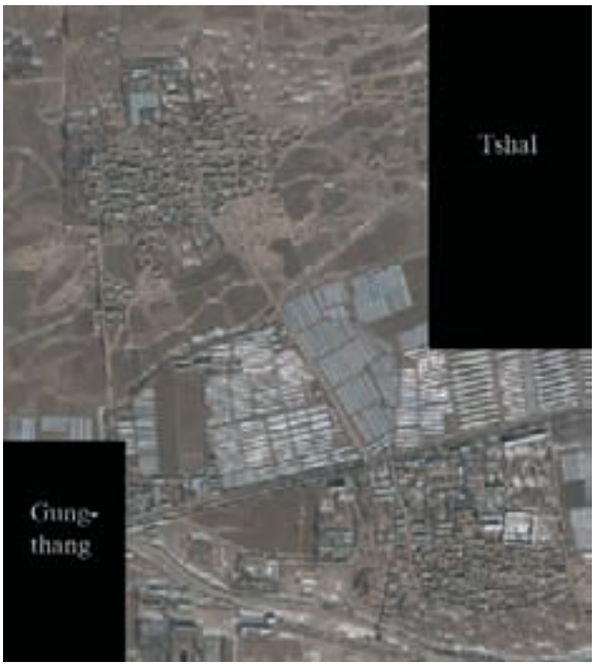
In [this] historical source on the origin of the Teaching
of [both theoretical] hermeneutics and [the practical] realization of *sūtra* and *tantra*,
After having received in a [sheer] unending [way] competence and won *siddhi*
[in the traditions delineated in this book]
May the *ṣaṭpuruṣa,* all connections with whom are [truly] meaningful,
Beautify this great earth like a lotus-garden!

OṂ ARAPACANA DHI [**76b6**]

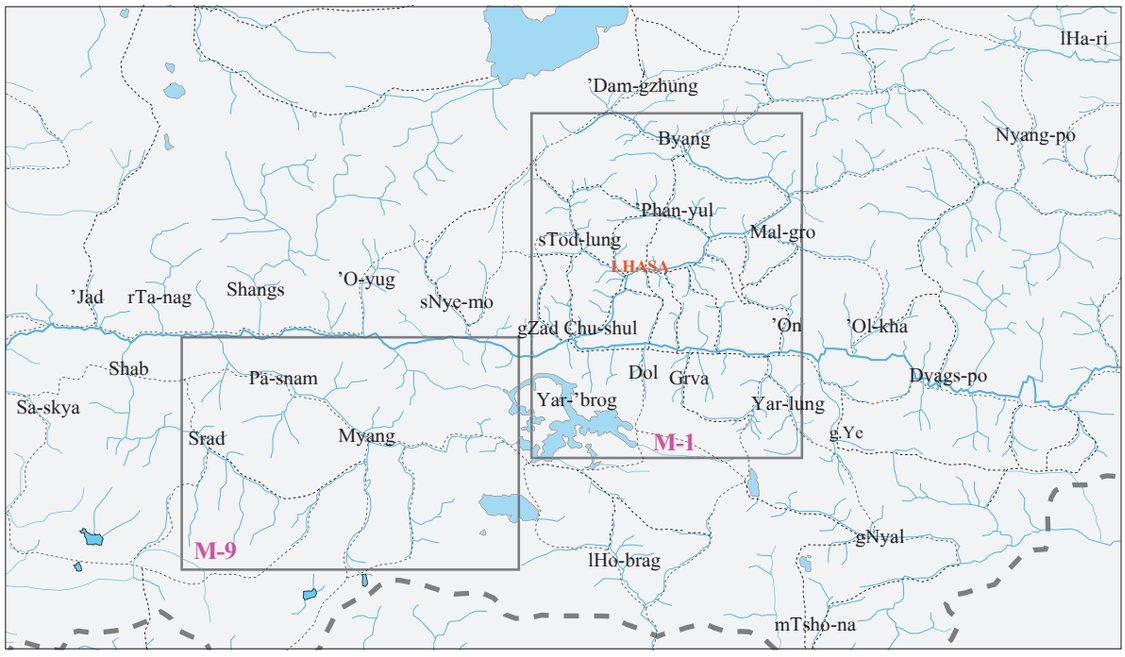
[844] These well-known *bīja* and heart *mantra* are dedicated to the following deities: Amitāyuḥ, Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā, Sita Tārā (long-life *mantra*), and finally Mañjuśrī.

ILLUSTRATIONS

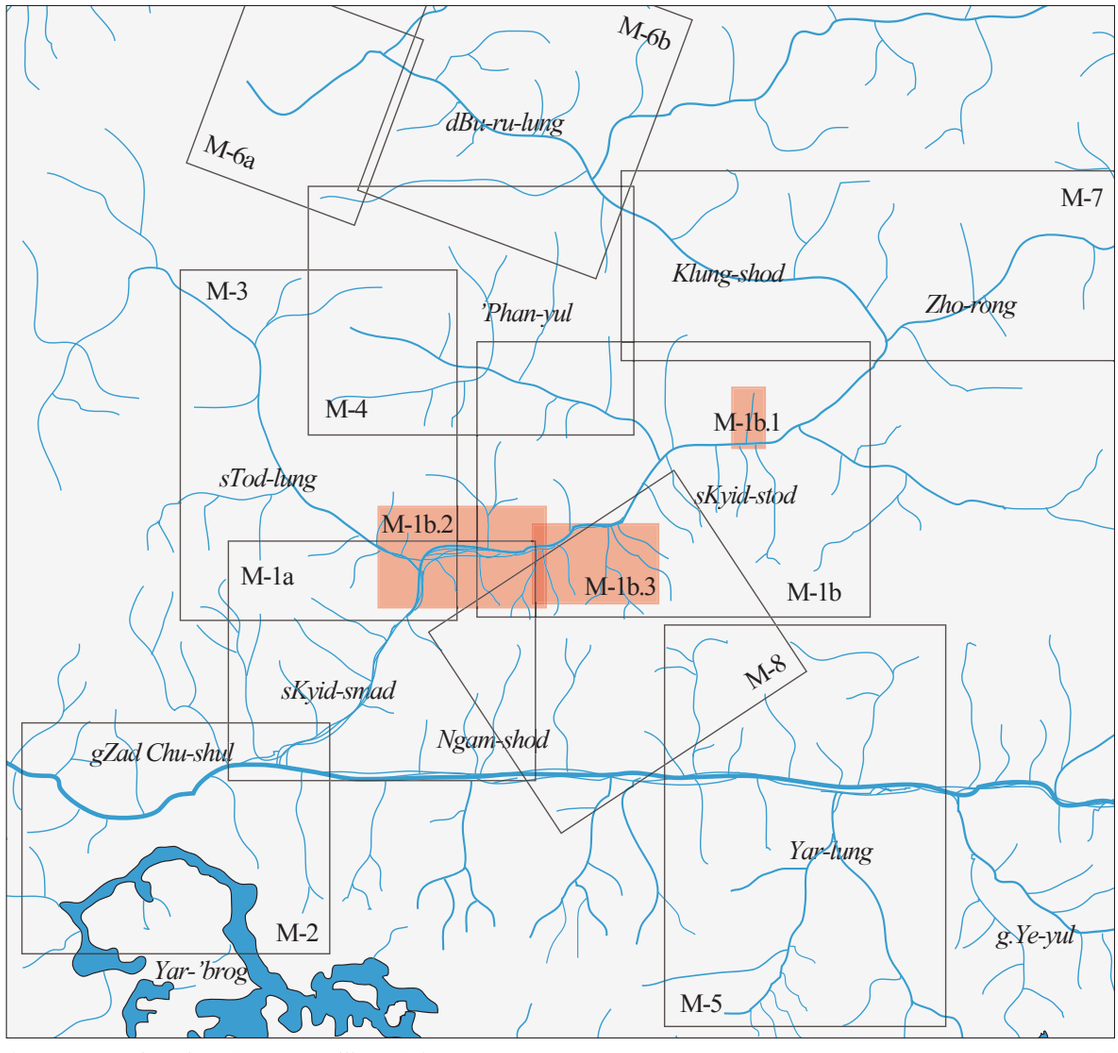
MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS



1. *The villages of Tshal and Gung-thang*
Photo: Google Earth 2006

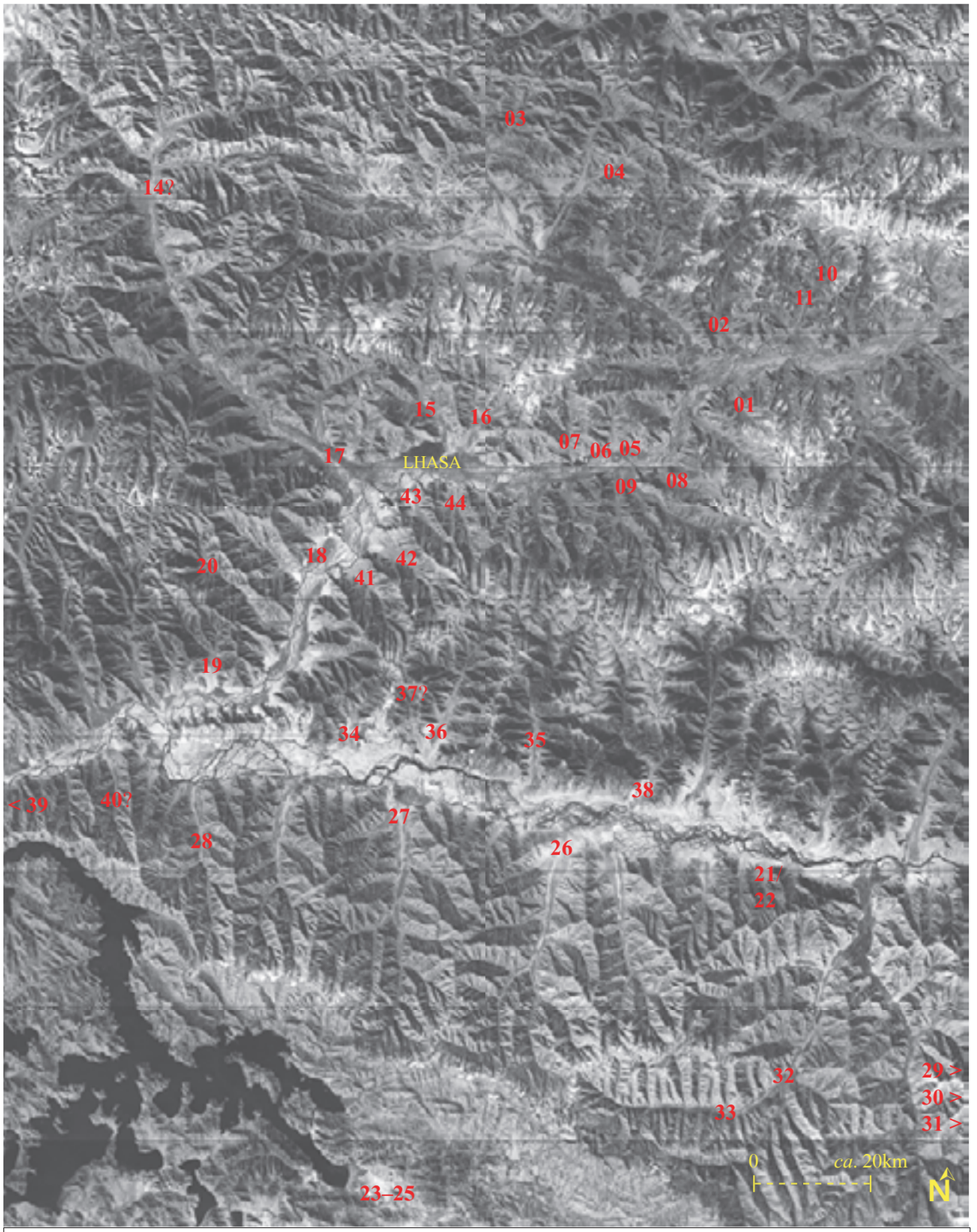


MAP A



(Maps 1 – 5 = based on Corona Satellite 1970)

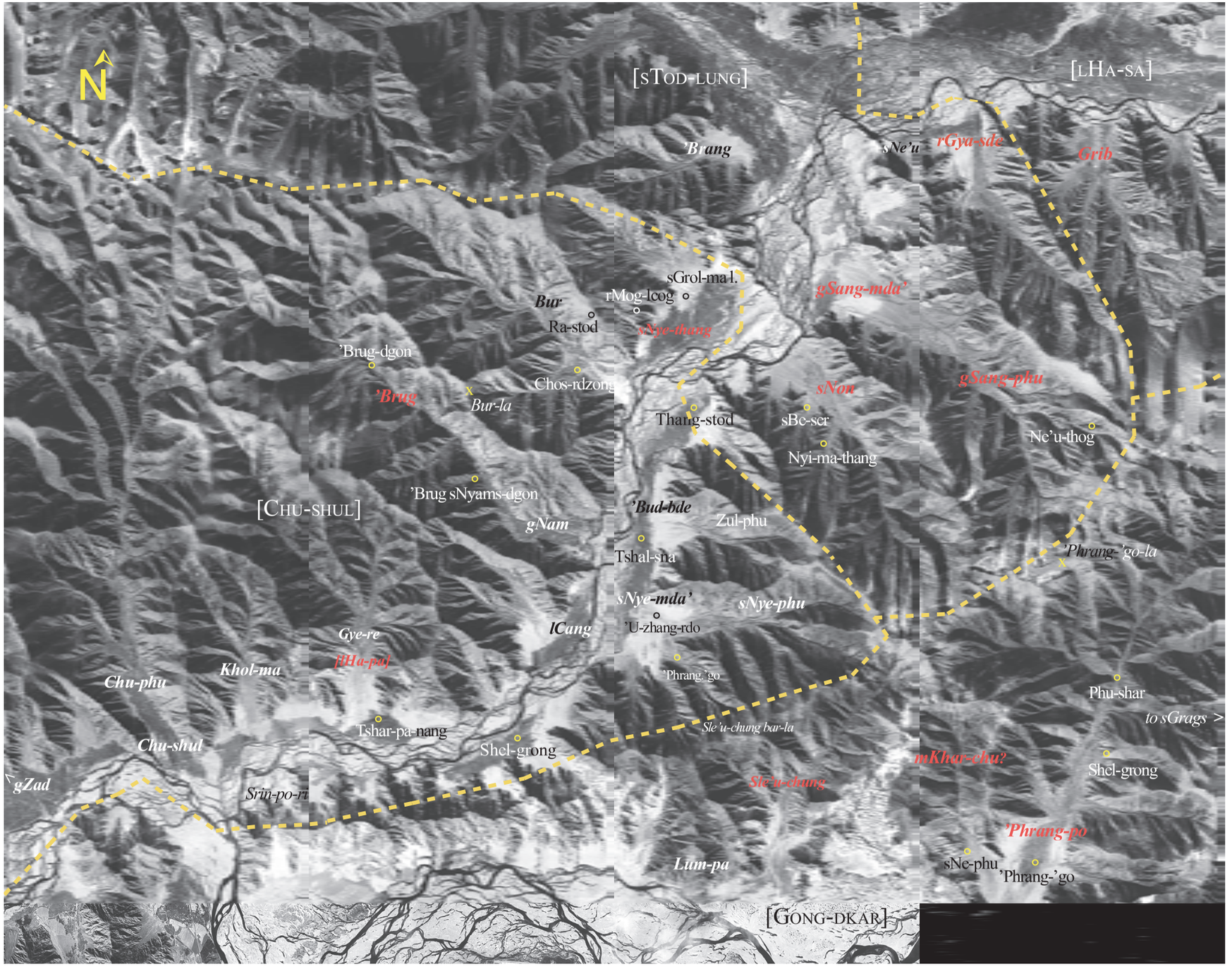
MAP B



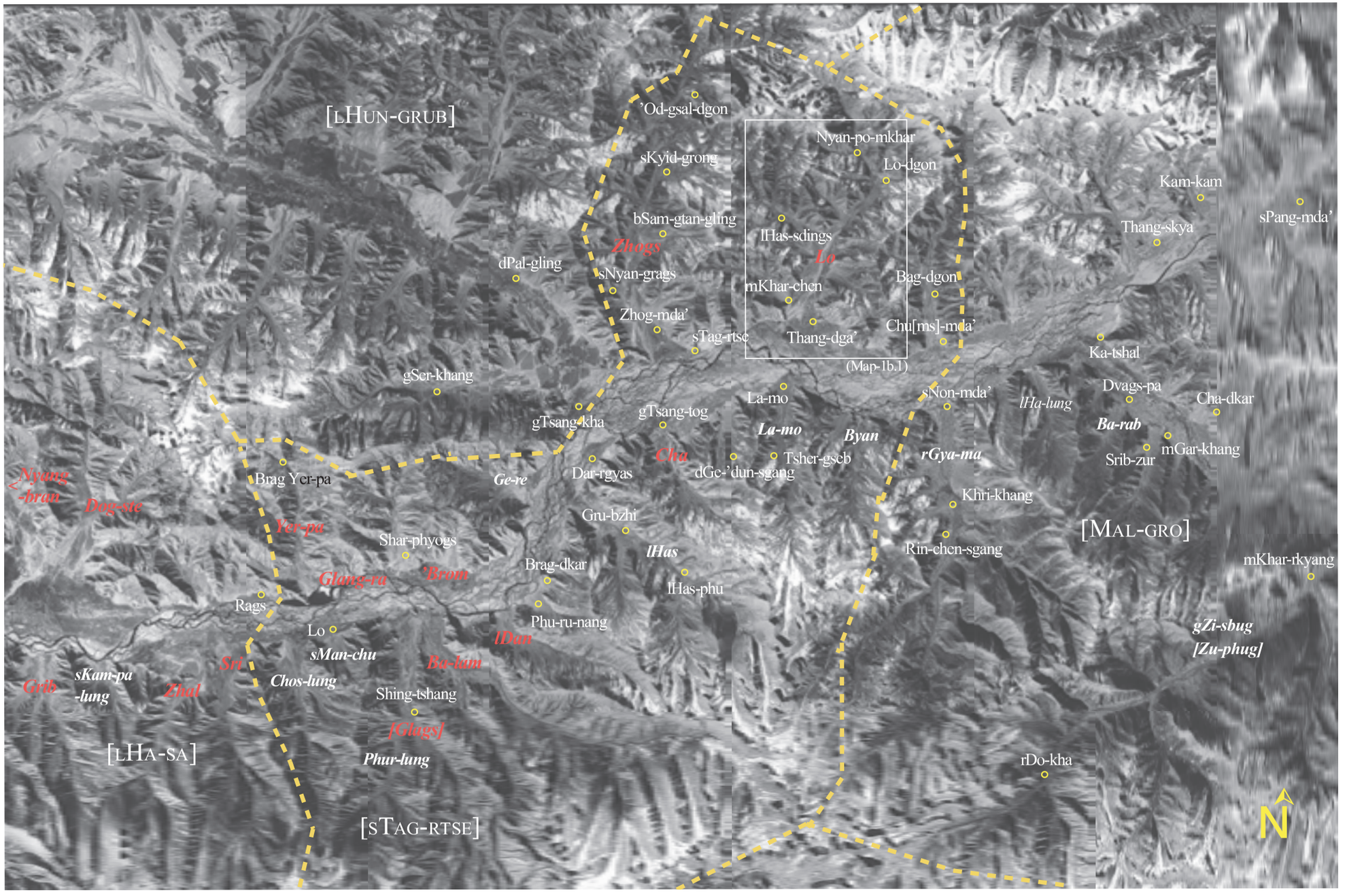
01 = Cha **02** = Zhogs **03** = Dar-yul **04** = sPras **05** = 'Brom-stod-smad **06** = Glang-ra **07** = Yer-pa **08** = lDan **09** = Glags Ba-lam **10**, **11** = Lo [and] Byang-ji **12** = Sri **13** = Zhal **14**? = Byang sGal-sde tsho-lnga **15** = Nyang-bran **16** = Dog-bde **17** = sTod-lung phu-mda' **18** = sNye-thang-tsho **19**, **20** = lHa [and] 'Brug **21**, **22** = sKul [and?] 'Ching-ru **23**–**25** = Yar-'brog sgang-gsum **26**–**28** = Gra Dol gZhung **29**> **30**> **31**> = E gNyal Dags **32**, **33** = 'Chyong-po [and?] rGyas-sman **34** = Sle'u-chung **35** = sGrags **36** = 'Phrang-po **37**? = mKhar-chu **38** = Zung-mkhar <**39** = Kha-rag-pa **40**? = Rab-btsun-pa **41** = sNon **42** = gSang-phu **43** = rGya-sde **44** = Grib

< (>) = units not inserted on the map ? = exact location unknown

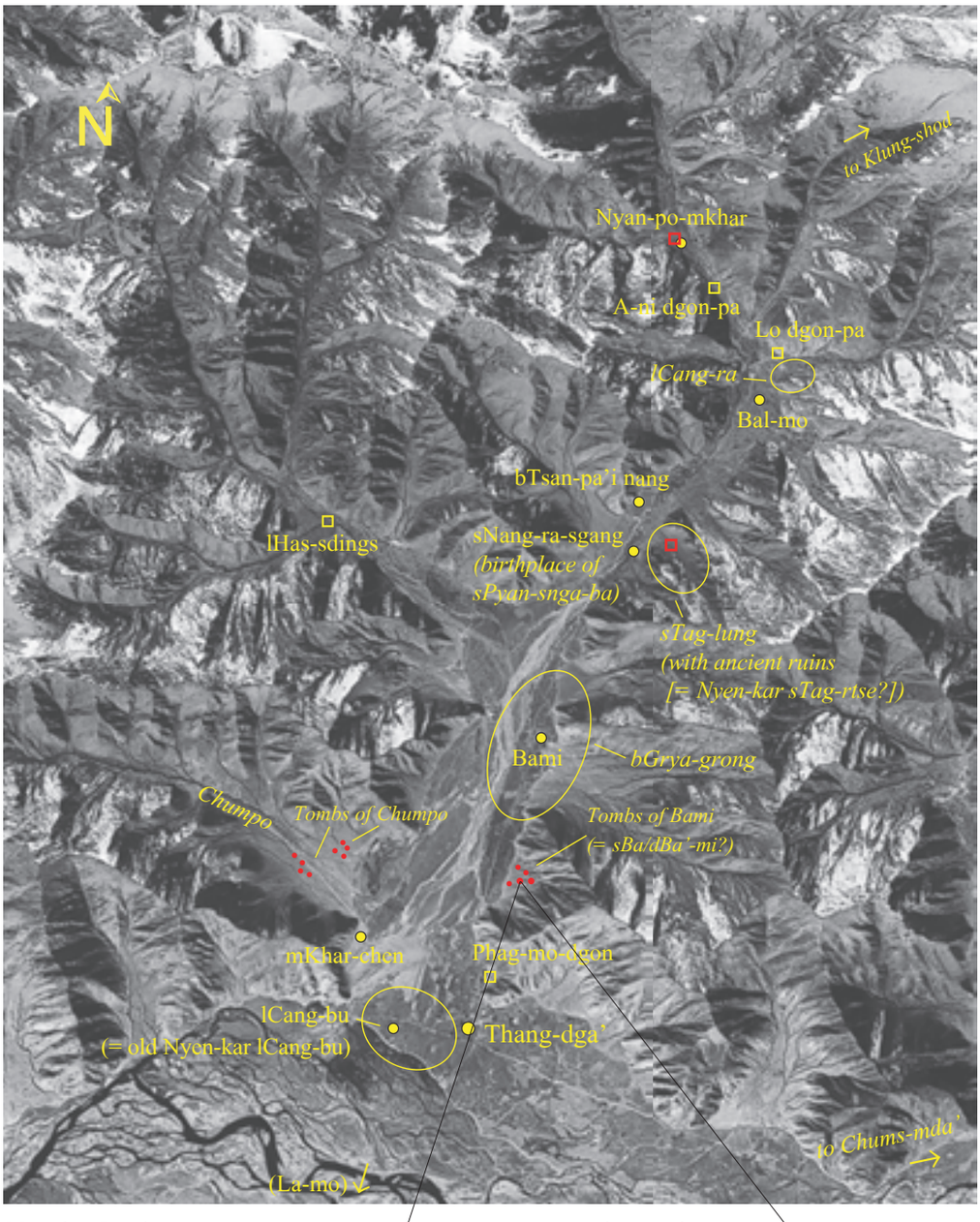
Map 1. The mi sde units of the Tshal-pa territory



Map 1a. The area of Lower sKyid-shod [names in red = *mi sde* units of Tshal-pa — — — = borders of counties]



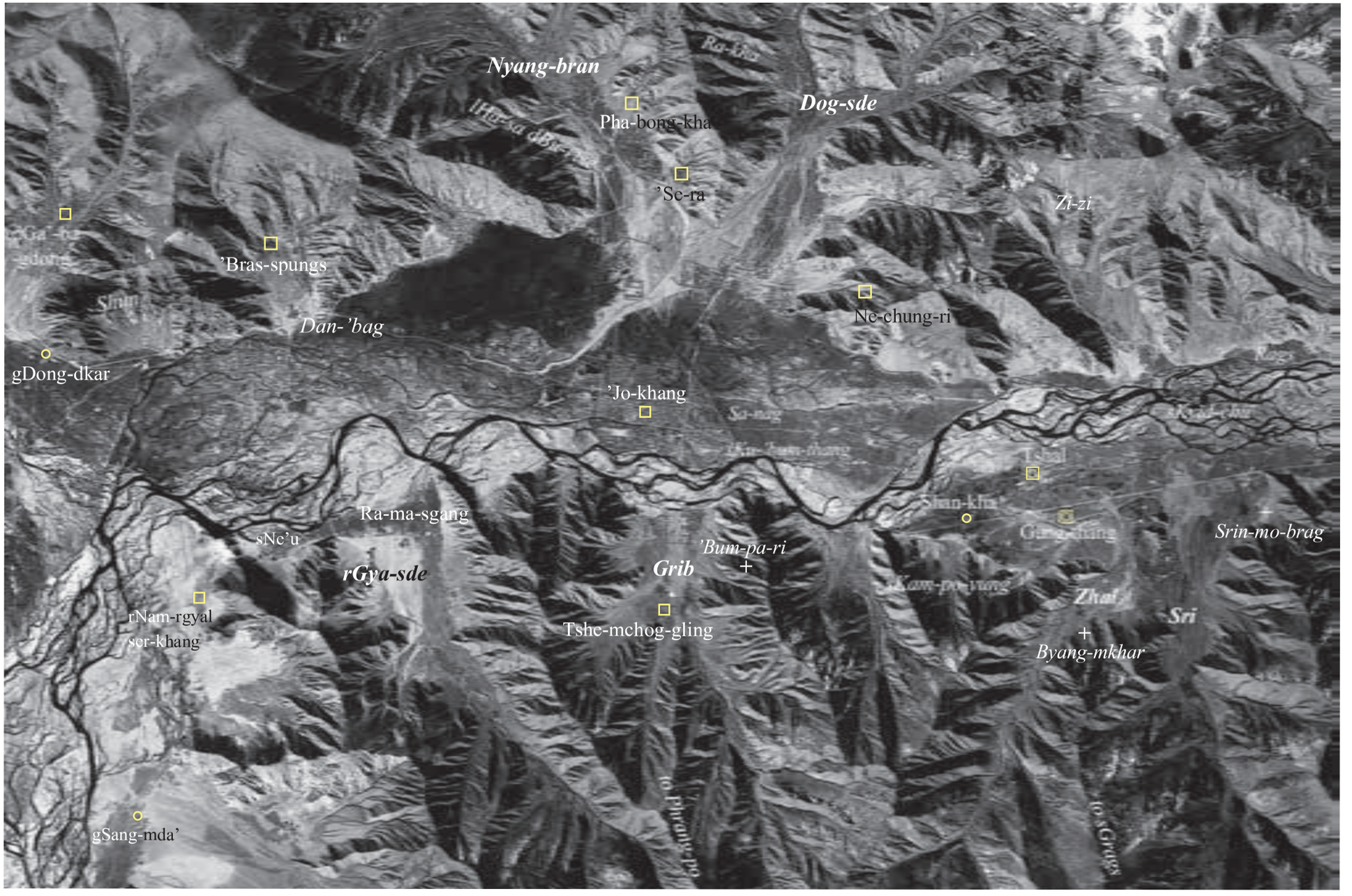
Map 1b. The area of Upper sKyid-shod [names in red = *mi sde* units of Tshal-pa — — — = borders of counties]



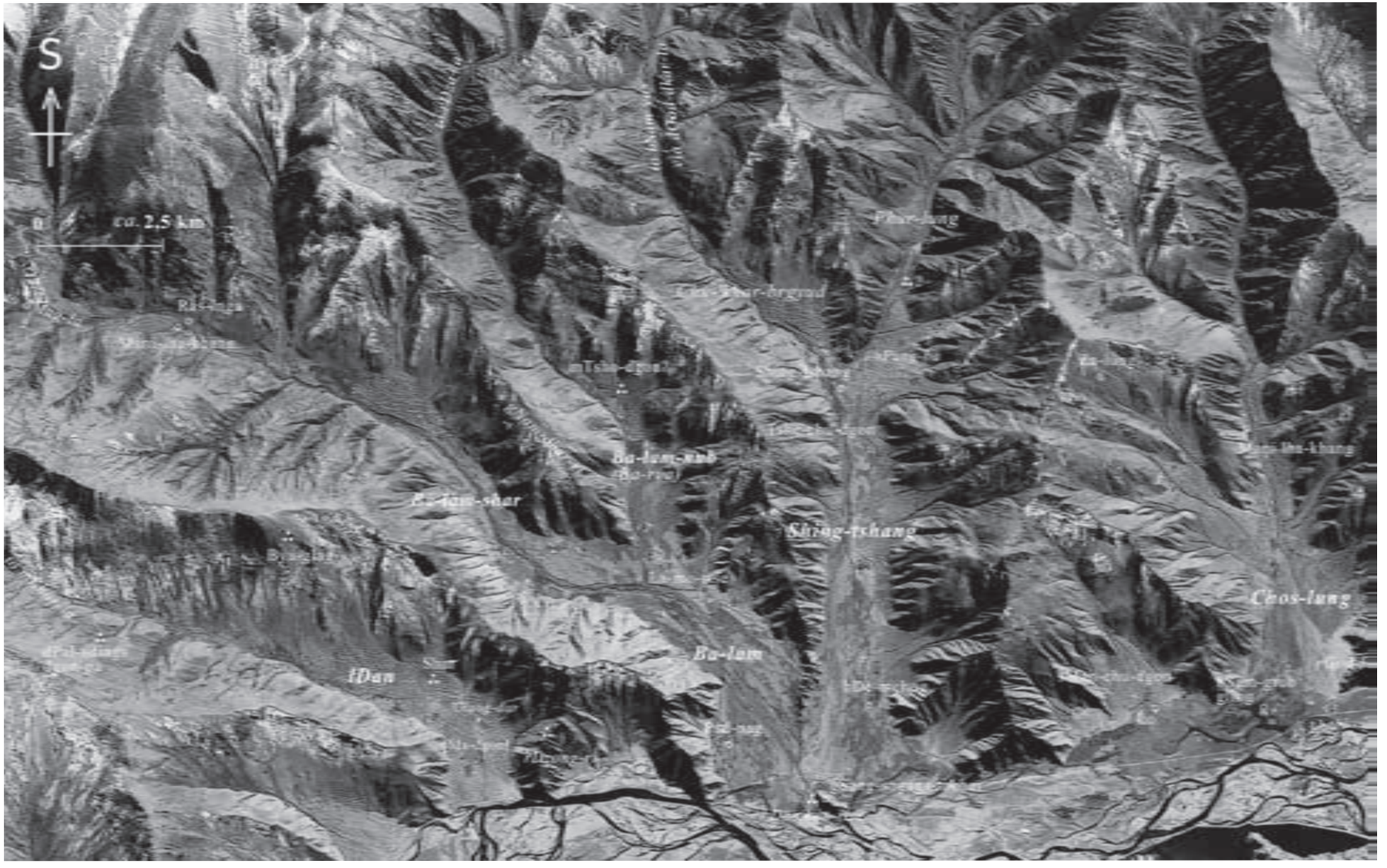
Map 1b.1. Lo of sKyid-shod (Map 1b). The Tshal-pa mi sde of the 13th and 14th century corresponds to the ancient Nyen-kar – the dominant residence place of the Tibetan kings in the 7th and early 8th century



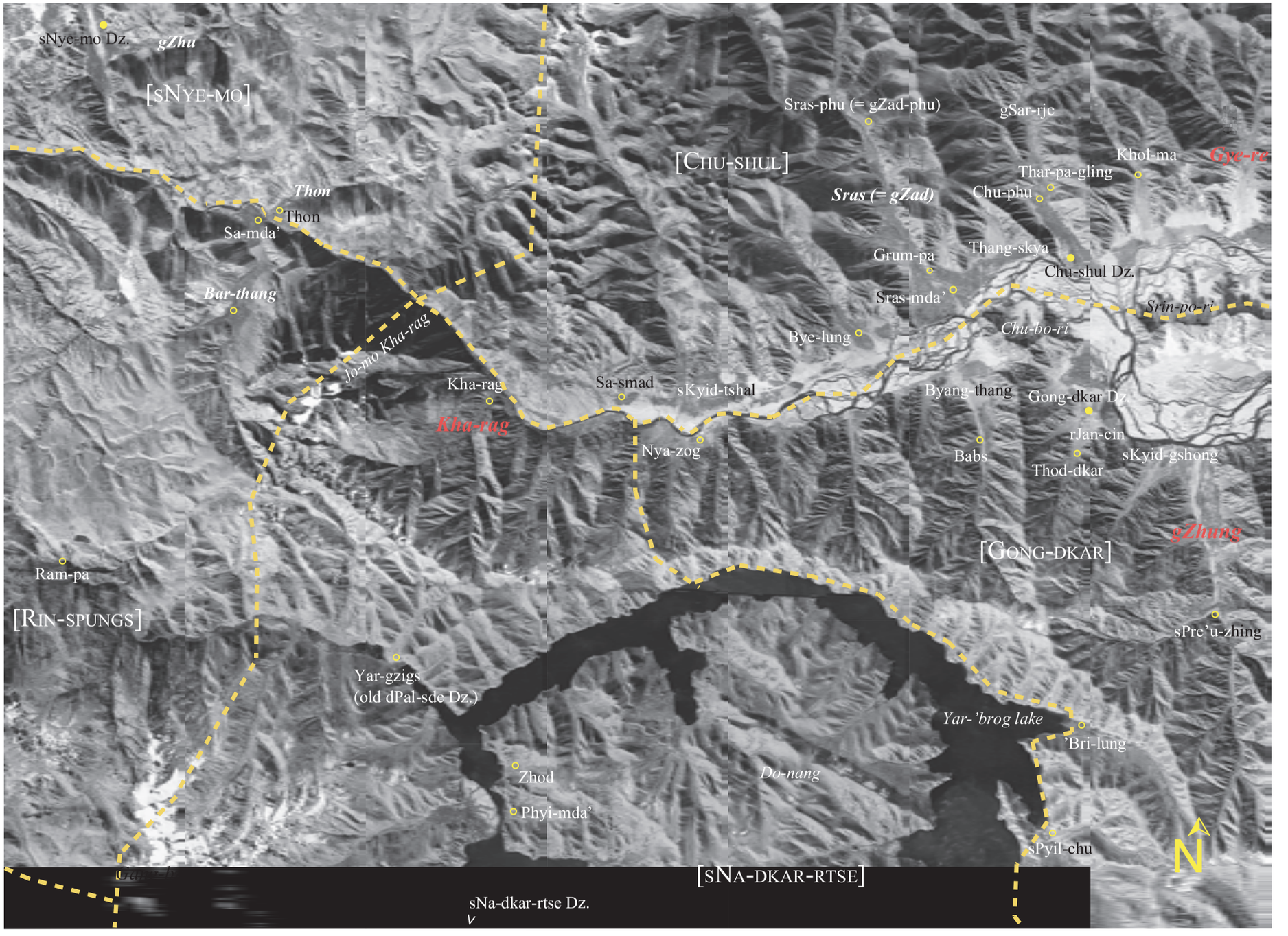
One of the great tombs of Bami
(2007)



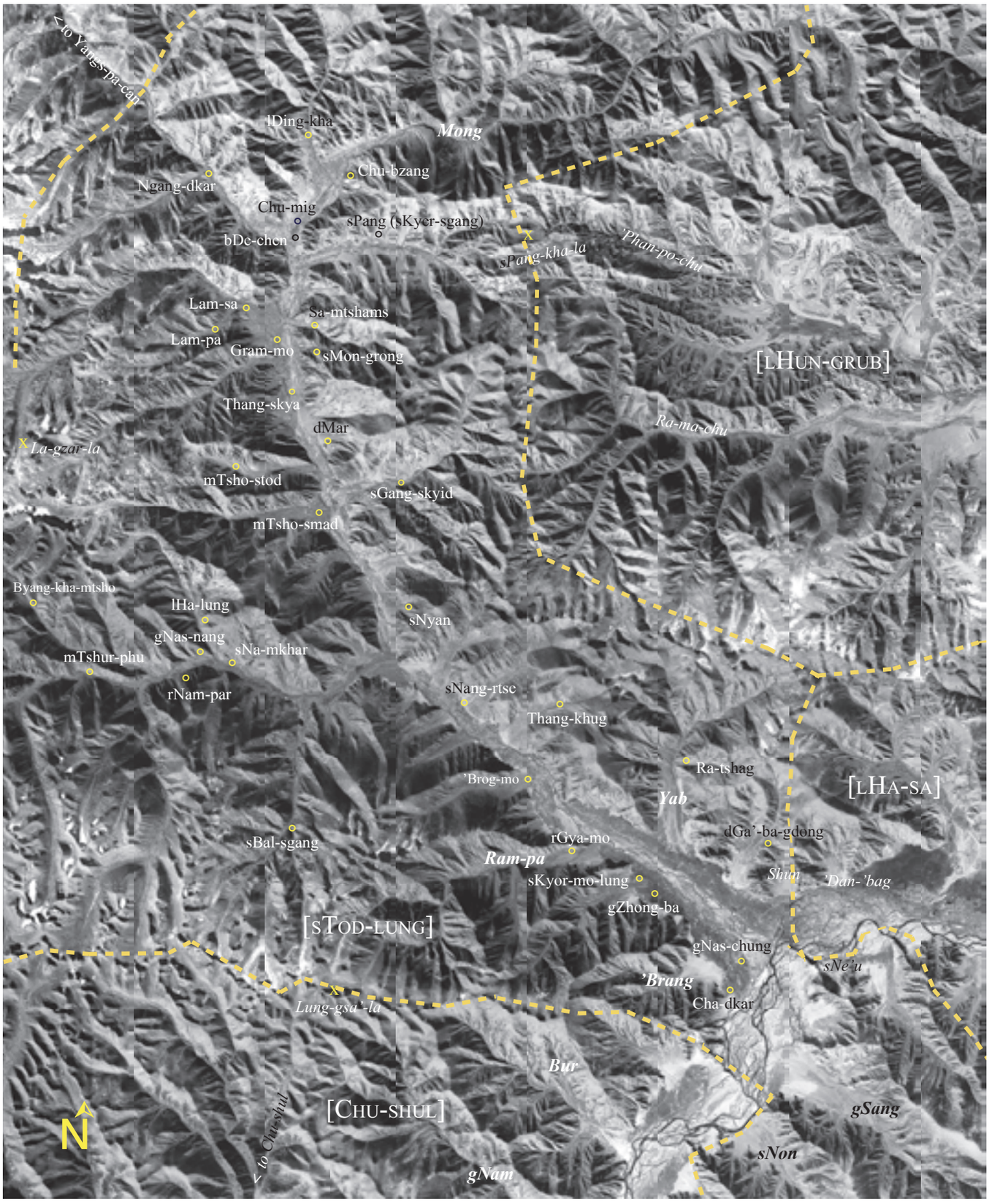
Map 1b.2. The lHa-sa Valley



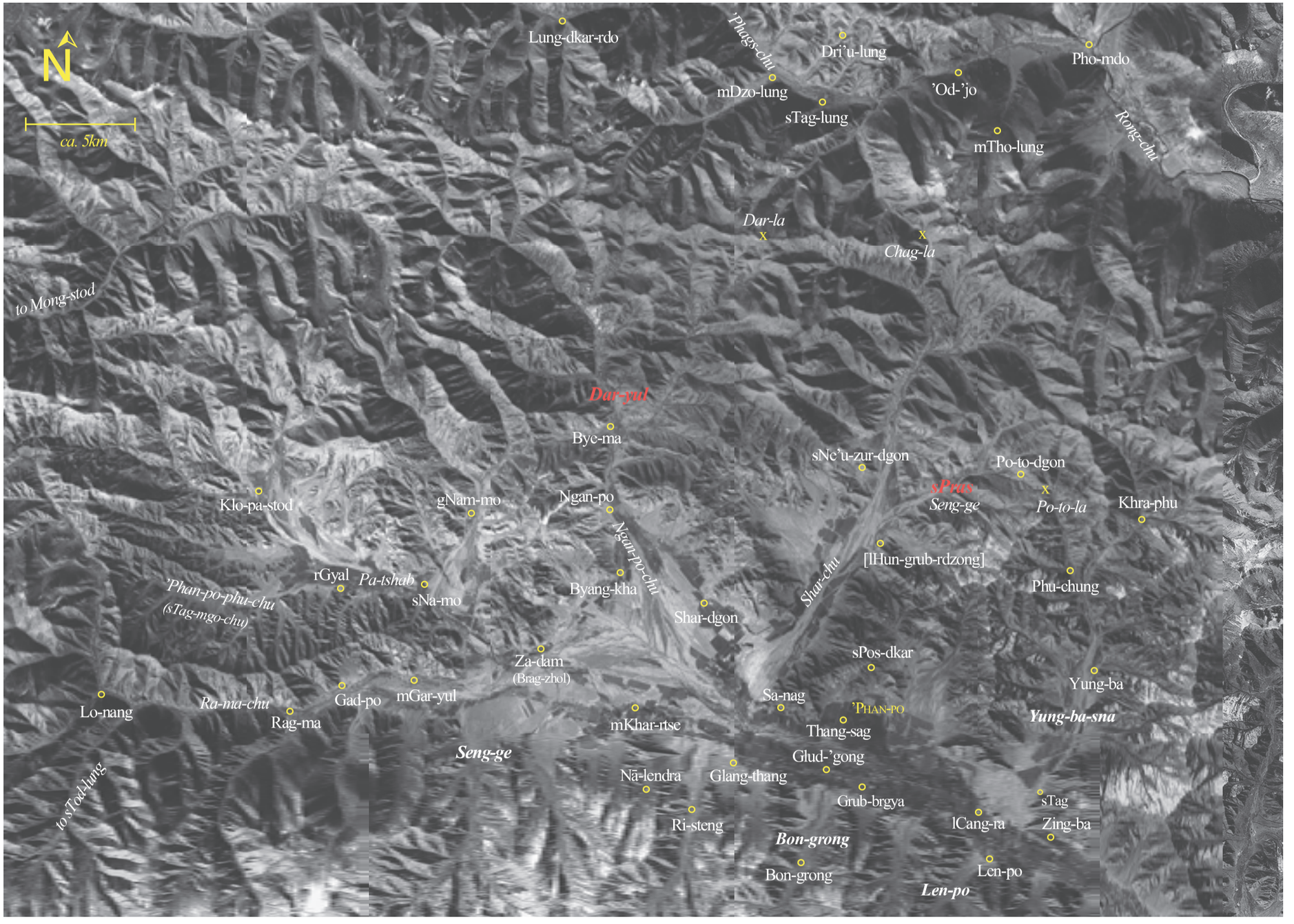
Map 1b.3. Around Ba-lam (Upper sKyid-shod)



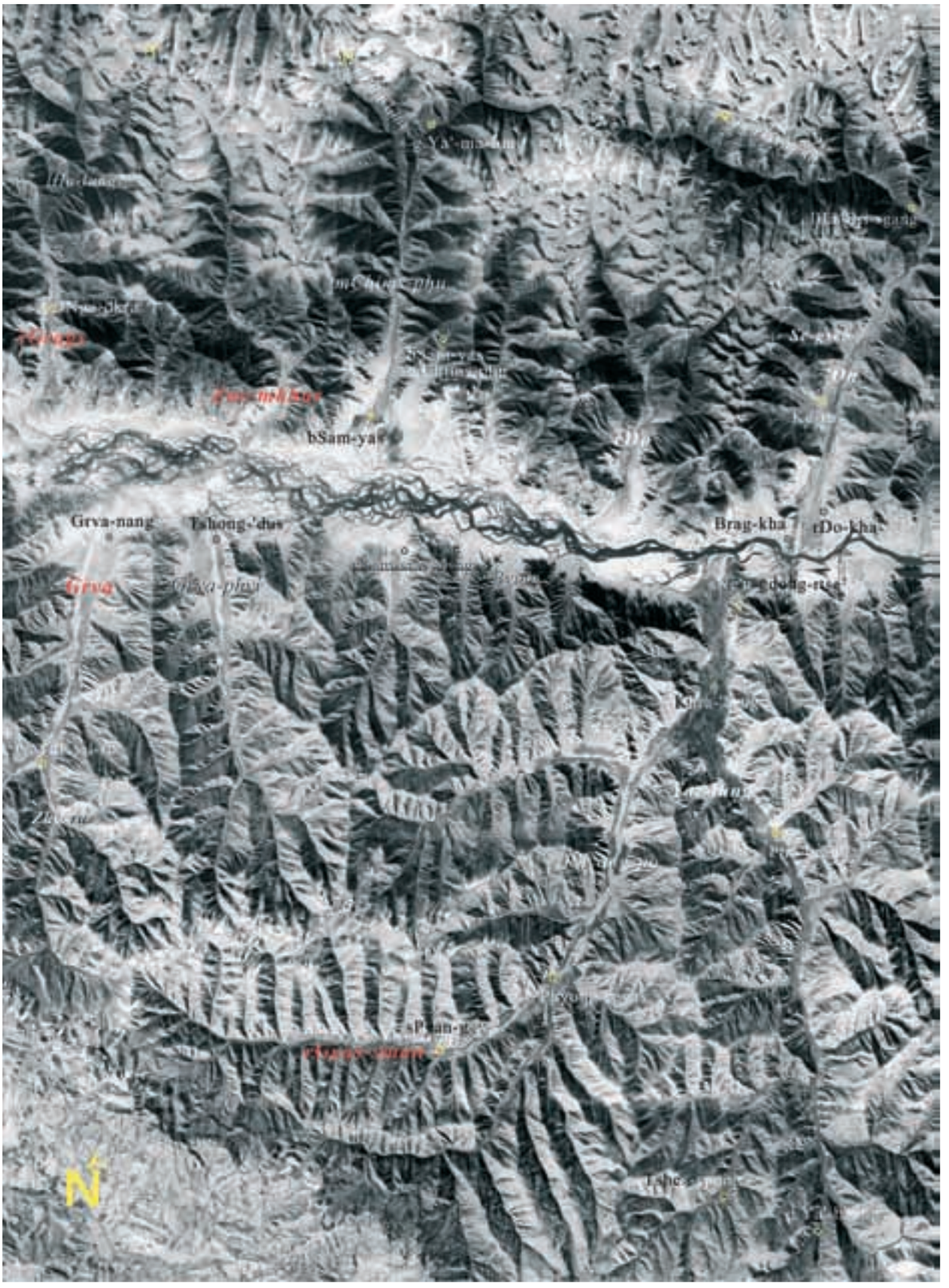
Map 2. The western section of gZad Chu-shul [names in red = *mi sde* units of Tshal-pa — — — = borders of counties]



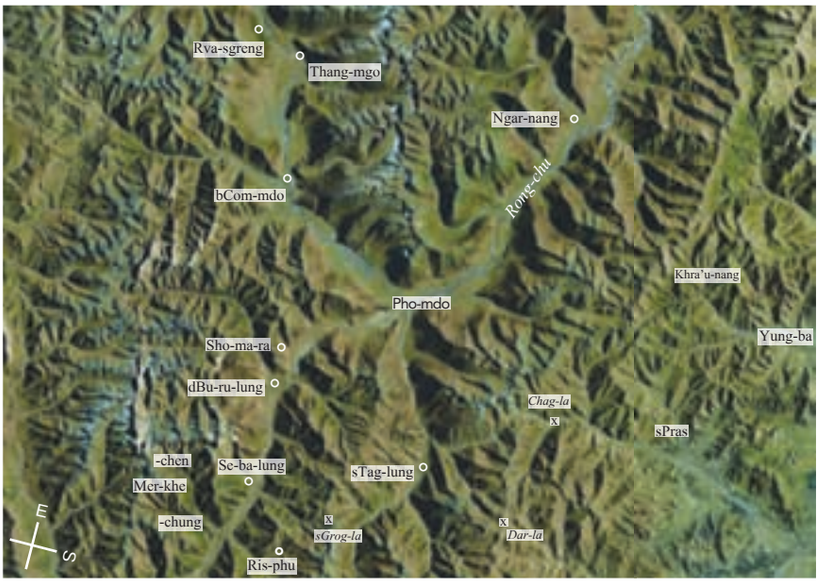
Map 3. The sTod-lung district [— — — = borders of counties]

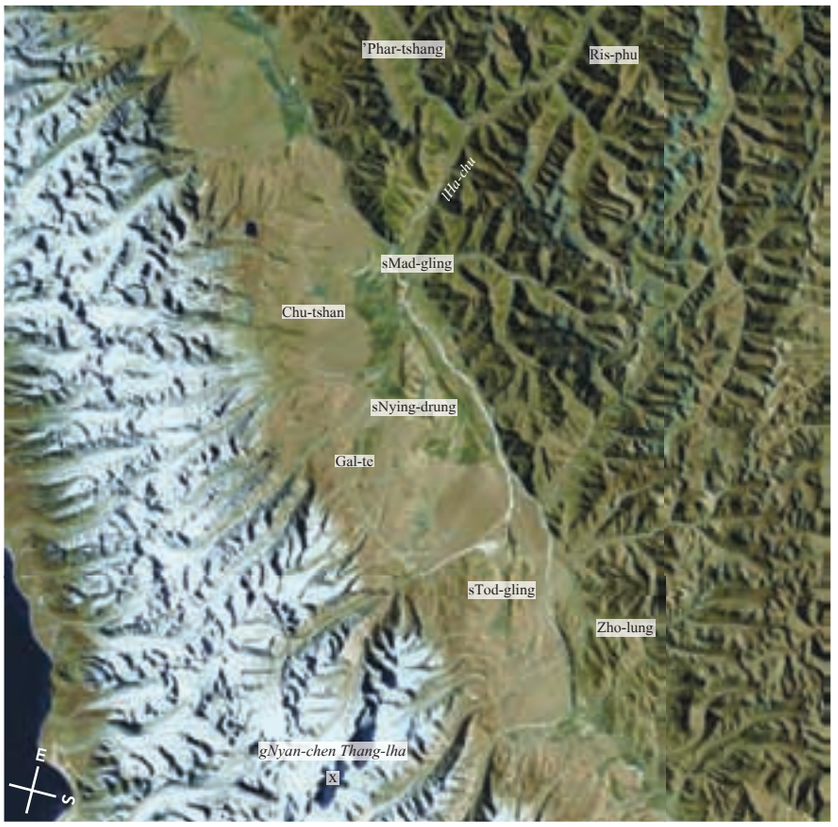


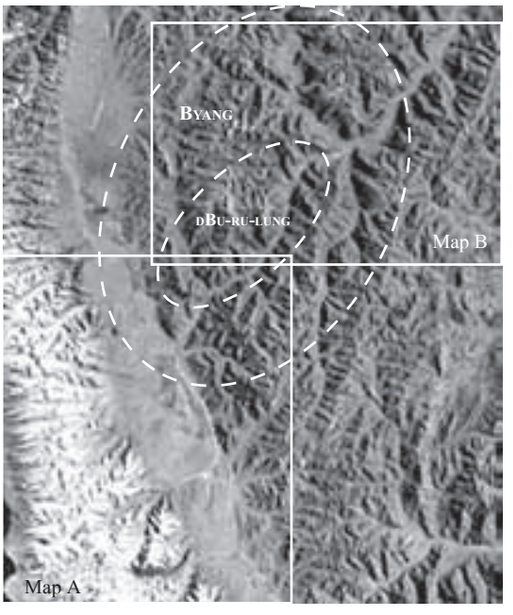
Map 4. 'Phan-yul [names in **red** = *mi sde* units of Tshal-pa]



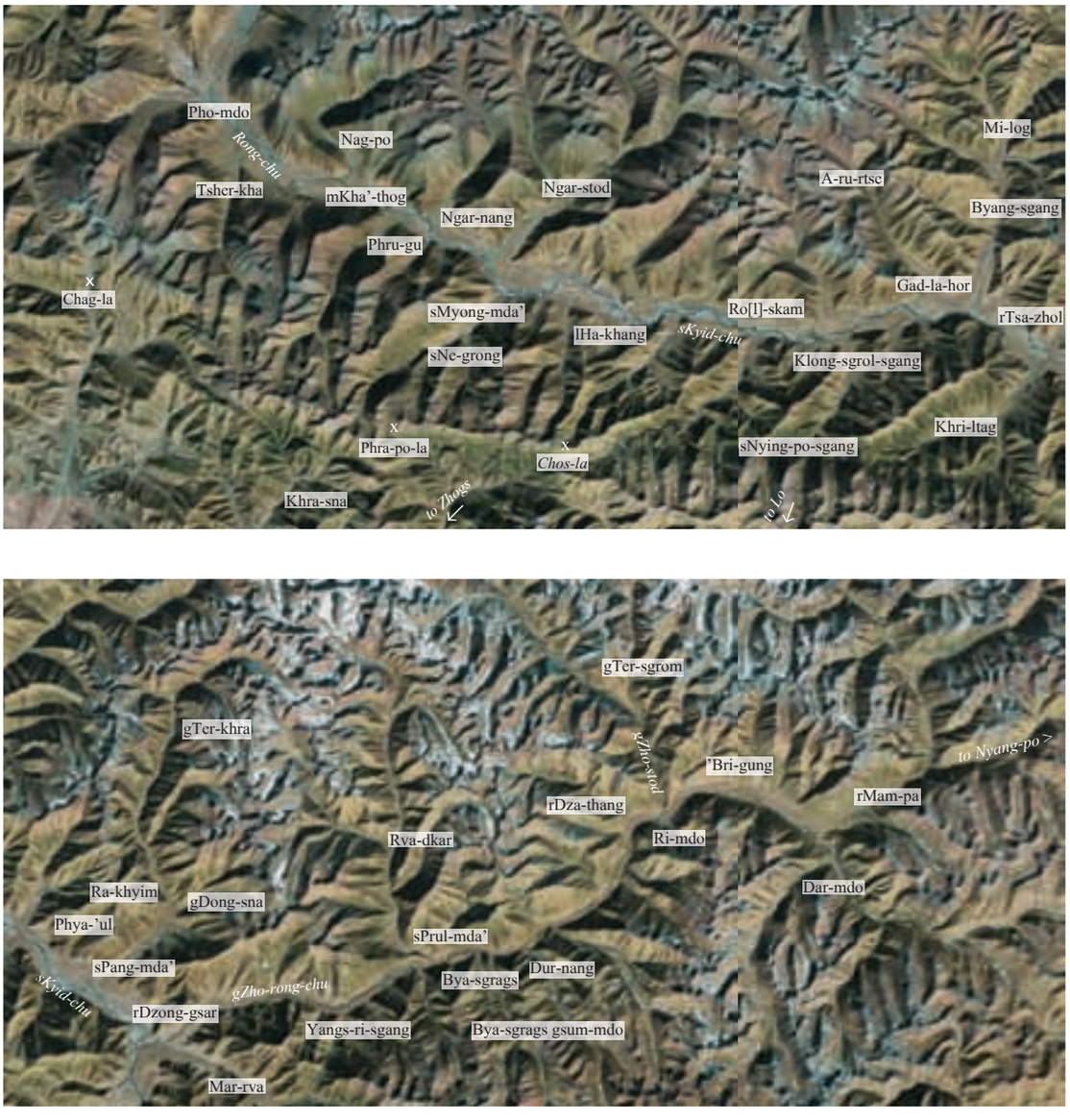
Map 5. The Tshal-pa estates (= names in red) in the central lHo-kha region



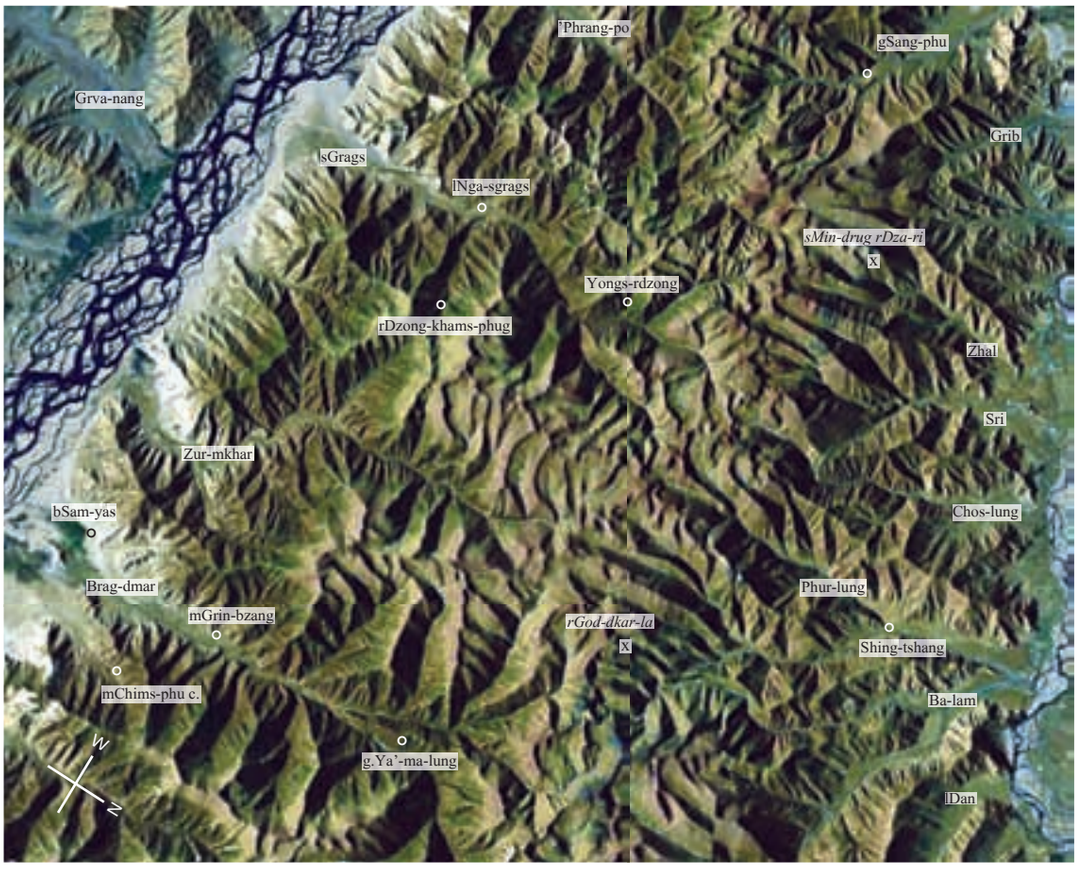




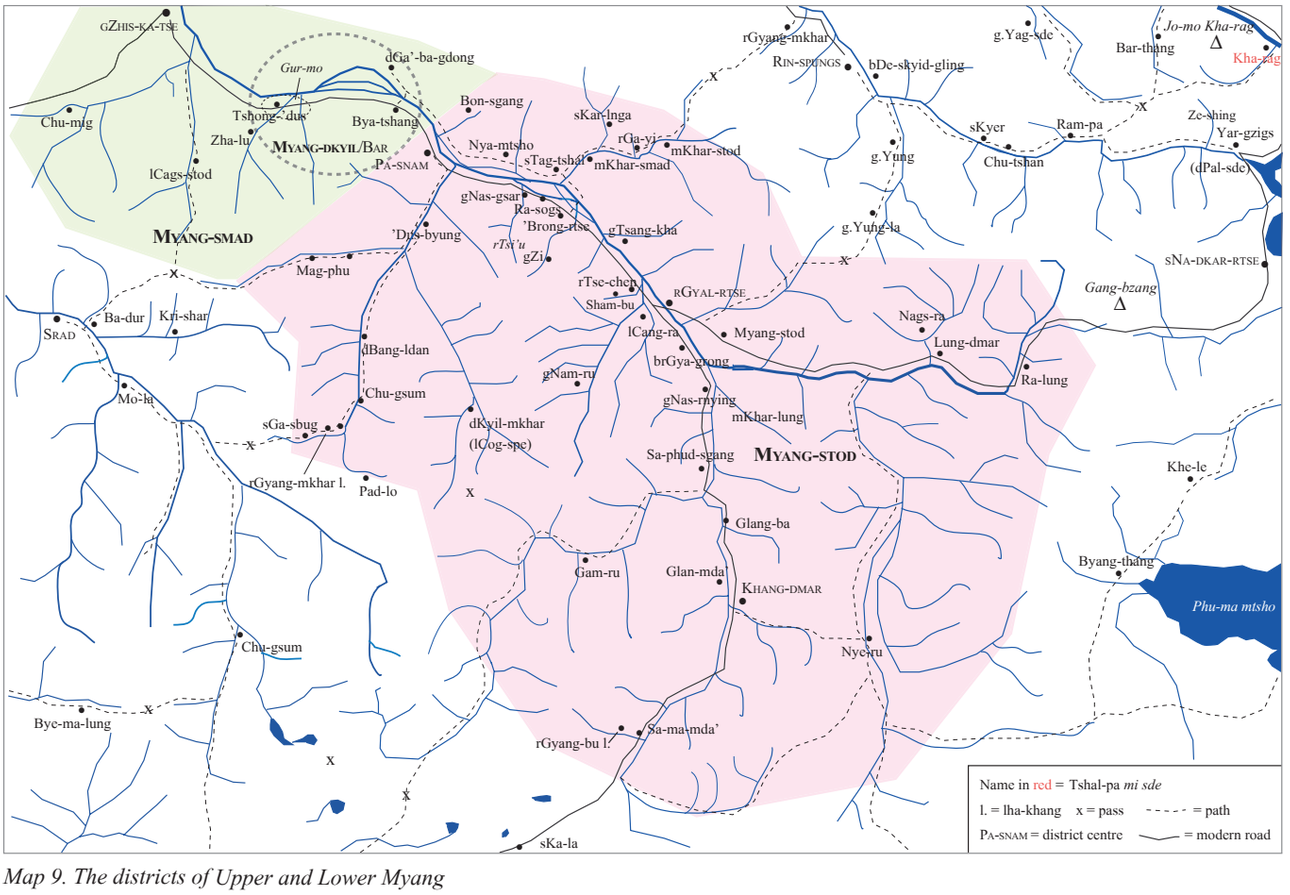
Map 6a, b. The upper course of the sKyid-chu Google Earth 2006



Map 7a, b: The areas of Klung-shod and gZho-rong Google Earth 2007

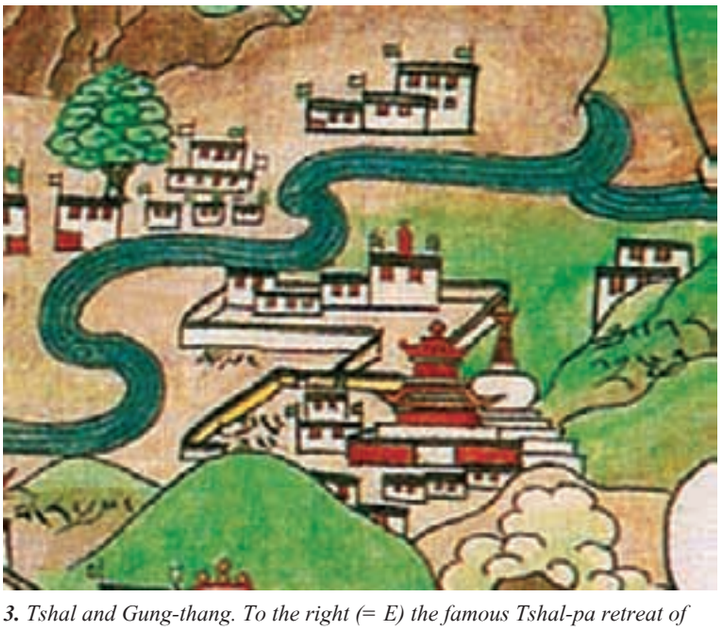


Map 8.
The western section of the rGod-dkar-la mountain range and its valleys seen from the north-east



Map 9. The districts of Upper and Lower Myang





2. *Tshal and Gung-thang. Section from a Drawing, 19th century; Wise Collection (British Library). The map includes the sites of the lHa-gdong Shan-kha ferry (W), the rdzong of bDe-chen rtse and [Bye-ri] sTag-rtse (the latter north of sKyid-chu), the mountain sanctuary Brag Yer-pa and – geographically somewhat displaced – the temple of Glang-thang in 'Phan-yul*

3. *Tshal and Gung-thang. To the right (= E) the famous Tshal-pa retreat of Byang-dkar (Byang-mkhar) in Sri / Zhal*
Detail from the *srin mo gan rkyal du nyal ba* painting (17th / 18th century)



4. *Gung-thang: The Temple and its surrounding sites (colleges, stūpas and the sPro-khang; see Part I: Graph 2)*
Photo: Corona Satellite, June 22, 1966



5. *Harvest in Tshal*; *ca. 1960*



***6**. The ensemble of mchod rten in the western sector of Gung-thang village. In the background the sKu-'bum chen-mo*
Photo: Hugh Richardson 1940's; British Museum, London



***7**. The sKu-'bum chen-mo of Gung-thang, seen from the north*
Photo: Charles Bell *ca*. 1920; Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford



8. *The Gung-thang Temple; ca. 1920. The dancing scene probably refers to the 4th month festival of the Gung-thang Flower Offering (Me tog mchod pa)*



9*. The protector rDzong-btsan of Grib in Gung-thang during the Gung-thang Me tog mchod pa*
Photo: Hugh Richardson (Courtesy Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford)



***10**. The huge wall thangka on display in front of the entrance to the Gung-thang vihāra during the Gung-thang Me to mchod pa*
Photo: Charles Bell *ca*. 1920
Courtesy Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford)



***11.** The pleasure house (spro khang) amid willows in the garden of the Gung-thang bla-brang estate. The resting house was erected in the 18th century; today no more extant*
Photo: Charles Bell *ca*. 1920
Courtesy Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford)



12. *The Gung-thang vihāra* (2001)



14. *Pilgrims at the altar of the Rig-gsum mgon-po during sa ga zla ba (Gung-thang, assembly hall; north wall)*



13. *Gung-thang gtsug-lag-khang*
Photo: Google Earth 2006



15. *The great Byang-chub chen-po statue in the main temple of the Gung-thang vihāra*



16a–16c. *The triad of Tshal Gung-thang: Bla-ma Zhang Rin-po-che (16a), the disciple-intendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu, and Zhang's root lama dPal rGva-lo Rin-po-che (16c)*
Modern statues kept in the main temple of the Gung-thang *vihāra* (2001)

16c









17–18. *The powerful Gung-thang protector mGon-po Bya-rog-can in the protector chamber or mGon-po lha-khang of the gTsug-lag-khang. The statue is placed upon the stone figure of a sinner, the latter apparently one of the oldest parts among the remains of the Gung-thang gtsug-lag-khang inventory*





19–20. *rNam-thos-sras. Mural and statue in the rNam-thos-sras chapel of the Gung-thang vihāra* (2001)



21. *The triad of the Mes-dbon rnam-gsum. The mural in the Rab-gsal lha-khang is said to have been used as a target butt and a sort of shooting gallery during the period of destruction in the late 1960's*



22. *On the roof of the gTsug-lag-khang. The upper part of the Western Glo-'bur or annex temple complex. In the background the Sandal-tree Mountain (Tsan-dan-ri)*





23–24. *Lessons in Impermanence: Remains of the Western and Eastern Glo-'bur* (2001)



25. *North-eastern corner of the sGrol-ma lha-khang of the Glo-'bur shar-ma complex. Here, the Bla-ma Zhang reliquary known as bKra-shis 'od-'bar mchod-rten was situated*



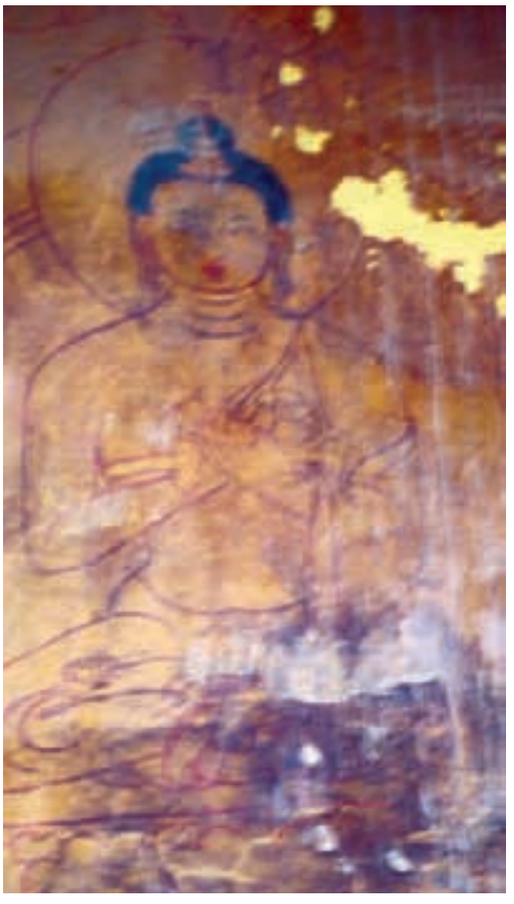
26. *sGrol-ma lha-khang. Southern section*



27. *Gung-thang village – western part. Here, the highly reputed college of Chos-'khor-gling was located*



***28**. Bodhisattva Maitreya. The (15th? century) statue of gilded copper (H: 75cm) is kept in Gung-thang*
Photo (1993) and details: U. von Schröder 2001: 968



29



***29–30**. Last traces of the Gung-thang College and religious seat of Chos-'khor-gling* (2001)



31. *The College and monastery of dBus-gling in Tshal*
PKS 2006





33. *In Tshal.* (Photo: Google Earth 2006)



32b

32a, ***b.*** *Tshal Yang-dgon* (2001 (32a), 2007)



34. *The foot-print of Bla-ma Zhang kept in Yang-dgon*



***35**. The ruins of the old Pehar lha-khang in Tshal* (2001)



***36.** The pile of stones are the last remains of the khri dpon palace in Tshal. It is also locally described as the "birth place" of the protector god Pehar* (2001)

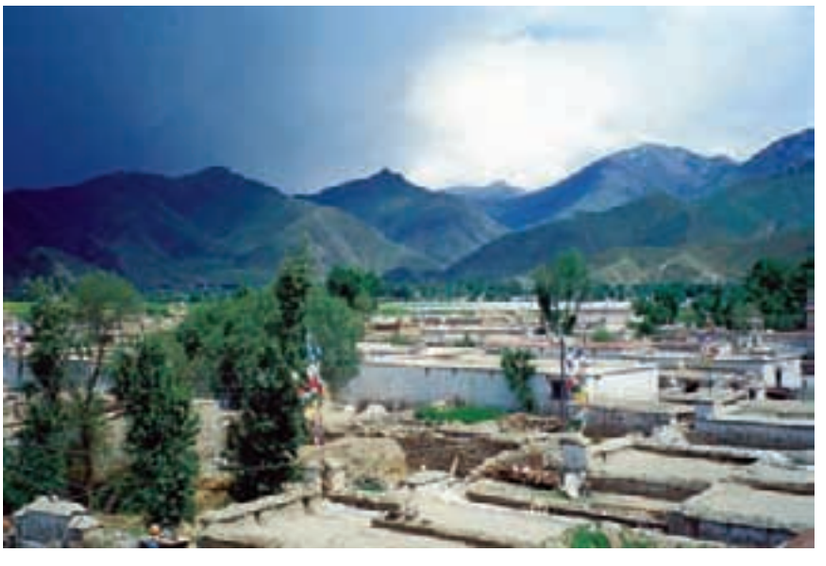


***37.** The stone with the knee-print of the young Dar-ma-grags alias Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang is situated at the entrance of the new Pehar lha-khang in lCags-grong village. Next to it the birth place of Bla-ma Zhang known as [Ngan-lam] Tsha-ba-gru is located (App. 4: Fig. 31)*





38–39. *'Gyur-med grva-tshang in Tshal* (2001)



40. *From the roof of the Yang-dgon towards the south-east. The mountain Srin-mo brag-phug at the entrance to the Sri valley (in the background to the left) traditionally forms the eastern boundary of the Tshal Gung-thang district*



41a. *The Chos-lung dgon-pa in the upper Chos-lung valley (east of Sri) refers to the old Bla-ma Zhang retreat of Za-lung. It is also known as Za-lung mGon-po lha-khang and popularly known as the abode of one of the three mGon-po or Mahā-kāla brothers of sKyid-shod (42)* (2002)



41b. *The bzhugs khri or preaching throne of the Fifth Dalai Lama is situated close to the Chos-lung dgon pa*





42–43*. The statues of mGon-po Phyag-bzhi-pa and Zhang Rin-po-che in Chos-lung dgon-pa* (2001)



***44**. The sMan-chu valley close to Chos-lung (40) with the sMan-chu monastery a.k.a. Lo dgon-pa, originally a foundation of rNgog Blo-ldan shes-rab* (2002)



***45**. The village of Lo at the entrance to the sMan-chu valley. Opposite the areas of lower Yer-pa and Glang-ra which in the 13th and 14th century formed two of the numerous Tshal-pa estates located along the sKyid-chu*



***46**. From Upper Yer-pa towards the sKyid-chu* (1995)



***47**. The sKyid-chu valley in Upper sKyid-shod. In the background the rDzong-ri twin hills of bDe-chen-rtse situated between the (former Tshal-pa) districts of Glag Ba-lam and 'Brom-stod*

***48**. In Shing-tshang. The valley was part of the Glag Ba-lam district of the Tshal-pa territory and the place where the Tshal-pa monastery of Ro-skam was located*

***49**. The entrance part of the the eastern and western Ba-lam (Ba-lam shar and -nub). The area at the eastern fringe of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone once formed a center of the Bar Tshal school*

***50**. The Maṇi lha-khang, an artistic jewel in Upper Ba-lam shar* (2002)



50



49





51b



***51a**, **b**. The valley of lDan (due east of Ba-lam) have some remarkable traces of historical sites, such as the site of rDzong-ri, the main residence of Rva lo tsā ba (App. IV, Fig. 4), the ruins of the (originally Tshal-pa?) monastery of dPal-sdings (51a), or the somewhat ominous site of Bya-glag rdzong (51b)* (2003)



***52a**, **b**. In Lo, Upper sKyid-shod: The monastic complex of the sPyan-snga-ba foundation of Lo-dgon in Upper Lo and the area of lCang-bu at the entrance to the valley (in the background of 52b the tombs of Chum-po). Lo, the Nyen-kar of the imperial period, is registerd as one of the Tshal-pa mi sde (see above Map 1b.1)*
(2007)





***53**. The entrance of the Zhogs valley as seen from dGa'-ldan dgon pa. Zhogs formerly was part of Tshal-pa*



***54**. From Zhogs-mda' towards dGa'-ldan and the mountain range of dBang-bskur-ri*



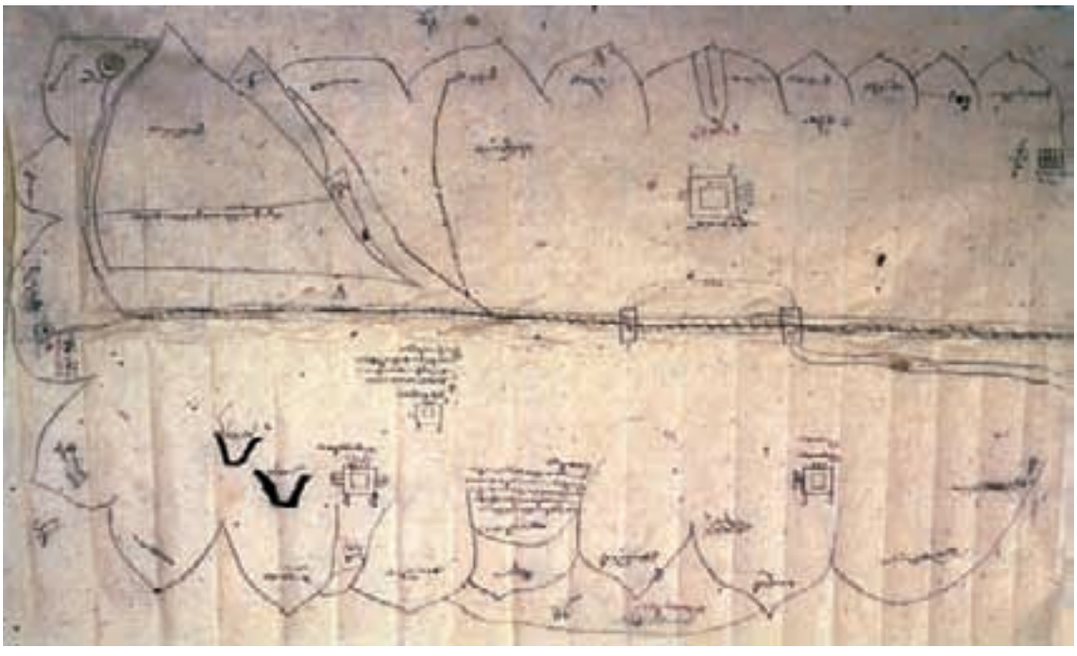
***55**. dGa'-ldan, the heart of the dGe-lugs-pa school in Upper sKyid-shod* (2002)



***56**. dGa'-ldan dgon-pa, bTsong-kha-pa's main seat on the 'Brog-ri, the north-western spur of the dBang-bskur mountain ridge. Below the sKyid-chu side-valley of Cha (~ Phya lung) which is listed among the early Tshal-pa estates*
Photo: Google Earth 2006



***57**. "Arial Archaeology". Satellite photographs of high resolution occasionally allow an insight below the surface and are able to make visible the contours of deserted settlements or historical sites of the remote past. The photo gives the section of the small valley due east of Cha (Fig. 56) where the bKa'-gdams-pa seat of dGe-'dun-sgang was located (above Map 1b). The ruins marked by the smaller circle are the remains of an ancient stūpa, whereas the contours within the greater circle may point to tomb structures as they frequently can be found in the area along the sKyid-chu (see e.g. Fig. 52b)*
Photo: Google Earth 2006



***58**. In the later period several territories in sKyid-shod were distributed to the great dGe-lugs-pa seats as monastic estates, in Upper sKyid-shod especially to 'Bras-spungs, dGa'-ldan or, later (from the late 18th cent.), also to lHa-sa Kun-bde-gling. The present drawing (a copy from a lHa-sa archive) is a cartographical registration of the tax-yielding units of the rGya-bza'-sgang and lHas-phu gzhi kha which were under Kun-bde-gling*



***59**. The monastic seat of bKra-shis-ljongs in Brag-dkar-zhol belonged to lHa-sa Kun-bde-gling. In the 15th and 16th century, Brag-dkar-zhol and a considerable part of Upper sKyid-shod were the domain of the Phag-mo gru-pa governors of Brag-dkar-pa*



***60**. A 'Brog-pa or nomadic family in Upper lHas (lHas-phu). The area corresponds to the Kyi lHas, one of the numerous "Kyi places" registered in the Old Tibetan Annals as sites of the residence of the emperor and/or the council*



***61**. The village of sTag-rtse at the eastern entrance to Zhogs (53) goes back to the Bye-ri sTag-rtse-rdzong, one of the Phag-gru outposts established in sKyid-shod in the mid-15th century (see App. V: Fig. 74, 75)* (2001)





***62a**, **b**. The old rdzong of Chu-shul (at the southern entrance to the sKyid-chu region) and of lHun-grub, situated south of sPras (Fig. 85a) in 'Phan-yul (see also App. V: Fig. 63–76)*
Photo: Spencer Chapman (62a), 1936
Charles Bell, *ca*. 1920
Courtesy Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford)



***63**. The area of the ancient 'Bud-sde district in sKyid-smad (today part of the Tshal-sna local district)*



***64**. The ancient site of 'U-shang-rdo ('On-cang-do) in the south of the 'Bud-sde / Tshal-sna district in sKyid-smad* (TG 1997)



***65**. From Ra-stod / Bur towards the sKyid-chu and the opposite area of Thang-stod* (PKS 2004)



***66**. The gSang-phu valley in sKyid-smad*



***67**. Remains of an ancient stūpa complex close to sNe'u in sKyid-smad. See App. V: Fig. 63*
Photo: Ted Katsargiris 2001



***68**. The old Tshal-pa domain of sNon in sKyid-smad*



***69a–c**. 'Brug Nyams-nang dgon-pa in gNam of sKyid- smad. The monastery was founded as a first branch of the 'Brug-pa dgon 'Brug Se-ba Byang-chub-gling in gNam-stod (69c). In the same area the old Bla-ma Zhang retreat of mGar-grong was located. gNam constituted together with the neighbouring Gye-re (seat of the Gye-re lHa-pa; Part II: Table V.7) the core area of the Tshal-pa mi sde of lHa-'Brug* (2007; Fig. 69c after Chos-'phel 2004)







***70a**. In Ram-pa of Lower sTod-lung. It was the original territory of the mGar branch-lineage where the dpon chen of Tshal-pa hailed from. The stones in the foreground are considered the remains of the house where blon chen mGar was born. In the background the hill "Kye-dori" with ancient ruins of a not further specified religious seat – possibly the old Ram-pa lHa-sdings (see Table V.8)* (2007)



***70b**. At the western entrance to the lHa-sa valley as seen from sKyor-mo-lung in lower sTod-lung* (2002)



***71a**. From the Potala or lHa-sa dMar-po-ri towards the east and the adjacent district of Tshal Gung-thang*
Photograph from the Younghusband expedition 1904



***71b**. From lHa-sa dMar-po-ri towards the south-west. In the background the district of sNe'u-rdzong*
Photograph from the Younghusband expedition 1904



***72a**. In Se-ra Theg-chen-gling. In the 15th century, the monastery founded by Byams-chen Śākya ye-shes, a native from Tshal, took over the responsibility of parts of the Tshal Gung-thang complex*
Photograph from the Younghusband expedition 1904

***72b**. The mountain lHa-sa dBu-rtse as seen from Upper Nyang-bran*





73



74



75



76



77

***73–78a, b**. Several of the many retreat sites and minor dgon pa to be found in Nyang-bran and Dog-sde, the northern part of the lHa-sa valley (Fig. 83), were closely related to Bla-ma Zhang and the early Tshal-pa, such as Phur-bo-lcog (73), Ke'u-tshang (77), Ne'u-chung (76) or lHa-lung ri-khrod*
74. Ga-ri-dgon in Upper Nyang-bran
78a, b. Pha-bong-kha of Nyang-bran
Fig. 73–77 after Chos-'phel 2004



78a

78b





***79a**. The mGar land of Grib south of lHa-sa (see App. IV)*
Photo: Google Earth 2006



***79b**. In Upper Grib*
Photo: H. Richardson 1940's



***80a**. The holy mountain of Jo-mo Kha-rag (the snowy peak in the background) is known to mark the traditional border of dBus and gTsang, In the 13–14th century, Kha-rag-pa also constituted the western border of the Tshal-pa territory of Central Tibet*



***80b**. Kha-rag. The area registered as one of the Tshal-pa mi sde was the home of the Kha-rag-pa, a branch of the Bar Tshal school* (2007)



***81**. The fortress of Gong-dkar in the 1940's. The rdzong originally founded as one of the outposts and governor seats of the Phag-mo gru-pa in the late 14th century is situated at the border between the two main zones of Central dBus, sKyid-shod and Ngam-shod*
Photograph: Hugh Richardson





***82–83**. The lHa-sa mountain range protecting the lHa-sa valley from the north. (In the foreground of Fig. 82: the yul lha shrine of Glang-thang in 'Phan-yul)*



***84**. View from the Chag-la towards 'Phan-yul*



85a



***85a, b**. The Seng-ge valley in northern 'Phan-yul corresponds to the ancient sPras district which is listed as one of the Tshal-pa estates. The area is known as the birthplace of the prominent 11th century bKa'-gdams-pa Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal, who founded here his main seat, Po-to-dgon (85b)* (2003)

***86**. The entrance area to the valley of the Dar-phu-chu formed the core of the imperial Ngan-lam territory. In the 8th century (or even earlier) a branch of the Ngan-lam-pa also settled in the area of later Tshal Gung-thang*



86



***87a**. The central part of Dol. The area with a number of important religious sites (yellow circle) was a "war zone" during Bla-ma Zhang's time and is registered as part of the Tshal-pa myriarchy. To the east the sites of lHa-rtse (Dol lHun-grub lHa-rtse rdzong, seat of the Yar-rgyab ruler) and Khul-phu; the latter may be related to the ancient site and Tshal-pa estate of sKul 'Ching-ru*
Photo: Google earth 2006



***87b**. The dGe-lugs-pa seat of gSung-rab-gling (see 87a)*

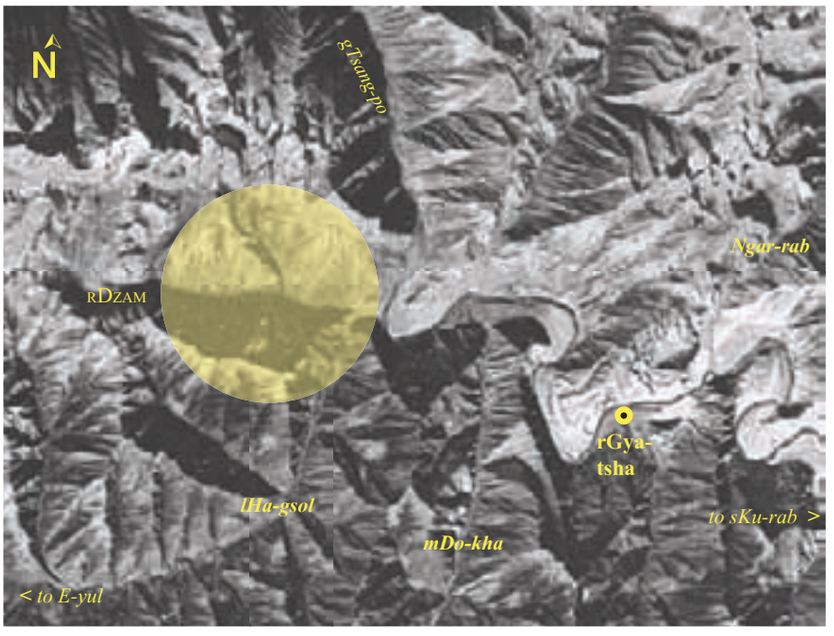


***88**. rDo-phud chos-'khor (cf. 87a)* (2005)



***89**. Tshal-min sNyag-dbon bSod-nams bzang-po, the founder of the Tshal-min monastery in Dol (see above fn. 423)*





90, ***91***. *The rDzam area in western Dvags-po is to be counted among the domains of early Tshal. Here, a dsiciple of Bla-ma Zhang founded the rDzam-dgon (no more extant). It was situated behind the rDzong lha-kha (90), the hill with ruins of one of the four ancient watch-tower sites in the upper or western Dvags-po*



92. *The monastic complex of Dvags-lha sgam-po in Dvags-po. It was the the mother seat of the Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa – the tradition which was brought to sKyid-shod and transmitted to Bla-ma Zhang by Dvags-po sGom-tshul and other masters of the 12th century*

Photo: Ngodrop Tsering 2006

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences of the Autonomous Region Tibet

Rulers on the Celestial Plain

Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet
A Study of Tshal Gung-thang

Volume II



Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod
in Cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo

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APPENDIX I



1. *A religious dignitary of the Zhang Tshal-pa tradition*
Detail of Fig. 2 below

I. ICONS OF LHA-SA RULERS

Embodied Buddhas, Political Power, and Ancestral Authority
The Bla-ma Zhang and gNyos Patriarch *thangka*

Per K. Sørensen

The way ideal lives of religious masters and the enduring triumph of lay potentates in the Tibetan world were recorded or depicted assumed myriad forms. The motive for recording or depicting these were just as many as the format such representations took: Some reflected the basic need for documenting or for providing record of authorization or representation and legitimacy – whether religious, spiritual, hegemonic or otherwise, or they met the overarching need for commemoration. Other records, both the written and the artistic forms, assumed model character intending to unfold before the very eyes of their audience the nature and form behind ideal or enlightened conduct of a saint or they sought to resuscitate and justify bygone glories and heroic feats depicted in order to exalt once-held or contemporary prerogatives of lay masters. In a Tibetan context, portraiture of rulers without a religious identity is unwarranted. Iconic representations embodying spiritual numinosity in form of statues and *thangka* indeed served similar purposes, but with the added quality of conveying an aesthetic, visual and communicative dimension to such representations that served as an unmediated gateway or a strongly evocative intermediary between the pious practitioner or the spectator and the divine world.

Two remarkable *thangka* icons have fortunately survived the vicissitude of time, depictions that to a considerable extent assist us in catching a glimpse of the *modus operandi* of authoritative representation and of the religio-political functions of rule. Being moreover masterpieces of clerical art, these icons – which in terms of finish are different, but cognate in terms of artistic style and iconographic repertoire reflecting an early Pāla-inspired, probably East Indic style (*shar* [*b*]*ris* [*ma*]) that dominated early deity- and monk-portraiture in Tibet – arguably were manufactured during roughly the second wave or generation that marked the spread of this particular artistic development. The paintings depict two charismatic masters and lay rulers of lHa-sa who reigned in the period between 1150 and 1200, namely the affluent gNyos spiritual master and lay ruler Grags-pa-dpal (1106–1165/1182 A.D.) and the contemporary Tshal Gung-thang founder Bla-ma Zhang g.Yu-brag-pa (1123–1193), personages that wielded both political and ecclesiastic power. Not only did they have remarkably parallel lives, their biographies are also compelling stories of ancestral commitments, religious trials, warring conflict and ultimate triumph. By fate or sheer coincidence, they were destined both to establish influential polities in the near vicinity of each other and to share the fate of succeeding one another as rulers in the very heartland of Tibet, where we find them recorded in Tibetan history as the first post-imperial rulers of lHa-sa in the sKyid-shod district; as such they shall count as true precursors of the dual rule characterizing the much later Dalai Lama institution. Based upon a wide range of sources: art-historical, biographical, literary, doctrinal and esoteric, the present essay probes into the background behind the icons and attempts to reinstall these in a proper historical, artistic and cultural context, an inquiry – by no means exhaustive – that enables us to acquire a better and deeper appreciation of the artworks; similar in-depth enquiries shall in fact prove quite feasible for a host of other masterpieces of Tibetan art.

Despite a veritable flurry of publications in the field of Tibetan art, its study and documentation is still in its infancy, since these inquiries are mostly conducted by scholars without proper mastery of Tibetan sources; however the prospects are by no means gloomy – materials related to art and not least to the documented history of innumerable pieces of religious art – due to the unbridled *furor scribendi* of the Tibetan themselves – are fortunately readily at hand.

1. THE GUNG-THANG BLA-MA ZHANG *KESI* TAPESTRY
Icon of Empowerment: Transition of Power and its Investiture

1.1 Historical Presupposition and Ideological Background

With his victory over the joint armies of the Sa-skya in the 1350's and with his subsequent reorganization of the conquered territories, the charismatic and able *ta'i si tu* Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (1302–1364) – as vividly retold in a number of unique contemporary sources (e.g. *Si tu bka' chems* or *Rlangs*) – changed the political landscape of his country. Yet the changes introduced by the new regime had less impact on the inner structure that still allowed an appreciable amount of autonomy and independence to local patrimonial hegemonies, ruling houses and major monastic centres against a fair degree of loyalty sworn to the Phag-gru. The former myriarchic *wan hu*-structure, a Yüan invention set up in the mid-13th century proved to be ridden by a number of innate defects such as being all too susceptible to betrayal and disloyalty once the central power, either the Mongol empire itself or their local *Statthalter* and representatives in Tibet the Sa-skya-pa displayed signs of exhaustion, were ridden by political corruption or were marked by military weakness, and all these shortcomings appeared to be present in the late 1340's. In the wake of *ta'i si tu'*s victory, the Phag-gru in an attempt to strengthen the political administration and its military structure, and in order to enhance its control erected a number of strategically located *rdzong*-based governorships or dependencies throughout Central Tibet. In this process a number of former semi-independent hegemonies were compelled, either voluntarily or by sheer force, to submit themselves to the new political realities, occasionally to witness the confiscation of land or loss of prerogatives or were bound to swear allegiance or submit themselves to bygone foes. Re-mapping the many territories and hegemonies was a long process that lasted close to one century in order to be implemented fully, before they again were altered by new hegemonies.

It was during the tenure of the 16th Tshal *dpon chen* dNgos-grub rgya-mtsho, so according to *GT* 39a-b, that the Tshal-pa were confronted with these issues. As one of the former myriarchies of the now moribund Sa-skya organization, and despite being at that point one of the most illustrious centers of erudition in Central Tibet, Tshal too was compelled to abandon most of its numerous myriarchic *mi sde* territories that as landed estates and fiefships formerly had been donated to them through their particularly close relationship to the Yüan emperors. This divestment took place at the beginning of the 15th century in the wake of the actual take-over and the transference of power to the new Phag-mo-gru-pa rulers who at that point had controlled Central Tibet and sKyid-shod since the 1350's. During the reign of the 5th Phag-gru *gong ma* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374–1432) – the most powerful and efficient ruler in (Central) Tibet, in fact regarded as "King of Tibet" during this spell – Tshal's last bastion, the heartland around Tshal Gung-thang, was finally relinquished to the new rulers, probably in around 1415 A.D. The remaining confiscation of Tshal territories evidently

had followed minor humiliations such as the sequestration of Mt. Potala[ka] or dMar-po-ri in lHa-sa which until then had been controlled by the Tshal-pa, before it was donated to the 5th Karma-pa De-bzhin gshegs-pa in 1410 by the same ruler (a donation incidentally reconfirming a similar donation to the 3rd Karma-pa tendered by the Tshal-pa back in 1310 and which in the 16th century played no small role in the embittered and prolonged fight over the hegemony of the lHa-sa area between the Karma-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa). During the same period, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan paved the way for Tsong-kha-pa's ambitious and expansive plan by establishing the important *sMon lam chen mo* Festival as well as by erecting the three key dGe-lugs monasteries around Lhasa, thereby initiating a political union between gDan-sa-mthil and the dGe-ldan-pa that led to the gradual rise of the latter sect as the dominating one in Tibet.

Having ruled for over 45 years, the redoubtable *mi dbang* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan passed away in 1432, and the demise of this both efficient and undisputed Central Tibetan ruler triggered a heated rivalry over his succession among a number of nephews who as prospective heirs laid claim to the chair. Grags-pa 'byung-gnas [rgyal-mtshan] (1414–1444/45), who as nephew earlier (1428–1432) had occupied the abbatial see of rTsed-thang, eventually took over the powerful seat as the 6th *sde srid* or *gong ma* of the Phag-mo-gru-pa the following year (1433). During his brief tenure until 1444, however, he proved to have no particularly lucky hand politically. A man of deep spirituality and well-versed in *mantrayāna* but with a parochial outlook not cut out for worldly affairs, his rule under the long shadow of his ambitious father was ridden by the internal upheavals at Phag-gru while his hegemony externally remained embroiled in wearisome warfare throughout Central Tibet. His tenure heralded the gradual decline of the ruling house of the Phag-mo-gru-pa,[1] barely having ruled as sovereigns of Central Tibet for one full century, and thus signalled another shift of power emblematic of the ephemeral nature of secular rule in late medieval Tibet. The tenure of the 6th incumbent thus was marked by an investiture that can be regarded as part of the final confirmation of the new political landscape. The last major appropriation of the central heartland of Tshal Gung-thang meant the end to a hegemony or a polity (but not of an influential religious institution).

---

[1] The new incumbent was son of the former throne-holder's younger brother, the ambitious *Che sa* Sangs-ryas rgyal-mtshan (1389–1457), who had married a lady of a governor under the Phag-gru house, the Rin-spungs line (of the sGer/dGyer clan) in the gTsang province. *Che sa* initially attempted to resume power upon his brother's demise (in 1431) which led to a serious situation at sNe'u-gdong with different factions vying for power. In the internal politics, the long hand of the incumbent's father should be felt for many years. However, upon *spyan snga rin po che* bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan's (1386–1434) advice, the inexperienced Grags-pa 'byung-gnas was finally elected new *sde srid*. The former, before he passed away, in fact urged the latter to take over the seat (*nga'i go sa 'di khyed kyis 'dzin dgos*; *op. cit*. *bSod nams rgyal mtshan rnam thar* 70a3ff.). His father nevertheless repeatedly intermingled in the affairs by attempting to usurp the throne, once the authoritative *spyan snga* had passed away. The Wood-Tiger year of 1434 was to come down in Tibetan history as the culmination of a classical family conflict, this one popularly known as the "Grand Conflict of the Tiger Year" and as the "Year of the Internal Dissolve of the Phag-gru Ruling House." For Rin-spungs, their revolt against the Pha-gru began the following year 1435. Upon the untimely (unnatural?) demise of Mi-dbang (or "King," also titulated Chos-rgyal) Grags-pa 'byung-gnas, Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan in 1448 (after a few years of vacancy at sNe-gdong) finally succeeded in installing his second son Kun-dga' legs-pa (1433–82) on the secular throne (1448–81) who prior to this point should hold the throne as abbot of rTsed-thang and later of gDan-sa-mthil. See now also Czaja 2006.

Grags-pa 'byung-gnas nevertheless proved more of a liability than an asset to the Phag-gru hegemony, the Rin-spungs line (the house of the incumbent's mother) eventually should oust the ruling Phag-gru mother house from power. Sources: e.g. the 5th Dalai Lama, *Bod kyi deb ther* 148–151; *Deb dmar gsar* (Tucci 219–21); *Deb ther kun gsal me long* 234–36; *sNe'u gdong sde srid* 52–64; Shakabpa, *Tibet A Political History* 86–87; Ehrhard 2002c: 53f.



***2a**. Silk Tapestry (kesi) of dPal-ldan g.Yu-brag-pa alias Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang*
(64.5 x 59.9 cm)



***2b**. The inscription on the backside of the Tapestry Thangka*

The Inscription of the Gung-thang Tapestry Thangka*

dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad ngo bo
'gro ba'i mgon po dpaldan g.yu brag pa'i sku 'dra brtags
sku rin po che'i drung du ||
'dzam gling sa'i bdag po gu śri Grags pa 'byung gnas rgyal
mtshan dpal bzang pos phul pa'i dge bas sangs rgyas thob
par shog |
r*gyal ba rnams kyi dam pa'i chos ma lus pa rgyal ba'i*
dgongs pa ji lta ba bzhin 'dzin nus par gyur cig |
bkra shis dang bde legs 'phel bar gyur cig |

[Embodying] the Essence of all Buddhas of the Three Times,
The Lord of the Living Beings [*jagannātha*; i.e. Bla-ma Zhang]
the Glorious (**śrīmat*) g.Yu-brag-pa's
embroidered precious image
In its Presence
The Lord of the World, the National Preceptor (*guoshi*)
Grags-pa 'byung-gnas rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po
by virtue of the merit [acquired] from presenting
[offerings] may the [lofty state of] Buddhahood
be attained!
The entire Sacred Doctrine of the Buddhas and
The Intent of the Victor [Jina] as it really is
may he prove capable of upholding [and perpetuating] it!

[During his reign] may auspiciousness and happiness prosper!

* The inscription on the backside of the *kesi* tapestry *thangka* has been couched in a traditional – here somewhat sweeping and forceful – *'bru tsha zhabs ring ma* calligraphy, i.e. the long-legged 'Bru-tsha form, a cherished style in medieval documents. The inscription is written on a separate piece of possibly red patterned thin and slightly transparent 15th cent. material and was attached at a later point to the *kesi thangka*.

dpaldan = dpal ldan; *brtags = btags*

1.2 The Dual Function of an Icon as Emblem of Spiritual and Political Authority

The attached inscription on the Zhang *thangka* records or authorizes, in other words seeks to legitimize a political change in power that took place by the inauguration and enthronement of a new ruler, in this case the donations and offerings presented by the 6th *gong ma* Grags-pa 'byung-gnas (or on his behalf) in connection with the formal enthronement ceremony as new incumbent. We shall argue that the text was formulated concomitant with the ceremony and the inscription was formally issued in connection with this ruler's enthronement 1433–34 A.D. at rTsed-thang (alternatively a few years later, probably around 1437, when the new ruler visited the sKyid-shod district). The text thus both marked and commemorated this conferral of authority, an act of transference and of legitimacy according to which the Phag-mo-gru-pa formally took over the secular authority and factual position of the Tshal-pa *dpon chen*, with the important addition that the local *dpon* institution continued its line but vested with very restricted or nominal power only.

The inscription and the event commemorated was not the actual take-over by the Phag-mo-gru-pa that had taken place during the tenure of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (*ca.* 1410–15 A.D.). The inscription instead marked *the investiture of the new incumbent* Grags-pa 'byung-gnas that officially sealed the actual transfer of power. For the now moribund supraregional Tshal hegemony, the event meant the obliteration of the effective (but as said not nominal or suzerain) local control over the position as *dpon chen* which had been headed by the mGar-clan for more than 200 years. It can be assumed that the narrow land around Tshal Gung-thang continued to remain under the jurisdiction of the Tshal and the independence of some of the seminars or colleges (*grva tshang*) remained unquestioned. It may well be argued that the content of the inscription – which in the first place is a political document, here conspicuously bereft of mantra formulae or seed syllables commonly decorating consecratory inscriptions on *thangka* – thus not only intended to signal a political change in power, but should as well be understood as a sign of continuity inasmuch as the act of enthronement and investiture as *dpon chen* in Tshal traditionally was accompanied along ceremonious lines by presenting offerings in the presence of an image of the founding figure Bla-ma Zhang and his lineage, an act performed in order to receive the empowerment and blessing issuing from these founders and up until the Phag-gru take-over conceivably performed in front of this very *thangka* (albeit we still possess precious little information on the modalities and procedure of secular enthronement in medieval Tibet). The take-over as documented in the inscription nevertheless ushered in a major turning point in the history of Tshal. With this inscription – a political document in itself – the Zhang tapestry thereby assumed a new function and identity.

It is a very common phenomenon in Tibetan art history that the point between the manufacture of a painting and its formal consecration (often in this connection outfitted with a consecratory and benedictory inscription on the rear side) differs considerably. The icon tapestry, until its symbolism and function as a source of authority was renewed or rather *reconfirmed* in the 1430's most likely until then had not been fitted with any inscription, serving until that point as an icon restricted exclusively to the internal Tshal religious and secular hegemony. The tapestry in its primary function and in its symbolism no doubt was manufactured as a religious icon, extolling its central religious figure, here in his capacity of putting on display his status as a Buddha and as a teacher of its specific Tshal-pa lore, and in the same vein provide a record of the founder and hierarch transmission of one or more of his most prominent esoteric cycles.

As to the wording of the investiture inscription, curious in this respect is only the appellation *dpal ldan* prefixed to g.Yu-brag-pa, an epithet not overly common in the indigenous Tshal tradition (currently only attested in the important 14th-century biography by Kun-dga' rdo-rje, *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 532.2, 575.2 and the rare Tshal-treatise *Chos kun gsal ba'i me long* (13th cent.), i.e. *dPal ldan* g.Yu-brag-pa).[2] This epithet, in a Tshal context hitherto undocumented during the earliest history of this school and hegemony, may arguably have gained currency from the 13th century and seems to have been preferred by the new Phag-gru rulers, obviously in an attempt to express traditional respect to the founding Tshal master. As shall be documented below the idolized tapestry before the Phag-gru take-over was already imbued with ample ritual and, by extension in a Tshal context, major religio-political authority. The subsequent 15th-century transfer of power from the Tshal to the Phag-gru hegemony nevertheless was important enough to ensure the formal issue of documents – not least the present inscription – followed by a concomitant solemn act of consecration, which essentially was a political act but one which had to be conducted or sanctified in a wholly ritual setting and ambience by secular leaders and religious hierarchs carrying political positions. So singular was this act, it shall be argued, that once the written investiture was attached to the tapestry the text of the authoritative document was neither changed nor replaced when in the future a new incumbent was installed on the throne as the new Phag-gru *sde srid*.

That the present embroidered silk tapestry of Bla-ma Zhang had a long story and in medieval times (during the local Tshal hegemony) arguably may have carried considerable ritual-mythic import first of all as a religious icon for granting empowerment and blessing may indirectly be inferred from another parallel: In the biography of (gNyan-ston) Mus-chen rGyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1275/1287–1347), a prominent representative of an electic blend of bKa'-brgyud-pa lines (*gNyags ston gdung rabs* 128f., 263ff.) – and signally a nephew of 'Gro-mgon 'Phags-pa *rin po che* (1235–1280)[3] – we are informed that this learned scholar similarly resided in China, eventually being registered as imperial tutor (*dishi*) to the XIth and the XIIth Yüan emperor Ayurbarwada Buyantu Qan (i.e. Renzong; rl. 1311–1320) and his son Gegen (Yingzong; rl. 1321–1323), but also as preceptor to successive emperors at the court at Dadu (Beijing), such as Toγon Temür. Upon leaving the imperial palace for Sa-skya for the first time at the age of 21 (in 1295 / 1307) and again later (after his third visit, this time as *dishi*, obviously in 1333), he literally was showered with costly presents, among these also embroidered and painted images (*btags sku* and *bris sku*; *thangka*), etc. – types of gifts that appear to have been a very common sort of present, right from the time of the Mi-nyag rulers, an observation which corroborates that the manufacture of tapestries

[2] A reminiscence of the use of the later prevalent adjective *dpal* is found in the 12–13th cent. Bla-ma Zhang writings, so the uncommon form *dpal* Gung-thang, later so popular, could be registered in one case.

[3] Sa-skya Zangs-tsha bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1184–1239) had five consorts and should – lineage-conscious like other 'Khon patriarchs – produce eight children. Among these, with the senior consort *ma cig* Kun-skyid, Zangs-tsha fathered the famous 'Phags-pa Bla-ma (1235–1280) and the latter's younger brother Phyag-na rdo-rje (1239–1267), and with *ma cig* Jo-'Bro he then fathered *slob dpon* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (1238/39–1279/1282) and the daughter *slob dpon ma* mDo-sde/'Od-zer-'bum (b. 1240). The latter went to the Mus district in gTsang where she eventually gave birth to Mus-chen rGyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang. With Zangs-tsha's third consort *ma cig* rDo-rje-gdan, he fathered Bla-ma Ye-shes 'byung-gnas (1238–1274) and with a fourth consort, the daughter of the Gung-thang btsad-po, *lha cig* mDzes-ma, he begot the *slob dpon ma* bSod-nams-'bum and Nyi-ma-'bum. Finally with Jo-lcam Hor-mo, he fathered *slob dpon ma* Rin-chen 'byung-gnas. Cf. e.g. A-myes-zhabs, *Sa skya gdung rabs* 234–35; *Yar lung chos 'byung* 153.4ff; *Mar lung rnam thar* 127b4–6; TPS Tucci: Table I.

thrived under the Mongols too.[4] Being the nephew of the great 'Phags-pa bla-ma, he also received an edict and rescript (*'ja' sa*)[5] from the Mongols that bespoke extensive privileges for him and for his native districts (he and his gNyags clan received both monastic and landed estates in the gTsang province) including the obligatory tax exemption privileges, etc. He there made extensive donations to his local religious establishments. In fact, his fame and repute – being considered a manifestation of Ārya Avalokiteśvara – during his life-time spread so much that, as his biography informs us, a saying ran (*ibd.* 136.1–3, 271.3–6):[6]

> "If [you] do not see [i.e. meet] Se-chen rgyal-po [i.e. Qubilai Qan]
> Look [instead] at [i.e. turn to] the "Embroidered Image of Gung-thang"
> (*gung thang btags sku*)!
> If you do not see 'Gro-mgon 'Phags-pa
> Look at Mus-chen rGyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po!

This eulogy places Mus-chen on a par with the great 'Phags-pa bla-ma and through the accompanying analogy delivers a clue to the apparent importance attached to the embroidered tapestry *thangka* of Gung-thang. Where the last couplet contains a strong religious equation, the first signals a political statement or point of reference. The saying explicitly purports that Mus-chen be regarded as a natural successor or representative of 'Phags-pa – on equal terms with the latter and as a 'Khon-line scion – just as it purports that – in a local Central Tibetan context – the stictched image at Gung-thang [i.e. of Qubilai Qan; emperor Shizong from 1271–72], here in his iconic form, as a visual symbol of Qubilai's personal supremacy or hegemony over Tshal serves as a *source of power and authority*. Another tempting, but probably not feasible reading would suggest that it refers to the present *kesi btags sku* of Bla-ma Zhang. It further suggests to us that the woven image assumed this symbolic status during Qubilai's reign or later well into the early 14th century. It must not be forgotten that the Tshal Gung-thang *vihāra* was held in high esteem as the personal *vihāra* of Qubilai Qan in Tibet (*GT* 32b, *Tshal rnam*, *passim*) and that Tshal Gung-thang stood under the special protection of the great Qan and emperor, a rapport initiated between the 5th Tshal *dpon chen* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (1233–1289 A.D.) and the Mongol court in 1260, but the preliminary work that paved the way for a favourable atmosphere for the Tshal-pa and their amicable relationship with the Mongols had been done by a Tshal monk carrying the name Grags-pa seng-ge (see below).

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[4] In the foreword to the *Yuandai huasuji* (ed. Beijing 1964) – i.e. the "Paintings and Sculptures of the Yüan Dynasty" and an important source for imperial portraiture – it is specifically maintained that initially official paintings (often called small portraits or *xiaoying*) of the ruling imperial family or court members were executed before they were woven in large formatted silk tapestries. Unfortunately, none of these silk-woven emperor/empress portraits have survived to this date. These Yüan-period portraits were kept as ancestor cult objects installed in specific "Halls of Portrait (lit. Shadow, *yingtang*)" that were accommodated within a [Buddhist] temple. For Yüan-period imperial portraits (*Yuandai di* / *dihou banshenxiang*) executed either by Anige, by Liu Guandao or by Li Xiaoyan in the 14th cent., see *Gugong shuhualu* (National Palace Museum Taipeh, 1965: Vol. 8) or more recently, the samples publ. in the exhibition catalogue *Dshengis Khan und seine Erben*: 303–311; Jing 1994. See also App. II: Chap. 2.5 below.

[5] For the wording of the numerous edicts, i.e. one called *Mus lung sa bdag pa'i 'ja' sa*; cf. *gNyags ston gdung rabs* 266–86. See now also the extensive discussion in Everding 2006b.

[6] *se chen rgyal po ma mthong na* / *gung thang btags sku de la ltos* /
'gro mgon 'phags pa ma mthong na / *mus chen rgyal mtshan dpal bzang la ltos* /

It must be recalled that during the reign of the 7th Tshal *dpon chen*, dGa'-bde-dpal (1254/56–1310 A.D.), a private Memorial Hall dedicated to Qubilai Qan was built, probably in 1304 (cf. *GT* 34b) in the western part of the Gung-thang temple complex – an imperial chamber (akin to an imperial *yingtang* Hall and in Gung-thang appropriately denoted "the Qubilai Palace" or *se chen pho brang*) that accommodated a tablet image or statue (*'dra 'bag*) of Qubilai himself (and eventually with tablet icons and images of successive Mongol rulers and emperors). The hall – resembling the Taimiao Hall in Dadu (see App. II, Chap. 2.5 below), may go a long way in explaining the statement that Gung-thang *in toto* was regarded as the emperor's private chapel. dGa'-bde-dpal's son, the 9th ruler of Tshal, sMon-lam rdo-rje (1284–1346/47), in addition had an adjacent *thugs dam* hall or rather chamber erected, dedicated to the Mongol ruler Gegen (Yingzong), also at Gung-thang. Sacrifices and ceremonies of worship regularly were conducted in these memorial halls exclusively dedicated to Tshal's eastern patrons and clearly served to demonstrate Tshal's unflagging, but profitable loyalty to the eastern throne. The period referred to in the Mus-chen biography, *in casu ca*. 1310–30 represented the heydays of the Tshal-pa hegemony in Central Tibet around lHa-sa and we have sound reason to believe that the status and repute of the Qubilai *thangka* (or the present Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang *kesi*) was as undisputed as the authority and influence exerted by the Tshal-pa during this spell. If the reference to the latter icon is warranted, the function of the *thangka* thus may have changed from conveying and embedding a purely religious to wield politico-religious authority too. Of signal importance, in 1319, the Yüan emperor Renzong (i.e. Buyantu Qan) through the hands of his local Tibetan emissary gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan – and at court arguably spurred by Mus-chen rGyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po himself (?) who reportedly sojourned there – donated to Tshal-dpon sMon-lam rdo-rje a statue of Qubilai Qan – is this circumstance arguably referred to in the above stanza? It too was set up in its own private memorial chamber at Gung-thang. If so, it is not unimaginable – as alluded to in the stanzic saying just cited – to assume that both icons, the *kesi thangka* of Bla-ma Zhang and the memorial statue (and/or a *kesi thangka*?) of Qubilai had been seen by Mus-chen at Tshal Gung-thang (his bonds to the site and to the local ruler sMon-lam rdo-rje, incidentally, are well documented) – inspiring Mus-chen personally to formulate the above statement. On this background, Mus-chen indeed must have been the one who personally was instrumental in ensuring that the Qubilai statue (and even the Qubilai *btags sku* referred to above? and/or even Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang *kesi* tapestry?) was/were donated to the site. It nevertheless was during the reign of these powerful Tshal-pa lords in the early 14th century that an attempt was made at Tshal Gung-thang to copy a number of imperial structures at the court at Dadu.

If this line of argumentation is deemed valid for the tapestry`s origin, it may well be further speculated that the present Zhang *kesi* specimen represents an early 14th-century Yüan-time reproduction and indeed exquisite copy of (an original or earlier) Tangut *kesi* or a prior Tibetan *thangka* painting. Cogent argumentations for a possible Tangut link or origin, however, are mooted in details below (see Chap. 1.4). An additional point to broach is that – irrespective of the tapestry`s indisputable artistic quality and finish – the lineage figures (and Bla-ma Zhang himself) in the transmission depicted on the *kesi* indeed are only imperfectly and anonymously reproduced, even to the point that the figures are hardly identifiable iconographically, a strong argument behind the assumption that the *kesi* is a mechanical, yet distinguished copy of an iconographically more refined and authentic *Vorlage*.

1.3 Patronage and the Legacy of Time: In Search of the Tapestry's Origin and a Reappraisal of its Artistic Background

The finely stitched *kesi* silk tapestry has been reproduced several times and its provenance moreover has been subject to some speculation,[7] wherefore we shall touch upon the art-historical questions only briefly here. The so-called early *thangka* portraiture tradition in Tibet (it may in part have been an indigenous artistic refinement or adaptation of the East Indian *paṭa* painting tradition (*shar bris*) with the deity or hierarch as the icon's dominating centrepiece that prevailed in Tibet before the Tibetan artists themselves developed their own schools and styles) was widespread since at least the mid-12th century, but the specific patronized tapestry tradition in particular received a major surge via Xi Xia or the Buddhist Mi-nyag empire (982/1038–1227 A.D.) and it continued later during the Mongol period and under Ming. Samples of tapestry and *thangka*, both proper portrayals and traditional images (such as contemporary Tangut-time *kesi* tapestries of Acala and Śyāmā Tārā) that display some or even substantial material resemblances with the Bla-ma Zhang tapestry both in style and artistic lay-out, have been published and discussed (see also below). Especially during the reign of emperor Renzong (1139–1193 A.D.) of the Great Xia (Da Xia) state, the tradition of patronized portrayals blossomed, both what concerns royal, secular or religious portrayals and images. A clue to the provenance of the masterful and idiosyncratic Bla-ma Zhang icon points to Xia for several reasons. The Xia state, ruled by pious Buddhist monarchs,[8] vigorously promoted its contact to Tibet and other Buddhist centres starting from mid-12th century.

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[7] The *kesi* or "cut-silk" tapestry has already been reproduced in *Bod kyi Thangka* (*Xizang Tangjia*) 1985: *Pl*. 62; in Dunnell 2001: *Pl*. 6 and (the currently best copy albeit slightly retouched) in *Tibet Museum Catalogue* 61. Over the years the colours of the silken threads have faded somewhat. The *kesi* (size 64.5 x 58.9 cm) was originally kept in the Potala Palace (Inventory: Potala Palace no. 927); presently it is kept in the Tibet Museum (Bod-ljongs rten-rdzas bshams-mdzod-khang, no. 06033). For earlier discussions of this remarkable tapestry; cf. e.g Martin 2001b: 175–76; Dunnell 2001: 108–10, 118–19; see also Singer 1988: 21–25; 1995: *Pls.* 15–17; Reynolds 1997: 123–24; and Kossak 1998 *passim* for comparative materials such as other early contemporary portraits displaying many similar stylistic and iconographic traits. For pertinent comparative paintings such as those depicting the sTag-lung hierarchs bKra-shis-dpal and dBon-po Bla-ma, another painting, allegedly the sNar-thang hierarch Zhang-blon Chos kyi bla-ma and their iconographic components in Singer and Denwood 1997: 52–67. For cogent portraits (albeit using a different painting style) of g.Ya'-bzang-pa and his successors, see Mignucci 2001.

Strictly speaking, *btags/thags sku* means "woven image or tapestry" whereas the verb *'tshem* for stitching or embroidery is the correct term, only the term **btsems/tshem sku* (resp. *tshem drub ma*) for embroidered images is fairly uncommon as *terminus technicus*. Still, Tāranātha (1575–1634) among others, on a few occasions does refer to executed samples of *tshem sku* icons as well as other exemplars of silk stitched images (*zab sku* and *si thang gsar rnying*; where *si thang* prob. is the approx. Tibetan equivalent of the term *kesi* tapestry), etc. see *Tāranātha rnam thar* 224a6–7, 256b4, etc. Large-size gobelins was also called *yol thang, thang chen* or curtain *thangka*. Late medieval silk-thread and colourful brocade-framed *thangka* tapestries or silk embroidery usually were denoted *gos thags grub* [= *drub*] *si'u bkras kyi bris sku* or *btags sku si hu ras bris*; cf. e.g. *Paṇ chen chos rgyal rnam thar* 299, 304. The surviving terminology for such fabrics in Tibetan art- and textile history thus is fairly broad, and a survey a rewarding task to undertake, yet outside the pale of this short essay. For the *kesi* tapestry style in general, see Watt and Wardwell, 1997. For an informative documentation of selected Ming samples and its rich tradition during Yüan and early Ming. Cf. M. Henss 1997; Valrae Reynolds 1997; Kuhn 1977; Schäfer 1998 and Schäfer and Kuhn 2002.

[8] The Xia rulers or emperors e.g. in the *Secret History of the Mongols* were commonly designated Burqan (*bu'erhan*), i.e. embodied Buddha which clearly underlines the idealized or ultimate nature of their self-portraiture. Cf. R. Dunnell 1991: 169. To the rulers of the Great Xia state, the salvific and protective powers of Buddhist lore played a decisive role behind their state logic.

Prior to the Tshal-pa (followed by the 'Bri-gung-pa), it was the Karma-pa and the 'Ba'-rom-pa – but initially it was the Sa-skya-pa – who entertained close ties (as said already from early or mid-12th century) to the Xia court, not least by gradually serving as imperial preceptors and tutors in return for which they were sumptuously rewarded with gifts and donations. It can also be noted that the relationship between the leading Karma-pa and Tshal-pa remained amicable throughout this period, not least cemented through the close relationship between the founding figures Bla-ma Zhang and Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa. Attached to the Xia court thus developed long-standing patron-tutor relationships (*yon mchod*), an institution and indeed a mutual beneficial arrangement which later was emulated and expanded during the ensuing classical church-state arrangement during the Sa-skya-Yüan period, from which not least the Tshal-pa benefitted.[9] Exchange of gifts, in the field of religion and art, between the Xia elite as benefactors and its monastic clients in Central Tibet must have been considerable and versatile, in fact much more intensive, as we shall see, than commonly realized.[10]

How and when did the Bla-ma Zhang tapestry then originate? It may initially be speculated, a point already mooted by others, that either artists went to Tibet and worked there, being commissioned by their local patrons or indeed an artistic *Vorlage* for the image, irrespective of whether the portrait displayed some resemblance to Zhang's facial and physiognomic features, was brought to a Mi-nyag atelier for final reproduction. The first assumption is hardly tenable. A 12th-century portrait of an anonymous, evidently Tibetan Bla-ma traced in the Baisikou Stūpas at the slope of the Ala Mountain in Ningxia (outside the former Xia capital) and a *thangka* found in Khara Khoto displays a number of traits in common with the Zhang tapestry.[11] The tapestry could represent an attempt to create a realistic portrayal of the Tshal founder, but far more likely we are here dealing with an anonymous portrayal or a model of a hierarch that followed standard iconographic conventions in their reproduction.

Exploring the origin of the original painting (which must have served as *Vorlage* or model for) the later tapestry *thangka*, the most obvious clue is provided with the help of the story of Yar-lung-pa, also called Gung-thang-pa Grags-pa seng-ge, one of the earliest recorded (early 13th century) Tshal-pa who was dispatched by Bla-ma Zhang to eastern Tibet and who ended up serving as chaplain at the Mi-nyag court. Our main source *GT* (28b–29b, 30b–31a; cf. Part I: fns. 378–379, 390 *supra*) that in part drew upon genuine 14th-century materials and in particular upon the 14th century. Zhang-biographical commentary (*dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 565.2–4) chronicle that Grags-pa seng-ge, like in previous cases with other Tibetan monks and serving *dishi*, was showered with presents for his services by the Mi-nyag emperor. He, in turn, repeatedly dispatched such donations to his mother seat in Tshal Gung-thang, among others gifts and presents that included "religious book[s] written in gold, golden draperies as well as unusual *btags sku* (i.e. stitched tapestry)" so in a Rat year, arguably 1216 A.D., during the reign of the 2nd Tshal *dpon chen* 'Byung-gnas brtson-'grus (rl. 1215–27 A.D.) – nephew of the Tshal co-founder Dar-ma gzhon-nu

[9] For a competent treatment of this topic, see Ruegg 1995.

[10] A good essay on the complexity of Tangut art is offered by Linrothe 1995.

[11] Reproduced in Lei Runze, *Xi Xia fota* 20. Cf. Dunnell *Pl*. 4. Further, Samossiuk 1998; M. Pjotrowskij ed. 1993: 238–39 *et passim* for other comparable samples, although clearly the 12th-cent. Tangut samples may generally appear to be less refined compared to the Zhang *kesi.* A text of Bla-ma Zhang was even translated into the Tangut language, cf. Dunnell *ibid*. 119.

– donated to the Gung-thang *vihāra*. Trusting the entries in *GT* concerning rGya Yar-lung-pa, his *flourit* appears to span from being a personal disciple of Zhang (i.e. from *ca*. 1185–90's) until the mid–1230's. According to the brief description in the relevant sources, he initially arrived in the bTsong-kha area of East Tibet where it is said that he founded the Go-ra monastery and where he served as teacher to a local king. Proceeding to Mi-nyag, he was to serve in the same capacity. Yar-lung-pa allegedly was instrumental in inviting Ti-shri ras-pa Shes-rab seng-ge (1164–1236 A.D.) to bTsong-kha meeting him there for the first time *ca*. 1196 whereupon he invited him to the Xia state *ca*. 1206. On the recommendation of one gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba dBang-phyug bkra-shis (d. *ca*. 1230; another Zhang pupil who allegedly had won some still unconfirmed fame in the service of Činggis Qan), Yar-lung-pa much later made a second visit – so it is reported – in order to become the private teacher to Sorqoqtani Beki – Činggis Qan's daughter-in-law and the chief consort and later widow of Tolui and his ruling prince line – i.e. her sons, the young prince Qubilai and his brothers whose prince-line had inherited the conquered Tangut land as imperial appanage. This would suggest that he resided at least more than once among these rulers of the East. Another indirect clue is given in a Sa-skya source[12] where it is recounted how in 1253 (the second year following Sa-skya Paṇḍita's passing, who had died on old Xixia soil, close to Liangzhou), it was Chabi (married 1240 to prince Qubilai; d. 1281), Qubilai's favourite wife, who finally argued for choosing 'Phags-pa Bla-ma as successor by stating that the latter far surpassed those among the former elderly Tibetan monks at the Mongol court such as the Tshal-pa *bande*. This information is merely found in an overly Sa-skya apologetic text, and hence must be treated with care, still, if authentic, it would evoke fresh memories of a foregoing presence of Grags-pa seng-ge at court.[13] The pious and strong-minded Chabi, more than anyone else, proved instrumental in supporting Tibetan monks and in converting the Mongol elite to Buddhism. We therefore shall conclude that it was Grags-pa seng-ge who in a seemingly seamless way bridged the phase between the Tshal polity and their successive interaction and liaison with the Tangut and Mongol court respectively.[14]

Is it conceivable that Yar-lung-pa donated to Tshal a fine and unusual *btags sku* portrait of his *guru* and mentor? Or else had its manufacture commissioned? This is more than likely as we shall attempt to demonstrate below. It is important to note that the Tshal–Xia and Tshal-pre-Yüan Mongol connections had a long history and clearly involved many commodities, cultural, intellectual and

[12] Cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 151–152; see also Schuh 1977: 89–90.

[13] The nineteen years old 'Phags-pa in 1253 stayed at Liangzhou. He was summoned to his first meeting with Qubilai at his palace at Liupanshan (in present-day Guyuan prefecture of Ganzu). See Nakano 1976: 30–32. 'Phags-pa should enjoy a brilliant career at the imperial court in China, yet in fact he – hostage-like – spent almost his entire life there.

[14] Most sources target Karma Pakṣi (1204–83) as 'Phags-pa bla-ma's main antagonist. The true identity of Grags-pa seng-ge, his activities and the length of his sojourn in the Eastern borderlands of Tibet requires further research. It is not infeasible that the statement (in the primary sources quoted) that he was a direct pupil of Bla-ma Zhang should prove to be untenable due to the fact that he in this capacity simply may have been confounded with another direct disciple of Bla-ma Zhang, either *gnas brtan* Grags-pa seng-ge/Seng-ge grags-pa, or lHa-rje Srab-sman Grags-seng, see II.C.5 and II.F.15 in Table V.4 in Part II below. See also Part I: fns. 364–365. Although namesakes appear to abound, and allowing the old Tshal-pa teacher a high age, it would be tempting to connect him with the leading teacher of Sa-skya Paṇḍita and 'Phags-pa bla-ma, viz. sNye-thang-pa *chos rje* Grags-pa seng-ge who e.g. participated in 'Phags-pa's final ordination in the mid–1250's in Eastern Tibet. It is also reported that he in 1242 compiled a *bstan rtsis* (TH Martin 44); cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 168–72. This identity however remains highly conjectural, since assuming a *flourit* close to half a century would strain credibility. From Mongol histories we know that it was one Tshal-pa who at court had suggested to Qubilai the invitation of 'Phags-pa bla-ma; cf. W. Heissig 1959: 118–19.

otherwise, where patronage and rich donations (including no doubt religiously inspired *btags sku*, etc.) from the above dynasties proved vital for the prosperity of the Tshal hegemony as much as it did for other orders. In a late 13th-century description which reports about the initial dissemination of Tshal influence, the latter's expansion eastwards reached until Mi-nyag (cf. *GT* 43a), a clear approval and appreciation of existing contacts that had prevailed between the Tshal mother seat and its eastern patrons. In fact, the incipient Xia contacts had existed even prior to Tshal itself (1175 and 1187 A.D.), through the activities in the mid-12th century in the Mi-nyag area of at least two of Bla-ma Zhang's root teachers, rGva *lo tsā ba* (also called Mi-nyag rGva-lo) and the Indian Vairocanavajra. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the initial mid-12th-century relations is regrettably sparse compared to the information gathered a number of decades later in the early 13th century.

If therefore this dating of the original icon (first part of 1200's) could be otherwise corroborated, it could speak in favour of the contention that the portrait of Zhang was an attempt at creating a realistic depiction, made shortly after his passing, yet the authenticity of this very portraiture must be deemed quite questionable (see below). Noteworthy here is that the repute of Bla-ma Zhang (also in the wake of his demise) was never small in Mi-nyag, obviously due to the prominent position of Tshal and of Bla-ma Zhang in key Mahākāla transmissions. Still again, it is not *prima facie* infeasible that the icon may also have been commissioned at a later point by some Tshal patrons accounting for the artistic result, which displays many traditional Indo-Tibetan or Central Tibetan influences and elements in the hierarch and monk portraiture mixed with the unmistakable exquisite finish well-known from the Tangut-time or Chinese weave technique. Other *kesi* that are expected to have left the Tangut- or Yüan- and Ming-time Chinese workshops display an amalgam of stylistic influences too. Still, the question who commissioned the tapestry nevertheless is a most pertinent one and shall constitute a key to a better understanding of the icon's overall political and religious symbolism. Certain is that a few years later the Tangut state, the unique Buddhist empire, ceased to exist (destroyed 1227) and the bonds to Tshal were severed for several years like to other monastic centres in Tibet. The last person of major importance witnessing the impending demise of the Xia dynasty was Ti-shri ras-pa, who went directly from Xia to Tshal Gung-thang in 1226. We have reliable information that leading members of the Xia court fled to Tibet, such as those who established the ruling house of La-stod Byang in gTsang province (arguably descendants of the Tangut emperor rGyal-rgod or Shenzong) who played no small role in Central Tibetan politics in the coming years during the Sa-skya regime.

It has been proposed that the patron – less the sacrificiant – who commissioned the image may be depicted in the bottom left hand corner of the portrait,[15] and a representative of the mGar clan (the leading donors or patrons of Tshal Gung-thang from 1231–32 A.D. whereupon they occupied the position of the *dpon chen*) may therefore be considered commissioner for this art-work. But if the tapestry was manufactured earlier, as suggested above, during the tenure of the 1st and 2nd *dpon chen*, the benefactor could as well be found in the circles around the Tshal co-founder Dar-ma gzhon-nu or even his nephew 'Byung-gnas brtson-'grus. Either circles of patrons would fit nicely into our attempted chronology, yet is still pending final corroboration. On the other hand, if we accept that Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge was involved in the process of donation (as alluded to in the original sources), the figure on the tapestry may also depict this master. Relevant nevertheless is to point out that the position of this figure equals the figure in the lowest right hand corner

[15] See e.g. Dunnell 2001: 119; Martin 2001b: 176.

of the tapestry, namely Bya-rog-gdong-can, the "Raven-headed Protector" or Mahākāla. Divine protectors are typically depicted iconographically in the lower register of a painting. The Tshal-pa *dpon chen* incidentally were regarded as earthy manifestations of Mahākāla, the Protector Deity of Tshal Gung-thang, for the first time associated with the 7th Tshal *dpon chen* dGa'-bde-dpal (1254–1310) but this identity may be older, since the functional symbolism of Mahākāla in Tshal goes all the way back to the Tshal founder and his root teachers in the 12th century. It is worth mentioning that when the 9th Tshal-pa Myriarchy *dpon sa* sMon-lam rdo-rje (1284–1346/47) in 1308 arrived in China to pay his tribute to the Yüan emperor Wuzong (1305–1311), he initially paid his respect to a [silk-?]woven portraiture (*thangka*, *btags sku*) of the former Emperor Öljeitü (i.e. Chengzong) by making a flower offering in front of the idolic relic; and in 1319, the Tshal-dpon was presented with a *sku 'dra* or statue of Qubilai Qan intended to be set up in the latter's "private temple" (*sgos kyi lha khang*) of Gung-thang (cf. s*Mon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 12a3–4. 13a2–4, 16a4). A confirmation of this identification therefore would arguably be conducive to unravel the ultimate provenance of the icon and contribute to ascertain the date of its benefactor. If this equation would carry some weight for an identification of the donor or patron in the icon, it would suggest that the stitched icon might be dated, contrary to our former assumption, to the mid-13th century. More likely, however, is the option that in this connection the *kesi* had been manufactured in form of a copy or a reproduction of an already existing painted portrait of Bla-ma Zhang (we shall in fact assume that all portrait *kesi* had been based upon prior painted models) and that the *kesi* then had been executed or commissioned in the Far East upon request. As an *Auftragsarbeit* in this capacity, it had served as a donation of sorts. The original painted *Vorlage* for the woven icon no more exists, but kindred paintings that show striking facial and corporeal semblance prevail that witness the existence of such stylized portraitures. Although the *kesi* technique and the *btags sku* weave fabrication blossomed under Yüan well into the 14th century and particularly beyond this date during Ming times as documented by numerous specimen, it is safe to assume, on the background of the above Mus-chen biographical reference, that the *terminus ad quem* for its fabrication must be situated in the early or mid-13th century at the latest.

1.4 Tangut Interlude: Common Origin of the Zhang *kesi* and the Blue Acala *kesi*

Support for the assertion that the (original model? for the) Zhang *kesi* icon indeed must be recognized as an early 13th-century manufacture – under the provision that the *kesi* icon is not an exquisite Yüan reproduction or imperial copy of an original early 13th-century painting – is provided by another source, namely by way of its artistic and material affinity to another well-known *kesi* tapestry which in a similar way has survived the vicissitude of time. The icon in question is an highly exquisite Acala *kesi thangka* that had been executed for and donated to the famous Sa-skya Hierarch *rje btsun* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1147–1216) – one of the leading Tantric and esoteric masters of his time lauded for his restrained and ideal conduct, he never indulged in meat or alcohol – after it had been commissioned – as indicated in the lower dedicatory inscription line of the icon – by an apparently affluent student of his, the Khams-pa *slob ma* Cang brTson-'grus-grags who stemmed from the bTsong-kha district. In fact, this Vajrayāna pupil of his is among others recorded in Sa-skya sources, so in the colophon of a major work by this Sa-skya master written 1210 A.D.[16]

[16] He is counted among the eight pupils of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan carrying the name-element -grags; *Sa skya gdung rabs* 83–84 here calls him gTsang-ston (also bTsan-ston is registered, read: Cang-ston) brTson-'grus-grags (not to be

The origin of the Blue Acala *kesi* (or an original *thangka* serving as *Vorlage* for the *kesi* tapestry?) as a *Auftragssarbeit* and donation therefore must be situated roughly between *ca*. 1200 and 1216. Considering the background of the relation between this Sa-skya master and his pupil, it is more than likely that the *iṣṭadevatā* icon of Acala was presented to Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan personally

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confused with his famous namesake Bla-ma Zhang brTson-'grus grags-pa); Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *'Phags pa rDo rje gur gyi rgyan* 72b1–73a6 reports that prior to the completion of this commentary to the esoteric *Vajrapañjara tantra* in 1210, written at Sa-skya, the Sa-skya master had been requested by the Tsong-ga'i *dge slong* Cang-ston brTson-'grus-grags* and one [s]Mu-chu Byang-chub-grags, among others to compose it. It is thus evident that the monk Cang-ston came from the Tsong-kha/ga area in present-day A-mdo. The composition of other works by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan similarly followed the request of his Tantric students from Tsong-kha (a text speaks about his Tsong-ka'i *dge slong*, and his Vajra friends or *rdo rje grogs mched*). A Tsong-kha dgon-pa is in another colophon of his registered as a place of writing. This information poses a problem, since on the one hand, it would suggest or document a visit by the Sa-skya Hierarch to some monastery in the area (and beyond to Mi-nyag?). We also know that Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan in 1202 A.D. erected a gTsang-kha dgon-pa (spelling corrupt?) in Ru-mtshams district of sNye-mo (between dBus and gTsang, obviously in gZhu-phu) in Central Tibet, which would appear to be the place of writing in question; see here *Ngor chos 'byung* 156a3. This piece of information would even lead us to speculate that Cang-ston may be a corrupt abbreviation of gTsang[-kha'i] ston[-pa] i.e. from gTsang-kha dgon-pa (recalling the graphic vacillation or proximity between Cang/gTsang, and the slip of the pen or here the needle is never infeasible). It would be tempting to conjecture that Cang-ston was a bTsong-kha-born teacher associated with gTsang-kha dgon-pa in Central Tibet, an assumption that would open up for the possibility that the Acala *kesi* may not necessarily have originated in Xia, but represented an art-work ordered from and executed in China. However, this construct is altogether feeble and the arguments for a Xia provenance remains more plausible. Moreover, the general Acala cult that prevailed there speaks in favour of the latter. We shall uphold the logical assumption that brTson-'grus-grags indeed served as a local teacher in the area of bTsong-kha and/or Mi-nyag. It is evident that the pupil-teacher relation between the Hevajra student Cang-ston and *gsang sngags 'dzin pa* 'Khon Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan may have covered the period up until 1210, roughly *ca*. 1195/1200-1210.

The [b]Tsong-kha area ("Onion Land" also Tsong-kha'i thang, east of Kokonor Lake in present-day Xining district between rMa-chu and bTsong-chu) in the 11–12th cent. was ruled by a scion of the Yar-lung Dynasty, but soon became an important and oft-frequented gateway from Central Tibet to China, from the late 11th cent. also to Mi-nyag (in Ordos, the territory within the loop of the Yellow River in present-day Ningxia, Shaanxi of Ganzu). We are e.g. informed that rTsa-mi *lo tsā ba* Sangs-rgyas-grags sMon-grub shes-rab, the great Tangut scholar (first half of the 12th cent.) who himself boasted descent from one line of the Mi-nyag ruler rGyal-rgod (see below) and his student rGva-lo (1110–1198; Bla-ma Zhang's root teacher)** both were born in bTsong-kha of mDo-khams *smad* Mi-nyag, i.e. he was defined as a Khams-pa (see e.g. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 50: Khams-pa Tshva-lo; and also Sperling 1994: 801–3 for the discussion of the (later) distinction between the northern Mi-nyag area of Xia and the later Khams Mi-nyag (also called Mi-nyag Rab-sgang of mDo-khams *stod*; close to Dar-rtse-mdo (present-day Kangding) where throngs of Mi-nyag people settled following their post-1227 diaspora). On this backgound, it may be argued that Cang-ston also came from Mi-nyag or that geographically Mi-nyag, at least from a Tibetan perspective, was regarded as a part of (or considered indistinct from) Khams / bTsong-kha. The reason for the ambiquity is obvious: Mi-nyag's population originally was of a Qiang stock, speaking a Tibetan-related tongue and the people in these north-western flanks of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands had in part become effectively Tibetanized or had been living in close cultural interaction with the latter in the preceding centuries (cf. Dunnell 1984).

* Cang may theoretically reflect a (Tangut?; Chinese?) family or clan name like Zhang. Deeming the fact that Cang-ston must have descended from a rich family (a *kesi* icon is a gift of inestimable value), one may refer to a non-Chinese Zhang/Shang clan (descending from southern Ordos, along the Wei river; and arguably of Qiang or Dangxiang stock) who had played a decisive role in the area already from the mid-10th century (Horlemann 2004: 82, 94ff. and personal communication).

The links between Sa-skya and East Tibet were plenty. Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's mother, incidentally, descended from a noble house in Tsha-mo-rong and an important, but still unsubstantiated line issuing from one of the purported nine children fathered by the patriarch Kun-dga' snying-po is said to have settled in A-mdo, in rMa-yul Rong-po which, if further substantiated, may account for the presence of branches of the 'Khon clan in North-East Tibet.

** rGa in rG[v]a-lo may indeed reflect the toponym Xia. From rGva-lo, *Bla ma* Zhang in the early 1150's incidentally received Acala cycle teachings; cf. *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 27b5.

as a token of respect on the occasion of some consecration ceremony of Cang-ston and others that evidently involved teachings and cycles related to the *Vajrapañjara tantra*. Being a so-called explicatory *tantra* (*bshad rgyud; vyākhyatāntra*) regularly employed in connection with the *Hevajra tantra*, it is to be assumed that the occasion refers to a consecration or empowerment into this very cycle, considered the esoteric and authoritative core cycle of the Sa-skya-pa, a ceremony, moreover, arguably having taken place in and around 1210 A.D.[17] Theoretically, it is a period that would fit neatly with the fabrication and commissioning of a cognate Zhang icon in the very same period.

The Acala or, alternatively called, Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa form depicted – following here the basic *sādhana* for the [dark] blue (*mthing* [*nag*]) Acala form (i.e. commonly known as the "hindrance-

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[17] The Acala *kesi* (presently kept in the lHa-sa Museum; formerly Potala Palace) is well-preserved – it clearly only seldom was on display – and has been reproduced in the following books: *Bod kyi thang ka* (*Xizang Tangjia*) 102; *Tibet Museum Catalogue* 66; and most superbly in *Religious Deposits* Vol. 2: 84–87; see also Byrd ed., *Tibet: Treasuries from the Roof of the World* 192–93. For a detailed treatment of the Acala *thangka*, see now the Catalogue Tibet (2006).

The Acala form in question is the popular [azur-]blue ([*indra*-]*nīla*) *mahākrodharāja* in the Greatly Fierce One (Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa) manifestation, a wrathful male protector – considered an embodiment of Compassion – here in the traditional kneeling (*avanihitajānu*, *pus btsugs ma*) posture. Sa-skya *gong ma* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was considered a transmitter of the Acala cycle and e.g. wrote *a Mi g.yo ba'i bstod pa* (*SKKB* 2: 121a1–122a4, similar incidentally to other Sa-skya *gong ma*), see also his brief *gTum mo'i sgrub thabs* (in his *sGrub thabs so so'i yig sna* 327a1–b1). The description delivered in his brief *stotra* to the Acala-nātha that was written on the request of his younger brother, the lay *bla ma* dPal-chen 'Od-po (i.e. before 1203 when the latter passed away) remains close to the present icon. Confusingly, other sources concerning the Acala cult as protector deity are attributed to one Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan such as a translation of the *Mi g.yo rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud* (also called *Mi g.yo bla na med pa'i rgyud* as well as other tantric works such as the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa tantrarāja*), but this refers to another famous and later namesake wherefore the arguments advanced by A. Heller (2001: 213, in an article that contains a number of additional misunderstandings) that the translation of *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho* (not *Sādhanamālā* but *Sādhanasāgara*) should be ascribed to Sa-skya *rje btsun* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan cannot be upheld; it definitely was the work of Yar-lung-pa *lo tsā ba* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1242–1346 A.D.?) who also was active at Sa-skya; see e.g. *Ngor chos 'byung* 127a3–4; *Tāranātha rnam thar* 231b3–5; *DL5 Thob yig I* 65b6–67a2; further Nishioka 67, 106; Bühnemann 1994: 15–17; Naudou 1968: 204.

The kneeling (left genuflect knee) form is indeed much prevalent in South Asian images or icons, perhaps representing the oldest form of Acala; cf. R. Linrothe 1999: 152; see also Oguibénine 1997. It not least was this specific Acala form and cycle in an early Indo-Tibetan context that was transmitted to and commented upon by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's elder brother bSod-nams rtse-mo; see the latter's informative *rDo rje gdan pa'i chos drug* and *Mi g.yo ba'i chos skor rgya gzhung bstod pa dang bcas pa* in his Collected Writings. It largely corresponds to the form *Mi g.yo sngon po pus btsugs ma* that later was incorporated into the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* pantheon collection of Tāranātha (no. 173 in Willson and Brauen) and its popularity is attested in the Acala-chapel in the rGyal-rtse sku-'bum, the blue *pus mo g.yon btsugs pa* posture is, incidentally, also attested in two most remarkable 13th-cent. Acala *thangka* (no. 22 in *Sacred Visions*; arguably depicting bSod-nams rtse-mo in the central top-register) and in Hahn's Collection no. 58 (*Art of Thangka*), both related to Sa-skya. See also a statue originally set up in gSang-phu; cf. Berti Aschmann Coll. 116. A similar icon of Acala here with consort is kept in the Ford Collection. A rare 12th-cent. later Pāla styled and sculptured form of the kneeling Acala is documented in Potala (BST von Schroeder 97D-E). Also the celebrated Phag-mo-gru-pa reliquary, a bKra-shis sgo-mangs *caitya* contained a statue of the genuflect Acala with golden fangs; see the *Phag mo gru pa rten bkra shis sgo mangs dkar chag bsdus pa* 341. It later won considerable and widespread popularity. The Acala cult in a Tangut context is amply confirmed too, e.g. from excavations from Khara Khoto (e.g. *Lost Empire* no. 31), the latter however is less refined in its execution, but possibly represents an even older iconic specimen of the same blue kneeling form. See also a more recent *thangka* in the dGe-lugs tradition; see Essen, *Die Götter des Himalaya* II 301. For a cognate Acala *kesi*, see below.

slayer" or *bgegs 'joms*) – is represented in the posture with the left leg kneeling on the ground (*pus mo g.yon btsugs pa*) and the right slightly bent and resting (*g.yas pa cung zhig bskum nas bzhengs la khad*). Set on the background of a flaming aureole, it is endowed with one head, two arms, the right brandishing the sword of wisdom, the left hand menacingly presses to his heart a *vajra* noose wound trice (*zhags pa lan gsum dkris pa*); he further has standard Acala-features: three eyes (round and red), a face contracted in a frown that displays his intense fury and wrath. His body exudes lights of flames that burn and eliminate the hosts of *yakṣa*, *rākṣasa* and foes (these figures are not included on the stylistically refined and simplified Acala icon). His yellow hair stands up straight and is tied in a topknot and his jewel-laden coiffure crowned in the center by Buddha Akṣobhya[vajra]. Twisted around his body is a white snake functioning as shoulder-belt (*se ral kha*). This unique form is prominently found in the Sa-skya milieu, but this particular cycle in fact stems the Indian master Jetāri.[18]

[18] The description follows here bSod-nams rtse-mo's texts. The *sādhana* from Jetāri (Tib. dGra-las rnam-rgyal) is a brief *Acala-sādhana* tr. into Tibetan; cf. Nishioka 75.* The *anujñā*-transmission for this specific *sādhana* was from the latter handed down to the two Vajrāsanika (i.e. rDo-rje-gdan-pa che-ba and chung-ba; the *Mi g.yo sngon po* form is listed among what was considered one of the latter's *chos drug* or six *iṣṭadevatā* deities),** then transmitted to Ba-ri *lo tsā ba* Rin-chen-grags (1040–1112 A.D.) and further on to Sa-chen (1092–1158), bSod-nams rtse-mo (1142–82), then to Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and to other leading Sa-skya-pa. Cf. e.g. *Bu ston gsan yig* 69a1–5; Tāranātha's *dPal gtum po khro bo chen po mi g.yo bla med kyi sgrub thabs bdud las rnam par rgyal ba* (905–22 in Vol. 7 of his Coll. Works); 'Brug-chen Chos kyi snang-ba, *sGrub thabs lo rgyus* 63a1–64a7 and his comprehensive *Mi g.yo sngon po'i lo rgyus sgrub skor las tshogs rjes gnang dang bcas* by mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po in *sGrub thabs kun btus* (vol. 5: 562–603; ed. Dehradun 1970).

It is easy to assume that the present *kesi* icon (or its painted *Vorlage* or even an earlier *kesi* tapestry) indeed had served as a *Bestellungasarbeit* of a popular protective and of a strongly personal tutelary *yi dam* deity and cycle deliberately executed as a private donation to the Sa-skya hierarch by a devoted student of his. The practice of the Blue Acala cycle aimed at removing external hindrances (*phyi'i bar chad sel ba*), which together with the inner hindrances usually allude to the elimination of mental disturbances that hamper spiritual progress as well as outward hindrances such as sickness and enemies. A not insignificant therapeutic aspect, to propitiate Acala was often used in connection with the prevention of illnesses, which may also have played a role here with an ailing Sa-skya master, who incidentally – like his older brother – was an able painter himself (cf. Jackson 1996: 69). Of similar pertinence perhaps, the kneeling Acala is considered the slayer of the demon of the Lord of Death (*'chi bdag gi bdud 'joms*), an added argument behind the motive for this particular gift. It was in the main from his father that Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan received the majority of *tantra* transmissions.

For a final interpretation of the icon, the identity of the two figures left and right of the central Acala is not unimportant. Gauged from later Acala-cycle transmission lineages they represent father and son:

Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po (1092–1158) (left) and his (second) son *rje btsun* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (right) – rather than depicting bSod-nams rtse-mo (which however cannot be excluded).

The conventional depiction of Sa-chen, with whom contacts to Xia initiated,*** as an elderly almost bald-headed man is uniformly corroborated by a host of *thangka* and statues, needless to list. His son, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan is usually depicted as a middle-aged man and if it constitutes an attempted portraiture – which is not unlikely since we are dealing with a personal donation – it would represent him in his 50's, in other words as he would have looked like *ca.* 1200-05 A.D. Apparently, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, in his old days inherited his father's receded hair-line; cf. Pathak 1986 *Pl.* 33. Further, the identity of these two Sa-skya masters as a pair on the Acala *kesi* seems confirmed by *thangka* found e.g. in the Rubin Collection nos. 23, 203, 459, 705, 944 and indeed in a host of other paintings.

The icon is beset with stitched inscriptions of standard protective *mantra*-formulae: *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, *Oṃ caṇḍa mahāroṣaṇa hūṃ phaṭ*, *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture svāhā* and *Oṃ bhuṃ svāhā*. The four incantations to Avalokiteśvara, Acala, Tārā and Uṣnīṣavijayā.

* This is the *Caṇḍa mahāroṣaṇa sādhana* conserved in *TTPE* 3887: Vol. TU 137a6–38a2. See also *TTPE* 5110, 5111. For Jetāri, see Tāranātha's *History* (Chattapodhaya 1990: 290–92).

** For these forms, see nos.195–201 in *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* (Willson and Brauen 2000). The cycle was also known as *Rig pa'i 'bum chung*.

It may here be worthwhile to look into the historical background of these connections. Bonds are reported to have prevailed between these peoples already from the 8th century. For the present purposes, later – both in bTsong-kha and the later core districts of Mi-nyag – the Tshal presence in the early 12th century is corroborated, as we have already seen, by a Zhang pupil with the name gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba dBang-phyug bkra-shis (*GT* 29b–30a) who at that point arrived in the Eastern borderlands and who allegedly ended up serving Činggis Qan in some capacity. The nature of his activities among the pre-Yüan Mongol nomadic rulers still remains dim, however. During the first two decades of the 1200's, it was in this very milieu that multinational circles of teachers and students convened at the Xia court and were active in their numerous monastic centres. Among these the Tibetans, aside from Chinese and even Indian (i.e. Kashmiri masters such as Jayānanda), were most prominent and they included representatives of the Karma-pa: the *dishi* gTsang-so/po-pa dKon-mchog seng-ge (d. 1218 in Liangzhou of Xia, i.e. Ergiuul; present-day Wuwei), the Tshal-pa (and 'Ba'-rom-pa): the *dishi* Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge (see above), the eclectic Ti-shri ras-pa (1164–1236) – the latter served almost for 20 years (*ca.* 1206–1226 A.D.) as *dishi* in Xia and respectively established temples in the Sino-Tibetan or Tibetan-Tangut borderlands, in the bTsong-kha district as well as in Ganzhou, Lingzhou and at Liangzhou (Byang-ngos). This group prominently included Sa-skya-pa representatives and adherents: i.e. *guoshi* Jo-'bum and, not unlikely, the present donor Cang-ston. Similarly fairly unexplored, but thriving was the 'Bri-gung-Tangut bonds that linked the founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po with Xia. The latter entertained intense contacts with its ruling court, and he was recipient of precious silk, brocade gowns and even gold. In return, for his services in religious and apotropaic respect, he ensured that peace and happiness prevailed in Xia for 12 years – so his biography claims. At one point, 'Jig-rten mgon-po dispatched a statue of Mañjughoṣa (or rather a Pāla-styled (*rgya gar ma*) Mañjuvajra) to Xia that similarly served as a palladium icon wielding its protective influence throughout the country (*Phyogs bcu dus gsum ma* 157.4–6, 165.3–5, *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 83, etc.; see also his *bKa' 'bum*, *passim*). Following in his trail, one of the latter's pupils, dPal Śrī-phug-pa and, not least, mGar Chos-sdings-pa served in Mi-nyag (*Chos sdings pa'i rnam thar* 502.6–509.1; *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 323), obviously in the second decade of the 1200's. Contacts between the ruling 'Bri-gung hierarch Grags-pa 'byung-gnas and one *dishi* Rin-chen-dpal who resided in Mi-nyag is recorded, too. Finally, mention should be made of the incipient bonds between the sTag-lung founder and the Mi-nyag rulers. Up to five hundred local monks of Mi-nyag alone were said to be followers of bKra-shis-dpal. It may not come as a surprise that we also possess information that the bKa'-gdams-pa entertained bonds to the Mi-nyag court too: A pupil of the early Rva-sgreng abbot Zhang 'Od-'jo-ba (*fl.* early 12th cent.), by the name *dge bshes* gDugs-phub-pa is recorded to have served as court priest of sorts in Mi-nyag for a total of about 25 years, but no further details are provided.[19] From this brief list of Tibetan hierarchs alone, we shall conclude that both spiritual bonds and political commitments to almost all major establishments in Central Tibet were thriving.

It thus was at the Xia court and in their royal circles among pious patrons that the later pervasive custom of favouring or promoting unmitigated clientelism – later adopted by the Mongols and the Chinese in dealing with the Tibetans and so characteristic of the country's contact to the outside

*** Among his numerous pupils also counted, aside from Zhang's root teacher rGva-lo, a Mi-nyag ston-pa Jñānaj[v]āla / Prajñāj[v]āla (i.e. Ye-shes-/ Shes-rab-'bar) (*bsTan rtsis* 131) which bespeaks mid-12th-cent. contacts between Sa-skya and the Mi-nyag area.

[19] Cf. *Mangga la śrī'i rnam thar* 284.1–2; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 293; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 470, *Rva sgreng dkar chag* 88. For Jayānanda, see van der Kuijp 1993b.

world – took its beginnings. The history of Tangut Buddhism must be seen in the light of the state formation of this non-Han dynasty, the local elite's complex ethnic self-conceptions and the particular role that Tibetan esoteric Buddhism came to play there, since it was to influence the state cults and its underlying rationale. The art of exchange was principally divided along the following lines: Tangut patronage (and later Mongol and still later again Chinese when they took over the entire philosophy and commitment of patronage to Tibetan masters upon their conquest and appropriation of the Xia), donations, alms, and assistance in matters of institutional built-up as well as extensive economic support in return for religious guidance from Tibetan *bla ma*. The latter's role in merit-building and in providing spiritual protection (not least in proffering assistance in esoteric and ritual commitments e.g. in military matters related to fierce and apotropaic forms of Mahākāla, among others) for the ruler or the ruling house – no unimportant commitment – thus often aimed at catering for their emperor's basic needs for worldly as well as otherworldly protection and success, all standard commitments and obligations of court priests. During the last crucial decades of the Tangut dynasty that were almost permanently haunted by sieges, warfare or military campaigns, the relevant sources maintain that the main task of these Central Tibetan teachers at the Xia court and at the religious establishments was – aside from the conferral of esoteric empowerment and consecrations – to serve as magus or diviners who rendered rites of apotropy, or they revolved around strategies and issues of defence and deterrence, assisting, by sheer exorcistic means – with battle-field strategies and not least through, so the texts attempt to depict it, a feast of mirabilia – their patrons in averting foreign raids from the side of the Mongols, Khitan or from Jin.

This is not the proper place to dwell upon the fascinating history regarding the common ancestral roots and strong cultural ties between the Tangut people and the neighbouring Kokonor (Qingtang, or bTsong-kha) Tibetans. We know that present-day north-western Ganzu area (including Liangzhou, Ganzhou, Guazhou, etc.; all later Tangut or Xia towns and territories) in the 8–9th century had been populated by increasingly Buddhist-oriented Tibetans.[20] The Tangut ancestral people, the Dangxiang tribal stock originally had emigrated from present-day Sichuan province in waves and were gradually moved or relocated northwards towards present-day Ningxia Hui region. Looking back on the earliest rulers of Xia and their educated elite in the 11th century – we can observe that they early adopted Buddhism as their basic creed and ideology; members of the ruling families even commanded a *fanyu* language (here Tibetan) and entertained close relations with the Kokonor Tibetans, even if these occasionally remained strained and contentious. More pertinent for the present discussion, the beginnings of the bonds between Central Tibet and Xia must be sought in a network of people, teachings and cycles that reached back to the mid-12th century and that involved figures like Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po and his student Mi-nyag rGva-lo gZhon-nu-dpal (1110/14–1198/1202). The latter was teacher to Phag-mo-gru-pa, to Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and was root-teacher to Bla-ma Zhang and he himself had been disciple of the immensely influential Mi-nyag rTsa-mi *lo tsā ba* Sangs-rgyas-grags famed for the dissemination of the Kālacakra (and the collateral Ṣaḍaṅgayoga system) as well as the equally crucial Māhakāla teaching cycles which became immensely popular and find direct and effective use in the service of providing imperial state protection of Xia.[21] The polylingual and cosmopolitan rTsa-mi must be considered the single

[20] bTsong-kha area had already been conquered by the Tibetans in the 7th century as recorded on imperial inscriptions. The ancestral Tibetan lDong clan is related to the Dangxiang people, the backbone of the Mi-nyag racial stock as already suggested by R. Stein *BEFEO* 44.1: 224. See also recently Dunnell 1996: 6–7, 36, 59; Pinks 1968: 64–66 and for a recent study of the bTsong-kha confederation and the relationship to its neighbours; cf. Horlemann 2004.

[21] The pre-Mongol Sa-skya-Tangut link can be corroborated from numerous sources. It obviously had initiated with

most important figure in forging stable bonds between the Mi-nyag ruling elite and religious circles and the Central Tibetan hierarchs at this early point and his activities and his great impact on Central

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Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's father Kun-dga' snying-po. *Sa skya gdung rabs* (*op. cit*. 75) also chronicles that a student of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's younger brother (i.e. dPal-chen 'Od-po (1150–1203 A.D.), who had studied at the feet of his elder brother for a long period and who as layman later fathered Sa-skya Paṇḍita) called *guoshi* Jo-'bum (? = the *rnal 'byor* Jo-'bum, a student of Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan too as registered in one of his writings; cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 144; *SKKB* 5: 343a1–345a2)* served as court *purohita* to the same Mi-nyag emperor rGyal-rgod / Zunwu wherefrom he tendered to Sa-skya and to Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (prior to 1216) different sorts of donations such as a particular multi-fabric long-sleeved monk's gown (*phod ka*), silver-made gadgets and canopies (*bla bre*), etc. This may indirectly be corroborated in the biography of 'Phags-pa Bla-ma, where the latter is reported to have claimed that his ancestors (*pha mes*, i.e. Kun-dga' snying-po and Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan?) were recipients of donations tendered by the Mi-nyag kings, gifts that e.g. consisted of brocade-made canopies; cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 151–52. For an illustration of such contemporary silk-made canopies; cf. Watt and Wardwell: 85–86, 194–96. For the 12th-cent. rTsva-mi and his importance, see also Sperling 1987b, 1994.

As indicated above, it was descendants of the same strongly pro-Tibetan Xia emperor who fled to the gTsang province in Tibet where the noble house became rulers of La-stod Byang (main seat Ngam-ring) as detailed in numerous sources. Through intermarriage with the Sa-skya elite, they occasionally served as high officials in the subsequent Sa-skya organization (cf. e.g. *g.Yas ru Byang pa'i rgyal rabs*, *passim*; Petech 1990a: 53, 132 and TBH Sørensen: 86). A family member of the line of rGyal-rgod** called Mi-nyag rDo-rje-dpal studied under Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (cf. the Fifth Dalai Lama, *Bod kyi deb ther* 113.5–12 = tr. Tucci TPS 631; with a problematic chronology, however). See also the informative *Khams stod lo rgyus* 26–38. To Sa-paṇ, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's nephew, is ascribed a missive in form of an eulogy to the Tangut state (evidently written prior to 1227), where he praised the Tangut state and their rulers as Dharmarāja and Bodhisattva and their court preceptors as a "grand life-pole" of the precious Buddhist Teaching. See his missive *Mi nyag gi rgyal khams su gnang ba'i yi ge* in his Collected Works.

* A Jo-'bum is also listed in a *Uṣṇīṣa* or *gTsug tor dhāraṇi* transmission followed by one Mi-nyag rDo-rje-grags [= rDo-rje-dpal?], cf. *bTsong kha pa gsan yig* 57a4–7. Concurring chronologically, this would appear to confirm the existence of this late 12th- early 13th-cent. noble-born master rDo-rje-dpal's grandson? 'Bum-sde (in the 1240's?) was patron to Sa-paṇ and patrons to the Sa-skya, and est. Ngam-ring. Its last ruler was Byang-bdag Ngag gi dbang-po (1580–1639), a teacher to the 5th Dalai Lama; cf. *Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar* 18a3f.

** The repeated and almost uniform mention of this particular emperor Zunwu and his royal Xia line may not in all cases reflect historical fact, rather it mirrors the circumstance that precisely this line became known in Central Tibet and rose to prominence (to the extent that in some sources rGyal-rgod became something of a synonym for Mi-nyag), or that indeed members of this line that later produced this emperor long before (say from 1170–80's) had entertained close bonds to Tibetan religious centres. Zunxu, son of Yangzong, the Zhongwu Prince of Qi – and cousin to the deceased Tangut emperor – is said to have come from the Tangut ruling house of Ngwei-mi (cf. Dunnell 1991: 171–179; 1992: 84–86; 1996). rGyal-rgod *alias* Zunxu was a man of great learning (with a top examination graduate, probably the first and only scholar-emperor that East Asia ever produced, yet is also registered as an ardent Buddhist). In the last, turbulent years of the Xia empire, he was forced to abdicate (1223), his first son defied his father by becoming a monk (is this person Mi-nyag rDo-rje-dpal listed above?) and Zunxu's second son Weiming Dewang (*rl.* 1224–1226 A.D., *alias* Xianzong) became the next (penultimate) Tangut emperor. It is still unclear how many of the different wings of the royal Xia family that managed to flee the 1227-massacre of the royal court perpetrated by the revenging Mongols and take up residence in Tibet. The original Tangut state later became part of Gansu province in 1286 with Ganzhou as provincial town.

Discussing the ethnic origin of the royal clan name (i.e. the Ngwei-mi dynasty) among the Tanguts (who characterized themselves Mi or Mi-niah = Mi-nyag), Dunnell refers to the adopted regnal name Wei-ming (in Chinese transcription = Ngwei-mi in Tangut sources) and proposes different etymological explanations for the name. Their power-base may have been in and around the district of Ganzhou. Taking into account that the early 12th-century Tangut scholar rTsva = rTsva-mi (etym. the "One from the Steppe People"?) descended from this line and his Tibetan biographies state that he stemmed from Upper Tangut (other texts: mDo-khams *smad*), from the noble house(s?) by the name rTsa-[mi] Shing-mi ("Steppe People"– "Forest People," under which usually the people of Mi-nyag are divided; cf. also Vitali 2003: 57; see analogously *Padma bka' thang* 475) = Ngwei-mi. The element Mi (i.e. People) as said remained the indigenous tribal name used by the Tanguts to designate themselves.

Tibetan masters also provide evidence that the teaching exchange worked both ways. We in fact are only at the beginning of a reappraisal of the generally undocumented Sa-skya-Tangut relationship and the milieu surrounding some of the ruling Xia families as ardent Buddhists and as devoted patrons to Buddhist hierarchs and religious teachers. In the 11th century we also have reports on the Indian master Sumatikīrti who at the close of his life served both the rulers of Xi-Xia and Khitan. Indian masters in the 11th century had visited the eastern borderlands and their numerous patron rulers, such as the Song emperors to disseminate the popular Buddhist teachings there. Another hitherto uncharted early link to the Mi-nyag court was the service rendered to the local emperors as court chaplain by the mid-12th-century Zhi-byed practitioner Bu-shong sgom-pa, pupil of Pa-tshab sgom-nag (1077–1158 A.D.) – himself pupil of Pha dam-pa sangs-rgyas (d. 1117).[22]

Trusting the biographical data, the relationship between Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's father Sa-chen and rGva-lo and the latter's long-standing teacher, Mi-nyag *lo tsā ba* rTsa-mi shall strengthen our assumption that personal bonds must have prevailed between these main actors, bonds that also ultimately led to the origin of the present Acala icon (or its painted *Vorlage* at least). The same Xia families as royal refugees fled the Xia state upon its demise and were to seek asylum in Central Tibet, not least under the auspices of the Sa-skya-pa and Cang-ston of bTsong-kha, himself obviously either a Tibetan or a Tangut pupil of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan stemming from an area adjacent to or identical with the Xia state may well have served or have acted as an intermediary between the Xia ruling Buddhists and the Central Tibetan residence of his Sa-skya root teacher. It was not least in the court circles of this royal Tangut lineage of rGyal-rgod (i.e. Shenzong, *alias* Weiming Zunxu; rl. 1211–23; d. 1226) that the Tshal-pa and the Sa-skya-pa masters among others met. They represented pious students who were backed by influential donors and they commissioned out of respect to their root teachers – or had their ruling Xia patrons convinced – to manufacture paintings and possibly also such portable *kesi*.

Summing up, and pursuing the Tangut clue as to the provenance of these icons, we shall remark that although these two art-works are different in composition, both *kesi* due to their striking material affinity and finish originated from the same atelier, arguably as Yüan-time gifts (or as so-called imperial *Belobungsgabe*) in a local Chinese workshop or studio. If we assume that a silk specimen in both cases had served as *Vorlage* for those later imperial-time copies – and indeed if we disregard that detailed Tibetan paintings had served as basis – it can be speculated that the lost *kesi*-originals be regarded as "studio twins," probably executed and manufactured during the same epoch, in the period between 1205–15 A.D.[23] Most surprisingly, however, these exquisite almost 800 years old

[22] Cf. *BA* (Roerich 923–58); *Pha dam pa rnam thar* 208; *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 304.

[23] Not to be excluded – it was manufactured in a Chinese silk workshop, but conceived, supervised and commissioned by Tangut patrons. Would this make it a Chinese piece of art or a Tangut? Perhaps both, albeit in Tibetan art history the answer would be clear. We may take the example of a number of 'Bri-gung images. The origin of an item always followed the sponsor or donor, seldom the artist; so e.g. a number of images depicting the 'Bri-gung founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po, executed (i.e. commissioned) by his pupil 'Gar Chos-sding-pa were denoted *Hor sku* or Mongol Images: although manufactured by Indian / Chinese artists (*rgya bzo bo*), still their sponsors were the Xia/Mongols.

The border fabrics or silk border designs on the icons today may accordingly not be original on any of the *kesi* icons; they may have been added or stitched onto the items at a later point of reconsecration during Yüan or Ming times when the old ones were worn out. Such border fabrics "frames" should, however, generally be treated disassociated from the religious icons themselves, since these are most readily exchangeable. The Acala icon is equipped both on the upper and lower border section with a silk-made inscription couched in the decorative and age-old *lañtsa* script which here reads *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ hrī.*

and stylistically obviously wholly Tibetan or Indo-Tibetan icons bear witness to a cultural dominance

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To the same *kesi* group arguably belongs another remarkable (but less prestine) dark blue Acala (in this form also designated Vighnāntaka) *kesi thangka* (in Cleveland Museum of Art, purchase J.H. Wade Fund) standing in a right-bent or *pratyālīḍha* (*g.yas bskum g.yon brkyang*) posture. It is endowed with the traditional Acala attributes and on account of a number of striking iconographic and decorative similarities to the kneeling Acala, it appears to have originated in the same period, possibly from a similar studio or commissioned through a Chinese atelier. Cf. the discussion in Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold* (1997: 90–94). This very form is known as the Blue Acala bKa'-gdams *lugs* or Atiśa *Mi g.yo sNgon po jo lugs* (cf. e.g. Willson and Brauen 2000; no. 174) that has been based upon the eulogy to this deity by Atiśa in his brief *Āryācala khrodharāja stotra* conserved in the canon: *TTPE* 3885: TU 134b1–35b4 (but see also 4892). Acala was the *yi dam* of the Indian master.* It represents one of the "seven divine cyclic doctrines" of Atiśa or of the bKa'-gdams-pa (*lha chos bdun*), an expanded version of celebrated the *bka' gdams lha bzhi* (i.e. Munīndra, Avalokiteśvara, Acala und Tārā). Most interesting is a *kesi thangka* of Blue Acala in the *pratyālīḍha* pose of the tradition of Atiśa, which both in material finish and in style bears remarkable resemblance to the piece under debate in this essay. Most important is the circumstance perhaps that Jetāri was a teacher of Atiśa, Nevertheless, it may suggest to us that such art pieces – from the same atelier – even at this early point were far more frequent than generally assumed; cf. *Gems of the Potala Palace* 236; see also the *Jo lugs* sample in Watt and Wardwell. The popularity of the Blue Acala in *pratyālīḍha* pose of Atiśa is also documented in a masterful, probably West-Tibetan bKa'-gdams-pa *thangka*, a 12th-century icon in the former Essen Sammlung (*Die Götter des Himalaya* no. 99).

The background behind the exquisite *kesi* icon based upon the Jo-lugs system in a possible Tangut context evidently requires further research.

* An early painting – an East-Indic *paṭa* scroll executed by Indian artists – of Acala (mid-11th cent.; in the *pratyālīḍha* form) – one of the arguably oldest recorded in Tibetan – once in the private possession of Atiśa was upon the latter's demise given to his sNye-thang *bla mchod* or *purohita* dGon-pa-pa; it was an icon that subsequently was given to Rva-sgreng monastery where dGon-pa-pa was abbot 1078–82 A.D.; cf. *rNam thar rgyas pa Yongs grags* 167, 212–20; Eimer 1979: 293–97. It is recorded that the icon was still in Rva-sgreng dgon-pa in the early 14th cent. The same text records that upon Atiśa's demise, other *ras bris* paintings of the master and of his *yi dam* etc. were executed by Indian artists probably from Atiśa's homeland of Bihar (cf. here also Kossak 2002). Another mid-11th cent. Tārā *thangka* was the *thugs dam* icon of Nag-tsho *lo tsā ba* (1011–64), consecrated by Atiśa; in the 14th cent. it turned up in Tshal; cf. *Tshal rnam* 62b7. This early 11–12th artistic tradition, as said, is in Tibet commonly known as the *shar bris* or East Indian Style, and tremendously influenced early Tibetan painting style. Atiśa took a keen interest in painting and art and invited Indian artists to Tibet (see e.g. Jackson 1996: 85). It may be contended that the Indian *paṭa* specimen known as the sPyil-bu-pa or Rva-sgreng Green Tārā (Ford Collection) was modelled upon (rather than being identical with) one of these mid-1050's *thangka*. In fact, a large number of allegedly 11–12th cent. *thangka* are reported for Rva-sgreng monastery; see *Rva sgreng dkar chag* 121f. A thorough study of 11th-cent. *thangka* as recorded in different sources is a *desideratum*.

Art-historically, the Zhang *kesi* icon's stylistic affinity to the above-mentioned Green Tārā *thangka* in the Ford Collection equally speaks for a date safely within the early 13th cent, similar to the early Tangut *kesi* Green Tārā (St. Petersburg) and the Acala icon's similarity to even earlier and less sophisticated Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī icons from Helan (in *Wisdom and Compassion* no. 92; *Lost Empire* no. 26) – themselves presumably either from a similar Tangut or a Chinese *kesi* workshop – would also argue for the mastery of the delicate technique prevalent in Xia or at least commissioned by Xia rulers.

Aside from stray references in Tangut materials to the fabrication of silk and the existence of such ateliers, another clue is delivered by the celebrated *Secret History of the Mongols* (comp. *ca*. 1240; but the core part around 1228 A.D. its initial compilation following the Great Qan's demise). In § 248–49 (see here R. de Rachewiltz, *PFEH* 30: 83–85) the 1211 incident of the submission of the Jin and the Tangut by the Mongols is narrated, and how the Xia ruler petitioned the Great Mongol Qan to be favourable towards them, offering – in an act of *diditio* ― traditional Tangut gifts and commodities such as ".. we shall weave wool material and make satin, and we shall give them to you." It underlines the general value ascribed to such fabrics as not untypical Tangut commodity. The need for silk (fabrics) in the Tangut state was also met through payments that China (Song) dispatched to Xixia in recognition of the latter's seniority in foreign affairs; Kychanov 2001: 207.

or preference of Tibetan artistic concepts and styles (at least in certain religious circles in Xia). In conclusion, despite the clearly datable circumstances behind both *kesi* objects discussed above, we may now conclude that both (i.e. Acala and Bla-ma Zhang *kesi*) masterpieces in the final analysis most probably represent exquisite – early 14th century? – Yüan-period products executed in a Chinese atelier, but based upon or selected from prior, evidently early 13th cent., paintings of Bla-ma Zhang and the Acala respectively. As such, both were *Auftragsarbeiten* and served as exquisive gifts.

1.5 The Bla-ma Zhang Icon: Proto-typical Buddha Portrait and Idealized Hierarch

After this brief Tangut detour in which, as seen, the Tshal-pa played no small role, we again shall return to the Bla-ma Zhang *kesi* icon: The central figure is here depicted with his right hand in the gesture of earth-witness (*bhūmisparśamudrā*), in other words as a Buddha, and the left hand in the gesture of reasoning, i.e. explicating the Dharma (*vitarkamudrā*) respectively and his figure (whether or not depicting his real physiognomy) perhaps poses the least problem among the host of questions that still surrounds this enigmatic figure. The right-hand "earth-witness gesture"[24] is usually combined with the "gesture of concentration" (*dhyānamudrā*) and the left-hand gesture of explicating the teaching with the "gesture of supreme generosity" or "boon-granting" (*varada-mudrā*). The gestures of Bla-ma Zhang thus appear to deviate from or represent a variant of the traditional set of positions. The sole and palm of hands and feet are further endowed with the *thig le*, a Buddha-mark. Nevertheless, reading a deeper level into the *thangka*, the *mudrā* indicates Bla-ma Zhang's role as an enlightened being or as a Buddha as well as indicating his role and position as a propagator of the Buddhist creed of his, both principles, incidentally, ideally fitting the icon's subsequent and overall symbolic functionality. These aspects are moreover most conventional in monk and hierarch representations and are hence not specific for Bla-ma Zhang. The central figure, the body of which is presented frontally in cherished three-quarter view, is seated on an ornate multi-coloured petalled double-lotus on a Pāla-styled *siṃhāsana* throne in front of a green cushion, itself leaning towards the throne, the throne-back being supported by two thin white-coloured and elaborate leogryphs (*vyāla*) resting on their haunches and standing on elephant pedestals and the base filled with successive heads of elephants and lions. Crowning the throne – also typical of medieval Indian art – are symmetrical pairs of *makara* with twisted proboscis, which enclose or curl with their decorative tails the halo of Bla-ma Zhang's distinctive features. Not untypical of such monk or saint portraits, his inner robes are yellow and red and his outermost sitting mantle in elaborate yellow.

This entire iconographic setting and composition surrounding the central figure with a hybrid blend of Nepalese and Indo-Tibetan elements carries strong reminiscence of similar settings and repertoires as e.g. reproduced in sets of early bKa'-gdams-pa, and in numerous bKa'-brgyud-pa (i.e. sTag-lung and g.Ya'-bzang), but also for instance in the gNyos hierarch or monk paintings (all firmly datable to the 13th century, but also witnessed in coming centuries) which all appear to be remarkably close to the Zhang icon. It is not the place here to dwell further on this most interesting theme, since a fair amount of discussion already has gone (and indeed will go) into debating the possible provenance

[24] This would suggest, although less likely, that the right-hand gesture of Zhang perhaps instead could be interpreted as that of "mental repose" (*sems nyid ngal gso*). Noteworthy, a statue of Srong-btsan sgam-po displays almost the same gestures, here the left hand in repose and the right hand in the gesture of teaching; cf. Essen and Thingo 1989: 107.

and dissemination of this particular repertoire. The latter was or became quite popular since it is not only documented in the above medieval hierarch or monk icons, but also in a large number of deity icons depicting Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava, Maitreya and Vairocana (and surely in a host of other medieval deity icons once a thorough comparative perusal has been undertaken).[25] The manufacture of the Zhang tapestry in the early 1200's thus represents an uniquely early instance of this particular style and further bespeaks a strong Central Tibetan involvement in its manufacture and composition, irrespective of the provenance of each individual component.

The artistic and iconographic tradition in Tibet has delivered various depictions of Bla-ma Zhang that differ sharply from one another. The sensitively and delicately created Bla-ma Zhang portray on the tapestry as a thin middle-aged man with a goatee and bald-headed (almost a case of Tibetan mannerism) is in stark contrast to other portraitures where Bla-ma Zhang is depicted as a short, stout, rather podgy man (cf. Fig. 4–10 below), but even this style appears to be quite conventional not least for 13th-century bKa'-brgyud-pa statues. These and in particular one miniature painting (cf. Fig. 8), conserved in an early *gSer 'phreng* Collection which depicts him as an elderly monk with an unusual forward-bending or lunging and intimidating mien far more reflects the aggressive and violent nature of Zhang's volatile personality as contemporary and diverse sources faithfully have painted him. The stocky stature and body corpulence of his may far more carry reminiscence of the iconographic or statuary representation of Mahākāla. Anyhow, the small miniature image in all its simplicity may altogether come closer to his actual physiognomy. We have other depictions, both in *thangka* and sculpture form, of Bla-ma Zhang similarly with stocky corpulence presented below, thus strengthening our assumption of the authenticity of this particular physiognomic portrayal. We therefore venture to argue that the depiction on the tapestry represents an idealized attempt made along standard, stylized iconographic conventions used in contemporary portrayals, attributing to his stature, dignity and splendour fitting for a founding figure or a mandriarch of a leading hegemony. The facial outline, as already argued, dramatically resembles that on a *thangka* of Zhang-ston Chos kyi bla-ma,[26] to the extent that a case of plagiarism is at hand. We shall even argue that the choice of modelling in standardized, idealized style was consciously cherished and evidently actively promoted. Still, it should not go unrecorded that texts like e.g. *GT* (10a etc.) report the existence, even during Zhang's life-time, of apparently real-life, arguably sculptured,

[25] For some of the iconographic and stylistic elements, cf. e.g. C. Bautze-Picron 1998. It would be tempting to see a hidden allusion to the artist or to the commissioner f.ex. in one of the smaller animals depicted on the tapestry. So for instance the hares or rabbits (alluding to someone born in the *yos lo* or rabbit year?) are ill-veiled but not uncommon way of leaving behind the artist or commissioner signature. Hares are related to the symbolism of the moon, both in Indian as well as in Tibetan and Chinese lore and is commonly found as decorative topic in such artworks.

For pertinent comparative paintings such as those depicting the celebrated sTag-lung hierarchs bKra-shis-dpal and dBon-po Bla-ma, another painting, the sNar-thang hierarch Zhang-blon Chos kyi bla-ma and their iconographic components in Singer and Denwood 1997: 52–67. More, however, could be said about the provenance of these sTag-lung icons. It should be noted that the early 13th cent. *thangka* of the sTag-lung founder referred to in the former source possibly had been pre-dated by a man-size *thangka* of sTag-lung thang-pa manufactured (i.e. commissioned) in 1209 by one of the latter's pupils Mu-to-ba; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 251.

[26] Cf. Singer 1995: 84, 90. It indeed would suggest that either a common proto-type served as *Vorlage* for these art-works. Dating the Zhang *kesi* either to the early 13th cent. or indeed as an imperial copy to the early 14th cent., its painted *Vorlage* must be even older, possibly executed soon after Bla-ma Zhang's demise (1193). This may have served as model for the depiction of Zhang-ston Chos kyi bla-ma. If the caption Zhang-ston [Chos kyi bla-ma] is correct, it cannot be related to Bla-ma Zhang, since Zhang-ston never was used to refer to the latter.

(miniature) portraiture (here called *'dra 'bag*, i.e. simulacrum) of Bla-ma Zhang, not least the artwork of the Zhang-disciple and foremost sculpture-maker (*lha bzo*) Mar-pa lHa-dkar (see below). On the tapestry the peripheral figures (whether divine or human) that circumscribe the central figure in most of the other niches, both in the side registers as well as in the top and bottom sections, are still largely unidentified. As argued above, most still-unidentifiable figures are reproduced stereotyped and possibly in a faulty way since the *kesi* likely is a copy. The lineage figures (arguably representing two distinct lineage transmission) are either seated or standing and veiled in nimbuses of light red and yellow hues or from red flames. The tapestry therefore still awaits a proper decipherment. Without an obvious clue to the cycle's identity beyond the depicted figures themselves, this important task must await further comparative research and hence is outside the scope of the present essay, but it would be feasible to identify most of these secondary, minor figures once the esoteric writings of Bla-ma Zhang and his successors have been thoroughly perused. Some are easily identified such as the two-armed Cakrasaṃvara in *yab yum*, etc. The numerous *gsan yig* – the rewardingly informative *curriculum studiorum* genre – which record the transmission line of teachings received may contribute to unravel the individual members and figures of the lineage(s?) depicted on the tapestry, just as such sources have already done for deciphering similar transmission lineage *thangka*. It is therefore here not unimportant to reiterate the circumstance that aside from its (secondary or additional) function as an icon of political authority, a function it may gradually have assumed in line with the growing political influence of Tshal Gung-thang, its primary or original function was its role as a religious icon and hence as an artistic record documenting the transmission line of Bla-ma Zhang. In fact, the extensive esoteric writings of his remain a rich source of information. But it is a fair contention to maintain that among the 12 or 13 historic or human figures depicted in the tapestry some individual members of the traditional six root-teachers of Zhang shall be identified, possibly crowned by Dvags-po sGom-tshul or rG[v]a-lo (upper register, center). The ultimate identification of the transmission lineage(s) and the underlying cycle(s) would be tremendously conducive to a proper appreciation of the tapestry.

1.6 Icon of a Lost Empire: An Attempted Reconstruction of its Odyssey

Tibetan religious history is replete with cases that tell us compelling stories of the transfer of statues and icons between monastic establishments, more rarely of regular confiscations. A host of artistic masterpieces in the history of Tibet that was imbued with strong symbolic power and that were considered emblems of authority and legitimacy – to mention the most celebrated images and icons such as the 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara and Jo-bo Va-ti bzang-po Statues, of which the former one – used as a *pignus foederis* or as "a pawn for alliance" – permanently ended up in the Potala Palace – their history often was characterized by cases of abduction and confiscation, of acts perpetrated by different hegemons and chieftains who evidently sought the immense symbolic or sacred capital residing in the items or who intended to instrumentalize the same innate blessing powers for political or personal gains. The odyssey of the *kesi* tapestry appears to have been quite exciting too. The tapestry, once the Tshal Gung-thang polity itself had become an empire of the past and in search of a new identity, did not avoid a similar fate, falling victim, as demonstrated above, to the ever-shifting fortunes and vicissitude that characterized Tibetan polity down through the centuries. Transfer of power often was accompanied, as we have seen, by a transfer or confiscation of the symbols of power and authority that then went through a process of revaluation and reinterpretation in order to

fit new rulers or a different ideology. Following its early 13th century manufacture, the tapestry's initial haven no doubt was Tshal Gung-thang, most evidently the central sanctuary of Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang. At some point in time the icon, however, embarked upon a journey that much later found its temporary culmination in the Potala Palace where it has been kept until most recently. A number of feasible routes for its journey between Tshal and the residence of the Dalai Lama is thus conceivable. A reconstruction of this odyssey shall here be undertaken, but one that evidently is fraught with assumptions and fair guesses. It appears to be altogether amiss to assume that the *kesi thangka* was to leave the monastic center in Tshal after the inscription had been formally attached. The political transfer of Tshal and its subsequent inclusion into the new political order of the Phag-gru's and, in due time, into that of the dGe-lugs (the subsequent inheritors of the Phag-gru hegemony) was characterized by a continuity in the veneration of the founding figure. It is of signal importance to note that Bla-ma Zhang during this spell (latest from mid-15th cent.) in tandem with Phag-gru rDo-rje rgyal-po (1110–1170) and bTsong-kha-pa (1357–1419) were regarded as the "Three Jewels of Tibet" (*Bod nor bu rnam gsum*).[27] The Zhang icon – and all the more so when fitted with the investiture or consecration inscription – served the new rulers of Tshal as a heirloom and a legacy documenting bygone glories and so the icon in question remained an object of veneration and particularly so *in situ*. The year 1546 or 1547 A.D. constituted another dramatic juncture in the history of Tshal, truly a year of horror since – as unanimously chronicled in numerous sources – the Gung-thang *vihāra* fell victim to a devastating fire that almost destroyed the entire institution. Only a part of the entire monastic inventory, in principal only a few statues, were to survive the fire, and their identity appears to have been duly recorded by the author of *GT*. Here we find no mention of a portable *kesi thangka*. This may not surprise, since only larger items normally are mentioned. If we logically assume that the *kesi* tapestry had been originally set up in the *vihāra* (rather than in Tshal, which is not entirely infeasible, or in one of the colleges), it follows that it by 1546 had already been removed from its original place. There exists a famous "transfer story," aside from the present story of a transfer of power, which records and documents the route from Tshal Gung-thang to the residence of the Dalai Lama: this is the story of the removal or transfer of the later State Protector or Oracle-medium Pehar, which formerly had arrived at Tshal coming from bSam-yas. Later, so according to the fascinating story of Pehar's long odyssey, it arrived at 'Bras-spungs during the tenure of the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho (1475–1542 A.D.; in retrospect the 2nd Dalai Lama) where he was requested to take up the position of (i.e. was installed as) the local *srung ma* of the former Dalai Lama residence. In the mythological development of this transfer story which follows a local tradition that combines or relates this journey with the Gung-thang fire (see App. IV), an attempt no doubt in retrospect was made to signal the historic annexation of Tshal into the future dGe-lugs monastic and theocratic network which at that point was about to take shape. It was the dGa'-ldan pho-brang residence in 'Bras-spungs that had become the new center and power

[27] This particular sort of appellative classification – much cherished among the Tibetans incidentally – surely reflects, aside from its evident religious implications, the political realities prevalent during exactly this spell, and it appears to be centered around the narrow sKyid-shod area, where Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po was seen to embody the spiritual heritage and ideological legacy as well as represent the seat of Rlangs Phag-mo-gru-pa who during their heydays had arrived and appropriated the area around lHa-sa incl. Tshal Gung-thang. The sKyid-shod heartland of the Tshal-pa was moreover encircled by the numerous foundations of the Great bTsong-kha-pa and his disciples, who rose to power not least through their successful working relationship and patron-client union with the Phag-gru. Seen from the viewpoint of lHa-sa, the above epithet thus seems to indicate the initial hegemony and rule of Bla-ma Zhang, who was followed by bTsong-kha-pa initially under the auspices of the Phag-gru, founded by rDo-rje rgyal-po.

basis of the ambitious dGe-lugs order, and it was this center which in the mid-17th century was transferred to the Potala Palace in a political process which by the dGe-lugs-pa was conceived as natural, since they spiritually and politically regarded both hegemonies as one. It may therefore be conjectured that the prestigious icon of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang undertook the political journey from Tshal to 'Bras-spungs too, in fact it was such objects and emblems of power and authority that both embodied and legitimized the actual transfer. It therefore may have been donated to dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho during one of his visits to Gung-thang or at any time thereafter; such visits are registered in *GT* too. The 5th Dalai Lama later had it transferred to the newly erected Potala Palace. This chain of events seems more cogent than assuming that the icon went on a temporary detour to gDan-sa-mthil or to the sNe'u-gdong Kun-bzang-rtse *pho brang* of the Phag-mo-gru-pa before it ended up in Potala. In the Potala Palace the story of the "Three Jewels of Tibet" mentioned above finds its logical culmination. The 5th Dalai Lama prominently counted Bla-ma Zhang among his pre-existences[28] and in addition to his strong leanings towards Zhang and his hegemony, the former both adopted and adapted ideologically the long hegemonic heritage of lHa-sa, the heartland and epicenter of Tibet, and skilfully combined it with his own political aspirations. This went hand in hand with the final appropriation and annexation of Tshal Gung-thang *vihāra* and their colleges into the widely ramified network of dGe-lugs monastic institutions, a transfer that was sealed when large parts of Tshal Gung-thang were donated to Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol, the principal esoteric tutor of the 5th Dalai Lama who initially arrived there in 1633 A.D. The transfer of the icon to the Potala Palace, this we shall equally assume, contributed to its fortunate survival into our times. But there its odyssey did not end.

Following the sweeping changes during recent years, after a temporary detour into custody in Beijing, it found its way back to lHa-sa, where it is locked up in the new Tibet Museum (and recently 2006 was again returned to Potala) as one of the highlights in its permanent exhibition. The tapestry *thangka* and the inscription thus represent an iconological source and historical document of the highest order that shall allow us a rare and telling glimpse into the *modus operandi* of political and ritual symbolism in Tibet and not least their fascinating combination.

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[28] Cf. the Fifth Dalai Lama, *'Khrungs rabs* 9a1–4 = 593.1–4 (vol. Ba) of his *gSung 'bum*; *DL5* IV (= Ahmad 1999: 190–92); *DL5 I* 6b3–5; *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 634.12–14 and *DL3* 88a2–89a3 which also addresses the apparent inherent contradiction in the circumstance that for instance Sa-chen (1092–1158), Bla-ma Zhang 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po (1123–93) and e.g. Myang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1136–1204), three contemporary pre-existences of the Dalai Lama, were alive during the very same century. The apparent simultaneity (or at least overlapping) of these lives is countered by the 5th Dalai Lama when he maintains – here employing the cherished *udakacandropamā* simile for depicting "illusion" – that it is tantamount to the capability of a moon to be reflected in the waters a multitude of times at one and the same time (*zla ba gcig la chu zla grangs med 'byung ba ltar*). See also Sørensen 2005b,c.

2. ANCESTRAL LEGACY: THE GNYOS PATRIARCH ICON

2.1 Hybrid Lineage Construction: The Esoteric *Guhyasamāja* and *Vajrabhairava* Transmission and their Commemoration

It was through the sheer authority accruing from bygone prerogatives or from records of yore delineating the heydays of their glorious past that clans and aristocratic families in Tibet often later would advance their hegemonic claims in an attempt to underpin political authority. The erstwhile Tibetan dynasty originally had been ensured through a complex network of clan alliances, ethnic or tribal matrimonial confederations knitted together not least through exogamic marriage allegiances (at court with prevalent polygyny and tiered concubinage) important for the sustained integration of the empire. Although neither counting among such "bride-giving" clans or peoples during the imperial period nor counting directly among the so-called "primeval clans" in Tibet, the gNyos – usually listed as a sub-sect of the dMu clan people – should, similar to a number of other celebrated clans in Tibet, nevertheless boast mythic or theogonic origins, stating that it be counted among or rather was destined to become one of the four great clans or people of Central Tibet (dBus-gTsang; cf. Appendix II, below). The cradle of the clan stood in sKyid-shod, more precisely in Shun in the western outskirts of the narrow lHa-sa area, where the gNyos forebear are said to have made their appearance. Counting from the mythic forefather, it was in the 13th generation – so according to a basic source, the *gNyos rabs* – that one of the clan's greatest figures emerged, arguably the most significant, the erudite gNyos *lo tsā ba* Yon-tan-grags (*Guṇakīrti) (b. *ca*. 973 A.D.), also known under the cognomen 'Byung-po (*Bhūta).[29] This late 10th and early 11th-century religious figure is most commonly known in Tibetan history as an elder contemporary of (occasionally portrayed as a rival to) Mar-pa *lo tsā ba*; both are recorded to have gone to India in around 1028 in search for teachers and religious instructions.[30] There Balin *ācārya* [= Balyācārya] – arguably identical with

[29] The full form gNyos *lo tsā ba* 'Byung-po Yon-tan-grags confirmed in *lHo rong chos 'byung* 425.13f. The same text, however, also appears (falsely) to address him lHa-nang-pa, which usually is applied to his great grandson rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa gZi-brjid-dpal (1164–1224).

sMyos rabs 60, at one point, incongruously and clearly untenably, maintains that Yon-tan-grags and Grags-pa-dpal are two names for the same person (or should it be understood as *Yon-tan grags-pa-dpal?) and that the Kha-rag gNyos are also called (or rather developed into) the Kha-rag lHa-pa. It was from the line of Yon-tan-grags, especially from bDe-mchog *alias* sMyos/gNyos-ston 'Khrul-zhig chos-rje (1179–1265 A.D.), the alleged son of lHa-nang-pa, that in the 18th generation from their common progenitor gave rise to the influential sMyos line in Bhutan when he arrived at Sum-'phrang/So-brang in Bum-thang (present-day Central Bhutan). The influential gNyos/sMyos line should e.g. produce Bhutan's national saint Padma gling-pa (1450–1521 A.D.), the Sixth Dalai Lama Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho and even the present royal family in Bhutan stem from the sMyos; see Aris 1988; Yonten Dargye and Sørensen 2001.

[30] Cf. e.g. *Mar lo tsā'i rnam thar*, *passim*; BA 372–73. For their contentious and eventful relationship, esp. during Mar-pa's first of in total three visits to India (where e.g. gNyos in the partisan Mar-pa biography written by gTsang-smyon Heruka is depicted as a villain – yet this has proved to be a 15th-century fabrication already redressed by native Tibetan scholars such as Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbang nor-bu and 'Brug-chen Chos kyi snang-ba, etc.) and their common pilgrimage to Nepal, etc., cf. Decleer 1992: 19f.

A clue to his dates is delivered when *gNyos rabs* purports that when Yon-tan-grags was 56, Mar-pa was only 17, which suggests that gNyos was born in around 973 A.D. One source claims that Mar-pa served as gNyos' attendant. He allegedly reached an age beyond incredible 140 years (prob. a lapsus for equally incredible 104? i.e. *ca*. 973–1075/76; or 106 years, 967–1072 according to Bla-ma gSang-sngags in *sMyos rabs*). Stearns (2001: 220) suggests 961 A.D. for his birth based upon his preferred calculation that Mar-pa was born in the year 1000 A.D. (due to Mang-thos' predilection

Kṛṣṇapāda Junior or Nag-po-zhabs-chung[31] – became gNyos' main-teacher from whom he received in the first place the cycle of *Guhyasamāja tantra* according to the prevalent and immense popular system of Jñānapāda, but also a number of other cycles such as the *Kṛṣṇa Yamāri*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra*, *Mahāmāyā* and even the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, all studied under and transmitted via the same teacher. He supported the otherwise elusive Indian master for over seven years (*ca*. 1028–1034 A.D.), but he allegedly sojourned a total of 20 years in India. The latter subsequently urged him to return to Tibet to work for the well-being of the people there. Joining Mar-pa in Nepal, he returned to Tibet and arrived at Kha-rag (also written mKha'-reg), and then La-stod Cung-pa (in the gTsang province; cf. App. V, Table 4), where his eldest son eventually would be born. He there allegedly wrote a commentary on *Guhyasamāja* based upon the translation formerly executed by the Great Translator Rin-chen bzang-po. Well-versed in Sanskrit, he himself executed partial translations of *Yamāntaka* and *Hevajra tantra*[32] and assisted by other translators, so it is reported, he even rendered parts of the huge *Kālacakra tantra* commentary *Vimalaprabhā* into Tibetan,[33] none of his partial or preliminary translations however should find their way into the Buddhist Canon. Back in Tibet, he should rise to great affluence and power, becoming a regional patriarch or landlord in gTsang and a local potentate quite similar to the position and influence enjoyed by Mar-pa in lHo-brag.

For his religious activities and duties not least in form of bestowing empowerment and blessings related to esoteric cycles (that eventually ensured the person thus blessed a smooth path to Enlightenment), the person in question often was remunerated with large stretches of landed estates in return. gNyos received estates in the gTsang province, mainly in the nomadic and hilly areas of 'Go[s]-yul sTod-gsum, 'Bri[ng]-mtshams, and rGyang-ro, etc.[34] Such exchanges between a religious figure

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to date the life of many religious figures one *lo skor* earlier, which however do not in all cases seem tenable), instead of the commonly accepted 1012 A.D. Finally, Vitali (2004) suggests 973–1113 A.D. Further research is needed to further narrow down his dates.

[31] The identity of the otherwise elusive Balyācārya (or Balin[tapāda]) – who is recorded to have composed one *Chos skyong thams cad pa'i gtor ma'i cho ga*, transl. into Tibetan by rMa Chos-'bar – with Kṛṣṇapāda Junior is still open. The latter too is recorded to have composed other works and, a Kṛṣṇapāda (not Junior) e.g. composed works related to *Yamāntaka*, cf. Nishioka 1982: 89 (nos. 2162–67), 111–12. The unusual soubriquet of his (*gtor ma'i slob dpon*; cf. e.g. *gSang 'dus chos 'byung* 57b3) may refer to the office at Vikramaśīla enacting "the votive cakes rituals" (*balividhi*), the propitiatory food offering (to principal deities); cf. *Nyang ral chos 'byung* 476–77; *BA* 372; *Mar pa rnam thar* 26; Tāranātha's *History of India* (Chattapodhaya 1990: 294); Templemann 1989: 103, 140–41.

The 4th 'Brug-chen Chos kyi snang-ba incidentally identifies Balyācārya with one *[Kṛṣṇa] Devaśraddha ([Nag-po] lHa-la dad-pa); cf. *sGrub thabs lo rgyus* 112b5–6, probably due to his position in the transmission. This is confirmed in *Trakṣad chos 'byung* II 6b6–7.

[32] Tāranātha appears to confirm the existence of a translation of a *Yamāntaka tantra* executed by gNyos, although unseen; cf. *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung I* 39a4–40a2; see also *Kun dga' rnam rgyal gsan yig* 44.

[33] Cf. also the incredible story contained in *'Brug pa'i chos 'byung* 308.12–309.2. It is generally maintained that it was the prolific translator Gyi-jo Zla-ba 'od-zer – assisted by Gayādhara – who made the first Tibetan rendition, possibly in 1027, of the *Kālacakra tantra* commentary *Vimalaprabhā*; cf. e.g. Stearns 2001: 219–20. It thus appears to be at variance with the statement in *gNyos rabs*, and one may speculate that the latter, rather apologetic text here represents a wishful fabrication or it rests upon a misunderstanding, since in one of the twenty-one *Kālacakra* transmissions in Tibet, precisely in the one transmitted through Gyi-jo one of its subsequent recipients were one gNyos 'Od, who however is not identical with gNyos *lo tsā ba.* See also *Dus 'khor rgyud bla ma lo rgyus* 11a1f; Bu-ston's *Dus 'khor chos 'byung* 61–62.

[34] For these nomadic districts, see *Myang chos 'byung* 66f., 77–79; *DL6* 110; *Chos rje spyil dkar rnam thar I* 24b4; *II* 3b4f. The first source chronicles that huge stretches of the Myang (*var.* Nyang) district (in the 11–12th cent. often characterized as territories of low *dharma* haunted by mischief and brigandage; cf. also *lHa nang pa'i rnam thar* 100–02) of

and his lay and pious benefactor do inform us about the overwhelming importance and the highly treasured prize attached to being the authoritative holder of esoteric teachings. We repeatedly see that many masters and their clans acquired great affluence not least based upon their "treasured capital," the possession of specific esoteric teachings. The acquisition of original Indian esoteric teachings (often in form of original Indian manuscripts from authoritative Indian masters) and cycles dearly purchased and remunerated with gold in India often exceeded the value of the latter and promised the holder considerable income and prestige back in Tibet.[35] In rGyang-ro (at sPel-gsar = sPel-dmar) of Myang-stod, an otherwise unidentified rGya-ston Āryadeva supposedly donated him as fee (*yon*) for religious teachings large stretches of land, monastic estates of what was known as lHo-kha Mon-bzhi, i.e. the area commonly covering what constitutes present-day [western] Bhutan which at that point known as the southernmost part of 'Gos-yul. Clearly the detailed modalities of such estate grants are still largely unclear, did it imply actual appropriation of the territories or was it reduced to certain rights only? It nevertheless was a grant that laid the foundation for the subsequent rise of the dominant gNyos clan (later called the lHa-pa) in the same and neighbouring (Phag-ri) area. His repute and power spreading far and wide, gNyos *lo tsā ba* is recorded for having also met with a number of prominent 11th-century masters such as *paṇ chen* Gayādhara, and the latter's Tibetan student Gyi-jo Zla-ba 'od-zer, and he invited both to Thod-phu of Kha-rag.[36] It is finally recorded that he met Atiśa and the Kashmiri Somanātha, evidently all

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gTsang that extended over Phag-ri to sPa-gro or sKyer-chu lha-khang (present-day west Bhutan) had been given to the 'Gos clan, part of these areas (located between sPa-gro and Rva-lung until Myang-stod of rGyal-rtse *khul*) later became known as the Three Upper Reaches [sTod-gsum] of 'Gos-yul,* and originally had been given as territorial appanage (to the famous minister 'Gos Khri-bzang and confirmed by king Ral-pa-can) in the 9th cent. It was this affluent 'Gos clan and its leading masters that served as patrons for the arrival and support of members of the rGya clan, not least 'Jam-dpal gsang-ba (who came from bSam-yas where he had served as *sku rim pa* of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan and as root-teacher to Sad-na-legs and who est. the gNas-rnying seat and the Bye-mda' lha-khang in Myang-stod, etc.) was actively involved in this process, which may explain the later presence of this clan and of the 'Brug-pa in the areas. The old 'Bring area (which included the district of sNya-nam / gNya'-lam) and esp. the adjacent area of 'Bri[ng]-mtshams was located south-east of rGyal-rtse area. Cf. Mang-thos, *bsTan 'dzin gsal ba'i nyin byed* 86–87; *Myang chos 'byung* 76–8 and Vitali 2004.

The appropriation and control of the areas by the gNyos clan must be ascribed to the period following this and probably only meant that parts of these districts (and far from the entire area) fell into their hands. It remains a puzzle why the otherwise informative *Myang chos 'byung* is largely silent on this gNyos presence in the area.

* 'Gos-yul, rGyang-ro, Sa-lu of rGyal-rtse *khul* are still registered, see e.g. the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey (*lCags stag zhib gzhung* 463, 469) and *rGyal rtse rdzongs lo rgyus*, *passim*.

[35] The value attached to books and their contents is underpinned by a quote from Mar-pa's biography. Accusing gNyos *lo tsā ba* of throwing Mar-pa's books into the water, he states: *bod du gser tshol ba'i dka' las rgya gar du bla ma tshol ba'i dka' las chos dang gdams pa de 'dra gzhan la dkon pa med pa*. Trade between territories and estates in return for gold and for precious teachings is also vividly recounted e.g. in rMog-lcog's biography (77).

[36] Gayādhara according to one tradition visited Tibet four times, initially in 1041 A.D. being invited by 'Brog-mi (b. 993), and commonly considered the latter's principal teacher concerning the specific Lam-'bras teachings and the *Hevajra tantra* cycle. It was during the third visit at a point when Gayādhara was invited by Gyi-jo that gNyos (also called Kha-rag gTsang-pa) – by now affluent and influential – in turn could invite both to Upper Thod of Kha-rag (located between Srin-po-ri (of gZad) and Bya-rgod-gshong (of gTsang); cf. *Bla ma rgya gar ba'i lo rgyus* 345a7–b5; *Rva lo rnam thar* 149–50; *Mus chen rnam thar* 89.2–3, 550.4–6; *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed* 93–94; *Tshar chen rnam thar* 8a5–9b3; *mGon po rnam thar* 21a3–5 for this hermitage and place, cf. also *Chos rje spyil dkar rnam thar II* 28b2; Table VI.7 below; and Chan 866); it should be recalled that such invitations were a question of providing ample funding to remunerate the cost for teachings delivered (the argument usually being to test the seriousness of the disciple or the recipient), the fee not least to be delivered in gold, the most common "hard currency." Gayādhara allegedly passed away

in the mid-11th century. The same century was a period of immense religious activity and of fruitful cross-pollination, where numerous religious masters returned to Tibet bringing along original Indian texts (*rgya dpe*) of specific tantric esoteric or ritual treatises – one only needs to read the biography of Mar-pa (and his alleged skirmishes with gNyos) to appreciate the value and importance attached either to these precious commodities or to their translations and renditions into Tibetan. The individual hermeneutic interpretation and the often idiosyncratic transmission of these texts led to a variety of distinct exegetical schools or systems that was further compounded by the complexity of the individual tantric deity cult behind the different text cycles. Three main cycles transmitted through gNyos *lo tsā ba* became popular in Tibet: the cycle of the *Guhyasamāja tantra* (in the 'Jam-rdor or Mañjuvajra form) according to the system of Jñānapāda,[37] the *Kṛṣṇa Yamāri* cycle commonly known as *gNyos lugs lha dgu ma*[38] as well as the cycle of the Protector Trakṣad Mahākāla known as the *Trakṣad gNyos lugs*.[39] Another gNyos cycle of some note was the *Saṃvara tantra* based upon the

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(either 1079, 1091? or as late as 1103–04 A.D.) in the Thod-phu hermitage as guest of gNyos. For Gayādhara, the great Indian master, see esp. the details conveniently provided by Stearns 2001: 47–57, 97, 219–20 *et passim*. Again, we have chronological inconsistencies, since at that point, gNyos since long had passed away. If the latter data are more relevant, it would suggest that the dates of gNyos should be situated well within the 11th century. On the other hand, *gTer gling rnam thar II* 15b6 maintains that gNyos *lo tsā ba* initially received the *Guhyasamāja* from the late 10th–early 11th cent. *mnga' bdag* Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, ruler of bSam-yas (on him, see Gyalbo *et al.* 2000: 181f.), before he went to India and there met Balyācārya, from whom he received the same cycle based upon the system of Jñānapāda. Chronologically and historically not quite infeasible, only a high age ascribed to this gNyos master would cover this span of activities.

[37] *Mahāsiddha* Buddhajñānapāda or just Jñānapāda (= Buddhaśrījñāna) was a 8–9th cent. Indian ascetic. For his life, see Tāranātha's *History* (Chattapodhaya 1990: 278–83, 325). He was the principal teacher of king Dharmapāla (*ca*. 775 (*fl.* 775–812 A.D.). Among his teachers count Lalitavajra (or sGeg-pa'i rdo-rje), who himself was an author of a *Nidānagurūpadeśa* in the *Guhyasamāja* tradition; as well as pupil of Haribhadra, wherefrom he was taught the *Prajñjapāramitā*. He was active at Vikramalaśīla. Various commentaries on the *Guhyasamāja mūlatantra* belong to the Jñānapāda exegetical school (*zhabs lugs*). Cf. Wayman, 1991: 94–98; Templeman 1983: 56–65; 1989: 141; Davidson 2002: 309–18. Cf. also *Deb dmar* (Dung-dkar ed. 442).

Vajrācārya Buddhajñānapāda transmitted *via* his teacher Lalitavajra the *Yamāntaka* cycle too, known as *nag po'i skor*; cf. *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung I* 28a5ff., 34b3–4; *II* 74a4f., 80a6f. It was this specific form which was known as the *gNyos lugs*. Cf. next note.

[38] Slightly different descriptions in the sources: *Myang chos 'byung* 128; *Deb dmar* 125 (comm. 442) maintains that it (or another cognate cycle?) refers to the 13-deity form (*bcu gsum ma*) of this cycle. *DL6* 107–09 maintains that he from Balyācārya received the *Kṛṣṇa Yamāri* cycle. Cf. *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung I* 63a2–b1, 64b7; whereas *II* 74b2 maintains that it was the three-deity Black *Yamāntaka.*

The *Guhyasamāja* of the Jñānapāda system was later known as the one spreading from the gNyos stronghold of Gye-re lha-khang. A cognate lineage refers to the 19-deity Mañjuvajra form transmitted through Dipaṃkārabhadra. Cf. *Nyang ral chos 'byung* 476–77; *Bu ston gsan yig* 50b4–5; *bTsong kha pa gsan yig* 41b3–4; *BA* Roerich 367–72; *DL5 gSan yig I* 129b5–130a2; *gSang 'dus chos 'byung* 56b3–57b5, 63a6–b1; gTer-bdag gling-pa's *gSan yig* 266b3–267b2; Klong-rdol bla-ma, *gSung 'bum I*: 176.6–11, etc.

[39] Cf. *DL5 gSan yig I* 212b6–13b2; 'Brug-chen Kun-gzigs Chos kyi snang-ba's *sGrub thabs lo rgyus* 112a6ff.; *mNyos lugs ye shes gyi mgon po trakṣad kyi gtor chog bsdus pa* 1b1–7b4; and the *Ye shes mgon po sogs bstan srung gi gtor bsngos mdor bsdus* 4b4–5a6. See in particular, Tāranātha, *Trakṣad chos `byung I–II*. For an illustration of this form, see *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* no. 377 (Willson and Brauen 2000). A Mahākāla lineage was transmitted to gNyos through Balin and include the same six members of the gNyos clan following Yon-tan-grags. After lHa-nang-pa, it was then transmitted to his nephew lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po. *Deb dmar* 125 (comm. 442), an early witness, purports that it was a Vajrabhairava cycle mixed with *Trakṣad* (see below).

For a cognate Mahākāla cycle in the form mGon-po Bram-ze (*Nātha Brahmarūpa), also transmitted through Jñānapāda and Balintapāda; cf. the Rubin Collection no. 343.

system of Lūyipā,[40] hence known as *gNyos lugs Lūyipa*. Three of these in all four cycles constituted what may be defined as the set of gNyos esoterica that were handed down as the *Tantra Triology of the gNyos* [*Lo tsā ba*] *Tradition* (*gNyos kyi rgyud gsum*), also called the *Patriarch* or *Father Tantra Triology* (*Pha rgyud skor gsum*), and all transmitted to him through Balyācārya/Balin.[41]

The two main cycles associated with gNyos *lo tsā ba*, however, were the *Guhyasamāja* teachings according to the system of Jñānapāda and the *Yamāntaka* cycle, the lineage(s) of which is also documented in the celebrated gNyos Master *thangka*. It was in the third generation after gNyos *lo tsā ba* that his descendant in direct line (cf. Table 7 below) the redoubtable Grags-pa-dpal made his entry onto the scene. His residence was located in Cha-dkar of Bur (of sNye-thang) in sKyid-smad, supported by his kin inhabiting the adjacent G(y)e-re Valley and propped by the dominant 'Bring communities as well as by his numerous armed lay benefactors, he led the clan to glory and make the gNyos clan-based lHa-pa the most powerful house in the mid-1150's in the lHa-sa area. It was he who in part paved the way for Bla-ma Zhang in inheriting the position in the area as detailed in the ensuing Appendix.

2.2 The gNyos Scroll: Ruler in Religious Garb and his Lineage Esoterica

The central figure in the remarkably representative early 13th Central Tibetan scroll is the influential patriarch and one-time ruler of lHa-sa, gNyos Grags-pa[-dpal] (1106–1165/1182),[42] here depicted as local ruler poised in a religious setting with the figure's right hand in the gesture of reasoning, i.e. explicating the Dharma (*vitarkamudrā*) and the left hand in the gesture of Concentration (*dhyāna-mudrā*). According to the inscription on the back, the central figure is identified as *slob dpon chen po* gNyos *Yab* Drags [= Grags]-pa-dpal. His body is presented frontally in cherished

[40] Cf. e.g. *Bu ston gsan yig* 53a7–b2; *DL5 gSan yig I* 175b1–2. Also called *gNyos lugs* bDe-mchog Lo-hi-pa; cf. *gSang 'dus chos 'byung* 63a6–b1, 64a1. It was from one Bhadanta (pupil of the Nepalese Pham-mthing-pa Vāgīśvarakīrti; a pupil of Nāropa) and Nag-po lHa-la dad-pa (who may – arguably dubious – be identical with Balyācārya; see above) that the *Saṃvara* and *Heruka* cycles, etc. were transmitted to gNyos *lo tsā ba*, whereupon it in succession was transmitted to gNyos bla-ma, gNyos dpal-mo/le, then in succession to Phug-pa Ba-jo-'bum, gTsang lHa-stongs-pa, and lCe Jo-mdo, etc. The 5th Dalai Lama, however, identifies this with the 62-deity *Cakrasaṃvara* cycle and considers it one among the nine prevalent *bka' babs* lines of this deity prevalent in Tibet.

[41] Cf. also *Sangs rgyas tshig mdzod* 498.

[42] For further details as to an analysis and discussion of the gNyos *thangka*, which unfortunately is not in a pristine state, see Eva Allinger 2000 and 2001 (replacing earlier, incomplete descriptions by P. Pal, *Tibetan Paintings* and by J. C. Singer, *Orientations* 1986) where an attempt is also made to place the icon in the context of contemporary Central Tibetan painting styles, not least compared to similarly styled *thangka* such as the late 11th or 12th specimen of the Green Tārā and the Avalokiteśvara Ṣaḍakṣarī (Ford Collection), which to some extent must have inspired the artist of the gNyos *thangka*.

A few inconsistencies in the article of Allinger (2001): The chronological data of the protagonist are problematic. The death year of gNyos Grags-pa-dpal given in one source (*gNyos rabs*) as 1210 is untenable, 1182/3 A.D. would seem more feasible and the dates given for gZi-brjid-dpal are the dates for the 'Bri-gung founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po. Now, one of his pupils rMog-lcog (1110–1170 A.D.) mentioned that Bur-sgom nag-po passed away in a "bird" year which in this case can only be 1165 A.D. It would appear somewhat early. It thus suggests that his dates are to be situated to 1106–1165. For further data anent Grags-pa-dpal, his clan, his dates and his central role in the lHa-sa area in the 12th century; see App. II (Chap. 1) and for the gNyos family tree, see App. V, Table 7 below.



***3**. The Lineage thangka of the gNyos Patriarch (yab) Grags-pa-dpal*
Courtesy: Formerly, Jucker Collection (101.6 x 81.9 cm). Distemper on cloth

three-quarter view seated on a multi-coloured petalled double-lotus dias on a Pāla-styled *siṃhāsana* throne filled underneath with successive heads of elephants and lions, and leaning against a green delicately patterned cushion, set against a red-drapped throne-back. The figure is being flanked by a pair of leogryphs (*vyāla*) with riders turning their faces in awe towards the central figure. The entire center-piece is set in a cave, not untypical of such monk and hierarch portraits from this period, circumscribed by a palette of colours. Surmounting the throne above are a symmetrical and decorative pair of *haṃsa* which close the curls around the halo of Grags-pa-dpal's head, whose face appears remarkably realistically painted. His inner robes are dark blue scattered with delicate floral golden-coloured roundels, often a nobleman's attire and raiment, similar to his (now somewhat faded) outer garment in yellow hue.[43] He thus is vested with apparels fitting for a lay ruler of some note. This may be all the more surprising when we recall that Grags-pa-dpal was formerly known as Bur-sgom nag-po, an ascetic master and teacher of a number of celebrated figures among these foremost Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po and the later Shangs-pa bka'-brgyud-pa Bla-ma rMog-lcog.

The entire iconographic setting and composition surrounding the central figure carries reminiscence of similar (almost stereotype) repertoires found in other contemporary icon portraits as can be documented in currently accessible early medieval bKa'-gdams, sTag-lung and g.Ya'-bzang hierarch or monk paintings.[44] The gNyos patriarch too is surrounded by a large number of secondary or peripheral (human and non-human) figures, all seated in similar miniature cave-like niches in the upper and bottom as well as lateral registers, perched and intertwined in between stylized multi-coloured staves intending to resemble elongated mountain peaks, typical of contemporary hermit and saint paintings. Like in the case of the Zhang icon, the full identity of all the figures on the *thangka*, which may reflect different cycles or a combination thereof, must await future research. And it is quite conceivable that the narrative scenes detailed in the lower register and the remaining secondary figures shall be deciphered once the relevant *tantra* as well as that of the lives of the *mahāsiddha* have been subjected to closer scrutiny.

The reverse of the scroll (cf. also Fig. 65 in Allinger 2001) is furnished with inscriptions of some of the individual figures in the niches, providing us with information which allow us an initial identification of the main figure and some of the lineage figures.[45] An initial perusal of the extant written *gNyos lugs* transmission lineages and the name list on the icon's reverse readily would lead us to the conclusion that it indeed refers to the transmission of the *Guhyasamāja tantra*. However, the solution to its decipherment may be more complex than that.

In the transmission of these cycles some contradictory data can be registered which hamper an immediate identification of the specific lineage(s). Listing the four or five gNyos clan members since gNyos *lo tsā ba*, it can be concluded that it was not dPal-le (written dPal-sde in the inscription), the son of gNyos rDo-rje bla-ma that transmitted the cycle supposedly depicted in the *thangka* and

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[43] Thangka depiction of noblemen or secular rulers in a wholly religious setting and attire is e.g. attested with *sde srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho; *Bod kyi thang ka* 78–79. However, a similar garment is displayed in the central figure of the upper register of an Acala *thangka* (no. 22 in *Sacred Visions*).

[44] The greatest artistic affinity, as said, is documented in the Green Tārā and the Ṣaḍakṣarī Avalokiteśvara icons, both in the Ford Collection; cf. Allinger 2001: 63. We may also call attention to obvious similarities in a Tibetan pre-1227 *thangka* evidently traced to the Baisikou Stūpas at the slope of the Ala Mountain in Ningxia; cf. Lei Runze, *Xi Xia fota* 20.

[45] See the discussion in Allinger 2001.

listed in *Blue Annals* (*BA* Roerich 372–73; evidently based upon Bu-ston's *gSan yig*). From a first perusal, the transmission registered on the *thangka* and in *BA* either appears to refer to two (different) cycles or they are at least at variance on one transmissional point. The remaining number of individual figures in the *guruparamparā* are largely identical. In *BA* (and so also earlier by Bu-ston and others) the gNyos lineage listed refers to the specific Jñānapāda-based *Guhyasamāja* transmission[46] that indeed was transmitted through dPal-le, whereas the lineage on the *thangka* appears to represent a combination of the latter's cycle with or including *Yamāntaka* or [*Vajra*-] *Bhairava*, a cycle similarly treasured in the clan as a core cycle of gNyos *lo tsā ba* – in fact, the blue Yama is depicted central in the lowest register of the *thangka* with the characteristic Buffalo head (*ma he gdong*), here in singular form, ithyphallic and in *pratyālīḍha* (right leg bent) posture. The icon's composition may reflect one lineage, but most likely a double lineage transmission. Aside from the central figure and its slightly peripheral figures of the main gNyos lineage holders situated around the head and nimbus of Grags-pa-dpal, we find in the top left register as well as in the entire left lateral column the Indian figures of the *Guhyasamāja* (*cum Yamāntaka / Yamāri*) gNyos lineage depicted, a lineage confirmed by the overwhelming correspondence that prevails between the lineage transmitted in most *gSan yig* and the inscription on the back of the *thangka*. In the top register, the central figure is the saffron-coloured (*dmar ser = gur gum*) Mañjughoṣa, one-headed and with four arms (as it appears) – but more relevant for the icon's transmission, in the lower register, second figure from left is the six-armed Mañjuvajra seated within a *stūpa*[47] – returning to the top register, further to the right in succession are Vajradhara, Vajrapaṇi and a red-skinned Ḍakiṇī (top farmost right) as indicated from the inscription on the back. The figures of entire right lateral coloumn (except the top right figure) remain unidentified, but, signally, behind the second figure (listed as no. 18 according to Kreijger's transliteration and Allinger's diagram) an inscription (in different hand) appears to purport "Herein [within the *thangka*] the Bhairava (= 'Jig[s]-byed) transmission [lineage is embodied, a consecration secured] for this very life (? *'di tshe = tshe 'di*)."[48] But the text, evidently corrupt, may also be construed differently, i.e. that the remaining figures of the right column in descending line (*mar*) from the second figure and the entire lower register refer to scenes from the [Vajra-]Bhairava transmission and cycle. Unfortunately none of the nine or ten figures carry any name inscription on the back to assist us with a proper identification. We can only conclude that the last (i.e. most recent) two recipients (next to Grags-pa-dpal, the central figure) are identified from their Tibetan dresses.

Returning to the identified lineage covering the top left and entire left column, one central source maintains that it was precisely through dPal-le's brother named dPal [gyi] 'byung[-gnas] (the one registered in the inscriptional list on the reverse of the gNyos icon) that the *Yamāntaka* cycle was transmitted as confirmed in *gNyos rabs* (22.3) too. On the other hand, Tāranātha (*gShin rje*

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[46] Of which in Tibet at least six Jñānapāda-*bka' babs* or transmission-lines spread (the gNyos-line is the one *via* Balin; see e.g. the detailed list in *DL5 gSan yig I* 129b5–130a2). This *Guhyasamāja* system, known in the Sa-skya school too; cf. 'Phags-pa Bla-ma's important *gSang 'dus ye shes zhabs kyi rnam thar dang brgyud pa'i rim pa* written 1258 A.D. at the palace of Qubilai and contained in his collected writings.

[47] The upper register figure is somewhat unclear on the icon. Usually one would expect the esoteric Mañjuvajra form of Mañjuśrī with three heads and six arms in embrace as delineated in the lineage transmission.

[48] Text: *'di na mar kyi 'di tshe 'jig byed rgyud pa*. There was no occasion to inspect the reading. Alt. reading: *'di phyi*, "this and the subsequent life." If this construe is justified, it would support the assumption that the *thangka* is a commemorative icon. Despite direct access to photos of the inscription (courtesy of Dr. Weldon), it was impossible to confirm this reading.

gshed chos 'byung I 63a2–b1) not only purports that the Indian lineage of the gNyos' *Yamāntaka* transmission is largely identical with the *Guhyasamāja*,[49] but also in the Tibetan part of the gNyos lineage transmission of *Yamāntaka*, he lists dPal-le *in lieu* of dPal-'byung. Aside from the possibility that scribal blunders have crept into the list of names in a transmission – a phenomenon of notorious regularity in Tibetan written sources – it thus can be concluded that – either way – the lineage on the icon's reverse safely can be identified with that of the latter's transmission too. Bhairava, as said, played a crucial role in the gNyos-specific teachings and curricula. The cult, practice and propitiation of this particular deity was widespread in the gNyos family (see App. V, Table 7 below). Signally, both *tantra*, based upon the exegetical school of Jñānapāda, were transmitted to gNyos and his clan line *via* Balin. To complete the picture, a number of lineage histories inform us that Yon-tan-grags in fact received not only the 13-deity and the 9-deity Bhairava cycle, but also the 13-deity *dGra nag*, i.e. the *gshin rje gshed nag po skor*, or the Black *Yamāntaka / Kṛṣṇa Yamāri*, which was considered very powerful (*mthu stobs shin tu che*).[50] Interestingly, the same author also underlines that it was Grags-pa-dpal's son lHa-nang-pa who decisively disseminated the cycle followed by the latter's nephew line (*dbon rigs*), i.e. lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po. A circumstance also reported in numerous *gSan yig*. It therefore shall be contended that the *thangka* in fact attempts to represent the *Guhyasamāja / Yamāntaka* hybrid lineage tradition with a supplementary Vajrabhairava lineage as transmitted through gNyos; in other words, it reflected a hybrid or combined lineage of the gNyos specific *Guhyasamāja* transmission linked with the *Yamāntaka/Yamāri.* The affinity between the systems, as said, is repeatedly addressed by scholars.[51] Conducive to the identification of the icon as adhering to Black *Yamāntaka* (the wrathful form of Mañjūśrī), incidentally, may be the inscription on the reverse of the *thangka*, behind each figure we find the *ōṃ āḥ hūṃ*, i.e. the *hṛḍaya dhāraṇī* or heart formula of Yamāntaka written. But this formula is commonplace and therefore may not be very conclusive. The remaining, still unidentified, lineage on the icon seems to indicate, as said, the Bhairava or Vajrabhairava lineage-holders. The Bhairava cult in Buddhist India, originally non-Buddhist, is complex and no less are the numerous lineages that were transmitted to Tibet, introduced by the main upholders of the Bhairava cult in Tibet (*bod kyi 'jigs byed mkhan po*) and their main exegetical schools or systems (*lugs*). The most prevalent were the different systems transmitted through Rva *lo tsā ba* rDo-rje-grags and his ancestral lineage.[52]

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[49] *Op. cit*. *phal cher gnyos lugs rang gi gsang 'dus dang 'dra*.

[50] A narrative that delivers the rationale for the gNyos transmission recounts, seemingly legendary, how Yon-tan-grags is reported to have sought a protector deity that ideally combined spiritual and secular needs (*chos don 'dril ba*), wherefore Balin tendered him the Jñānapāda-based *Guhyasamāja* cycle. Upon repeated requests, he then asked for a powerful *iṣṭadevatā*, and was given the cycles of *Yamāri.* For his return to Tibet, he requested protection and as a small pass was to be negotiated *en route*, gNyos finally requested a protector (*bka' srung*), and so was given the wrathful Vajrabhairava in a combined form with Trakṣad Mahākāla (see above). This (combined set of different cycles?) in fact constitutes the *sgrub skor* of gNyos that spread in Tibet; cf. *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung II* 83ba5–b3. As for the *dgra nag* cycle, it is defined as *dgra nag gnyos lugs kyi ro langs brgyad skor dgra nag.*

This seems corroborated by Tāranātha, *Trakṣad chos `byung I* 3a3–6. This story sounds like providing no more than an explanation behind his acquisition of *gNyos kyi rgyud gsum* listed above. It is not infeasible that all these protective and esoteric aspects, in some hybrid fashion, remain retracable in the *thangka* in question. This reading may in fact be crucial for a proper and deeper understanding of the nature and origin of the icon.

[51] Cf. *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung I* 72a5–b2.

[52] Restricting us to the reception in Tibet, aside from Rva, the most widespread were the different cycles transmitted through Mal *lo tsā ba* Blo-gros-grags (Mal *lugs*), sKyo *lo tsā ba* 'Od kyi 'byung-gnas (sKyo *lugs*), Zhang *lo tsā ba* Shes-rab bla-ma (Zhang *lugs*) and of Atiśa (Jo *lugs*); a specific form was the Śrīdhara system popular among the 'Bri-gung-pa.

In order to narrow down the milieu that led to the manufacture of the icon, it is noteworthy to reiterate that the 'Bri-gung founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po, the root-teacher of lHa-nang-pa gZi-brjid-dpal[53] – the latter being the son of Grags-pa-dpal – himself had visions, already at the age of eight, of the wrathful Vajrabhairava (cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 70)[54] and lHa-nang-pa's close companion, mGar dam-pa Chos-sdings-pa (1180–1240 A.D.) was a prominent practitioner of the same cycle and lineage stemming from Rva (cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 431–32).[55] The latter's Bhairava transmissions in Tibet – known as Rva-lugs – no doubt at that point were the most widespread, or rather the different cycle(s) stemming from Rva *lo tsā ba*. The latter text informs us that mGar dam-pa, having tendered a red piece of *dar yug* silk, requested and received from *dge bshes* gNyos lHa-nang-pa the complete cycles of both *Guhyasamāja* and *Yamāntaka*.[56] Here again we encounter the dual transmission. It is in this milieu and upon the above transmissionally hybrid background that the *thangka* be appreciated. The *thangka*, clearly an *Auftragsarbeit*, was meant to constitute an iconic, mainly religious document that recorded or commemorated the ceremonious inauguration or consecration of Grags-pa-dpal into the particular cycle(s).

The icon as a consecration *thangka* had been made in commemoration of the great master Grags-pa-dpal, the ruler of the lHa-sa area most likely in the period sometime between 1160 and 1180 A.D. The commemorative nature, incidentally, would underpin the "transmissional hybrid" nature of the icon. For a dating, one estimate would most readily situate its manufacture at the close of Grags-pa-dpal's life, early 1180 A.D. (or already 1165? as less likely alternative date) or shortly after. The inscriptional *yab* (i.e. allegedly commissioned by his son, lHa-nang-pa gZi-brjid-dpal) would immediately support such an estimate. The icon as a document for consecration and empowerment normally would imply the participation and presence in the ceremony of the main-figure, too. On the other hand, where the caption on the hierarch portrait indeed can be understood as "father," such a "personal" and filial use in this particular case and milieu would be rather uncommon, and *yab* far more likely indicates the neutral and respectful "patriarch" of a line(age) or a tradition, an appellation (*pha* is often also used) quite prevalent in the bKa'-brgyud transmissions. It therefore shall be assumed that the *thangka* icon was not a "personal" but was treated as a religious icon dedicated to the gNyos paternal ancestry and historically intended to record and commemorate

[53] But e.g. A-khu's *dPe dkon* refers to a *Guhyasamāja tantra* commentary and a *bsdus don* written by him (non-extant).

[54] It is reported that 'Jig-rten mgon-po had a statue of the Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra erected in commemoration of Phag-mo-gru-pa (i.e. after 1170); cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 363.

[55] mGar Chos-sding-pa gZhon-nu rdo-rje (~ Śākya-dpal). The mGar *lugs* of Vajrabhairava was based upon the gNyos transmission; cf. *Chos sdings pa'i rnam thar* 447.3–448.2; *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung I* 62; *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 322–25; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 428–441. mGar dam-pa had erected a statue of Vajrabhairava and later spread its cycle in particular in mDo-khams. In Reb-gong district, mGar established the mGar-rtse-mthil g.Yu-lung-dpal gyi dgon-pa; cf. *Reb gong chos 'byung* 150–51. Other sources mention that prior to this he erected the Zu-re Chos-sding dgon-pa in Klung-shod. A large number of statues (*sku 'dra*) of 'Jig-rten mgon-po was commissioned by mGar, known as *Hor sku*, executed by Indian / Chinese artists yet sponsored by Mongol princes, hence its name. Cf. e.g. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 91.

[56] Most *gsan yig curricula* such as that of the 5th Dalai Lama inform us of a very large number of the lineages through him, both the *Guhyasamāja* but also the complex *Yamāntaka* cult in Tibet. Relevant for our purposes here are the transmissions *via* Rva-lo of the two-faced black Yamāntaka cycle which went through Jñānapāda, Dipaṃkārabhadra, dPal-bde, Vimālagupta, Karṇapa, Samantabhadra, and Śrīdhara, etc. until Rva's teacher in Nepal Thugs-rje chen-po. Another line is the *Zhang lugs lha bcu gsum ma* of *Kṛṣṇa Yamāri* which was also transmitted through Jñānapāda and Dipaṃkārabhadra. Cf. *DL5 gSan yig I* 136a5–b1, 155b2–4.

the common *patrilineal* transmission treasured as the specific gNyos lineage, corroborated by the presence on the icon itself of several generations of gNyos teachers, crowned by Grags-pa-dpal who brought the clan to fame and affluence. Such pious acts of commemoration (*dgongs rdzongs, gshegs rdzongs*) regularly held at specific times in the aftermath of a high-ranking master's or ruler's demise was very common. This is also corroborated by the caption on the back which clearly identifies the central figure as gNyos *yab*, the "gNyos Patriarch."[57] To underpin the function of the scroll, this interpretation is also suggested by the reference to the cycles in the gNyos lineage which are designated as adhering to *pha rgyud*, here it may refer to "the father *tantra* class" (both cycles are classified as father *tantra*), but also to the *tantra* of the gNyos patriarch or ancestor as indicated above. If the "filial" interpretation of the icon thus is disavowed, it follows that the commissioner of the icon not necessarily is identical with lHa-nang-pa gZi-brjid-dpal (1164–1224). It therefore can be dated to the period around 1220 at the earliest, or slightly later during the last years of lHa-nang-pa or during that of his nephew lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po (1201–70) – himself not depicted on the icon – who is otherwise listed as a direct recipient of the *Yamāntaka* as well as *Mahākāla*, etc. transmissions of gNyos, manufactured at a point when the lHa-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa for a short period probably was considered the most powerful order in parts of Central Tibet or sKyid-smad, a position that lasted at least up until *ca*. 1250.

In conclusion, the gNyos Patriarch scroll remains an intriguing wonder of early Tibetan art. The artist himself – this can only be speculated – most likely was a Tibetan trained in the Newar tradition or a Newar artist himself.

[57] The word *yab* as patriarch is similarly understood in the context of the 'Brug-pa; see Blythe Miller 2006: 22.

3. THE MANY FACES OF BLA-MA ZHANG

True to the nature of his charismatic personality, the overriding number of depictions of Bla-ma Zhang, whether sculptured or painted, usually presents him as a sturdy and stocky man, resolute, dominant, almost invincible in appearance, and occasionally endowed with an irascible and sardonic mien of the self-complacent sort. A saint who thus seems to embody an inborn paradox, epitomizing the *coincidentia oppositorum* so prevalent in esoteric thought and mystic art: he exudes an air of both benign and terrifying authority and power (*potestas* and *violentia*), of enforced compassion, upheld under ambiguity's playful mask, and thus perfectly encapsulates the eternal conflict of representation: he may cross the boundary between conventional and absolute reality, at the same time by crossing or bridging these seemingly disparate worlds, it helps us revealing the apparent lack of difference between them.

This depiction dovetails perfectly with the portrait and rascal-like profile one gathers of his personality from his own writings. Still, the depictions presented here are all remarkably similar, a common style evidently, that clearly reflects standard iconographic conventions, almost to the point of anonymity, already found in a very large number of similar statue samples prevalent already from the 13th century statues. He is here portrayed in cherished diamond seat attitude (*vajraparyaṅkāsana*), the left hand resting in the lap, whereas the right hand displays the gesture of earth-witness (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*), seated on a double lotus pedestal with an upper and lower beaded border. One exemplar is without such cast pedestal base. The entire iconographic setting is basically Indic and, as said, utmost conventional and stereotype, in fact it is an iconographic convention to be found as the most widely prevalent form for statuary depiction of the historic Buddha: endowed with an authoritative poise and robust physique and with minor Buddha marks such as here the equally cherished elongated or protracted ears (*pīnāyata-karṇa*), etc. In such depictions, the *mudrā* depicts the hierarch in the capacity of bespeaking Enlightenment. In other words, to the awesome practitioner and the pious audience alike, as apotheosized portraiture it thus intends to depict Zhang – the embodiment of Enlightenment – as a Buddha in person.

In these wholly Tibetan iconic interpretations or adaptations of Zhang in Buddha manifestation, the Tshal master is portrayed clad in the patchwork monastic garment (*cīvara*), richly decorated with brims and floral patterns. The corpulent physiognomy and the visage with the dominant elongated ears and smile, however, are most conventional, and the same iconic form is therefore witnessed in countless statuary samples of other early bKa'-brgyud-pa ascetics, saints and hierarchs such as icons depicting Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po and 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten mgon-po, among others. One may even suspect that this cherished form was proto-typical for depicting hierarch representations. In the case of Bla-ma Zhang, however, the blend of conventional portraiture and individual traits with the overly expressive visage of his nevertheless would seem to carry some portrait-like features, traits evocative of his purportedly arrogant, intractable and eccentric personality. We thus encounter the volatile and many-sided faces of Zhang known from the literature – ambiguous, arrogant, benevolent, dignified and so on. More than anything, this observation allows us to argue that the present statues, of which some may be later copies, may represent portraitures closer to the reality than any other idealized depiction of him. We are informed that Mar-pa lHa-dkar, one of Bla-ma Zhang's foremost disciples and a famed sculpture-maker and architect – who was responsible for the erection of the Grand Jo-bo Mahābodhi Statue in 1189 A.D. at Tshal Gung-thang – manufactured 108 different effigies or images (called *'dra 'bag*; i.e. simulacrum, lit. "mask of resemblance") of Bla-ma Zhang, statues respectively referred to as *mdzub gang ma* (i.e. *ca*. 3 inches = *ca*. 7 cm), *khyud re ma* (hand-sized, approx. 6 inches = *ca.* 14 cm) but also samples of the diminiutive *tshon re ma* (thumb-sized, 0.4 inch = 1 cm), etc. These statues were later known as *Mar-pa lHa-dkar-ma* (one particular icon was designated *Mar-pa lHa-skal-ma*). The statues thus in fact were statuettes, the measurement of which had been based

upon conventional hand and finger measures. It is quite likely that more but at least one of the sculptures reproduced here must count among one of these late 12th- and early 13th-century *mdzub gang ma* or *khyud re ma*-sized Zhang statues executed by this famous artist. The miniature portrait, one of the many frontispiece of him that prevail, depicts him, true to the general depiction of him, as as elderly monk wearing a peculiar *sgom zhva* or meditation cap (captioned as the *sgom zhva* of Dvags-po sGom-tshul; see Introduction: fn. 15) and with an unusual, slightly forward-bending and intimidating mien. This too would seem to reflect the aggressive and violent nature of Zhang's protean personality as contemporary sources vividly have painted him (see Introduction: Chap. 6).



4. Bla-ma Zhang – the Ambiguous One
Courtesy: Jaques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art



5. Bla-ma Zhang – the Redoubtable One
The Halpert Collection. Courtesy of Carlton Rochell, Ltd.



6. Bla-ma Zhang – the Benevolent One
Courtesy of Oliver Hoare (London)



7. *Bla-ma Zhang – the Content One*
14th cent. (?) statue of medicinal clay kept in Potala



9. *Zhang Tshal-pa*
Miniature painting from a *gSer phreng* manuscript



8. *Zhang Rin-po-che wearing the sgom tshul sgom zhva ("meditation hat of [his teacher] [Dvags-po] sGom-tshul")*
Miniature drawing from a *gSer 'phreng* manuscript



10, ***11***. *Bla-ma Zhang – the Dignified One*

Detail from a lineage *thangka* of the Fifth Dalai Lama



Detail from a lineage *thangka* of the Ninth Dalai Lama

APPENDIX II



1. *Prof. Sørensen photographing Bla-ma Zhang's birthplace at Tshal Gung-thang (2002). The place is marked by the white stone*

II. CONTROL OVER THE LHA-SA MAṆḌALA ZONE

Geo-political Schemes, National Monuments, Flood Control Politics and Ideological Battlefield

Per K. Sørensen

1. THE FOUR RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES (*sde bzhi*): Factional Struggle for Supremacy and the Control of a National Sanctuary

The break-down of the Tibetan dynasty in the 9th century and the relatively lengthy interregnum that was to follow – a prolonged epoch overshadowed and haunted by civil anarchy – eventually led to a long-felt power vacuum in Central Tibet, an ensuing deadlock that was to last well into the early 11th century. The turmoil and commotion that reigned in connection with the mainly clan-led warring skirmishes over once-held territories and over access to and the reappropriation of these or of new districts proved to have devastating bearing on numerous temples, sanctuaries and residences, barely sparing any institution on that score. In the throes of incessant warfare, they had fallen victim to bouts of ransacking and looting. With the break-up and redistributive organization and the re-emergence of new hegemonies, the ensuing conflicts in the first place also meant the gradual migration or the forced resettlement of many clans into neighbouring areas, leading to new conflicts and to the strategic birth of new alliances and confederations. Our knowledge of this migratory [re-]settlement history and the outcome of most of the local, occasionally supralocal conflicts are still superficial, reflecting the paltry data at our disposal for those remote centuries close to a millennium ago. What seems certain is that in an epoch marked by decentralization and chaos at a point when numerous centres and hegemonies vied for supremacy, one site in particular was held in common awe and exuded adequate cultural prestige to become a national center. In the ensuing centuries dogged by countless conflicts, refurbishments and occasional destructions, it not least was the enduring struggle for supremacy over this lHa-sa area as home of Tibet's true *sanctum sanctorum* (Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang) that governed and shaped medieval Tibetan politics.

At the very outset, Ra-sa (later renamed lHa-sa; for its symbolic importance see next chapter) barely consisted of more than this sanctuary as well as of Ra-mo-che that had followed the erection of a residential palace of Srong-btsan sgam-po on dMar-po-ri, whereto the royal family and court shifted from the Yar-lung valley, the one-time cradle of the dynasty. For the dynastic period, later sources report the erection in the four directions around lHa-sa (= the two Ra-sa sanctuaries) of four monk congregations or communities (*dge 'dun gyi sde*) originally erected by Ral-pa-can in the early 9th century[1] and set up as chapels in order to provide religious service to the main sanctuary. These

[1] These four (sometimes six are listed) were the rMe-ru (orig. dMar-ru or "Red Horn," which later developed its own line of abbots), Ke-ru (orig. dKar-ru or "White Horn") (both located towards the east), then dGa'-ba, dGa'-'od (both located to the south) and Brang-khang as well as Brang-khang [m]tha[']-ma (usually towards the north); it appears that one of the southward directed establishments was actually situated towards the west.

One of these institutions turned into the well-known Ra-mo-che bZhi-sde/sDe-bzhi institution. Cf. for details Table

institutions were known as the sDe-bzhi or "four [monk] communities," and they may well have constituted the forerunners (or have served as models) for what was later known as the lHa-sa sde-bzhi communities, although the latter communities as indicated below may have included or been backed by local lay settlements. Beyond that, our knowledge of the social topography and incipient urban organization as well as our knowledge of the historical development in the lHa-sa area proper and its relative chronology both what concerns the late dynastic period and the initial *phyi dar* epoch still remains deplorably rudimentary. Only of the historical development in Western Tibet do we possess a rough but fairly reliable chronology for the early post-imperial spell. In Central Tibet and especially around bSam-yas and the lHa-sa heartland, as reported in a host of sources such as dPa'-bo's *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, it is detailed that in the wake of the early 10th-century *kheng log* and its chaotic aftermath, warfare at some point broke out between four religious communities that had taken form following the inceptive return of a number of religious figures from Eastern Tibet. They had arrived in Central Tibet, initially bSam-yas, in order to resuscitate Buddhism there. Lacking an unifying power in Tibet's old heartland as elsewhere at this juncture, the sources merely speak about the religious movements in this period: the four groups or communities (*sde ba, tsho ba bzhi*) – sometimes also four groups in or around lHa-sa (*lha sa sde bzhi*, *lha sa tsho* [*ba*] *bzhi*) are spoken of – represented the *sarvāstivādin*-propounding communities and their lay supporters that had issued from Klu-mes, rBa, Rag and 'Bring (occasionally rBa and Rag count as one group (sBa-rag) and sometime a fifth (resp. fourth) rMa *tsho* group is introduced too) respectively, also known as the monastic institutions of the Lower Vinaya Schools or the *smad 'dul sde* or *tsho bzhi* (see Table 6 *infra* for the major settlements and their geographical distribution). Behind the names stood in the first place not clans, but merely the ethnonymic clan-name of the founding figure and his stock of successive master and disciple lineages (*mkhan bu*), the outcome of which was a fast developing network of communities established throughout many areas.

Another kind of information – admittedly scarce too – gleaned from a number of stray sources concerns the distribution of clan and families throughout most of Central and Western Tibet. Their incessant conflicts are reported too, not least among the descendants and scions of the royal lines that had issued from the former Yar-lung dynasty and their supportive aristocratic clans such as the dBa' and mGar. They recur again in some sources, this time because they were won over to serve as active patrons for these emerging religious communities. It remains one of the most rewarding commitments for future research to sketch out and to determine the clan distribution in the succeeding centuries in the territories in question. We do know that later scions and princes of the former dynasty resorted to their prestigious link to the dynasty of yore, bonds that proved to be their most treasured capital.

In the wake of the ensuing internal fighting among the re-emerging religious factions now backed by a patronizing clan aristocracy, bSam-yas was put to the torch, probably in 1106 A.D., an event that followed a fate similar in Ra-sa, victim of bouts of sacrilegious vandalism during the late imperial period. In the throes of the demolishing and ransacking, Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang *vihāra* literally was reduced to "a beggar's nest."[2] Nested as it was in a rugged Tibetan landscape, it paradoxically

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V.10 *infra*. Prior to this point, four Rigs-gsum mgon-po protector chapels allegedly had been erected in the four directions around lHa-sa; cf. for details Alexander 2005: 91–100.

[2] In Bla-ma Zhang's Dvags-po sgom-tshul biography, an alternative image and aphorism is employed which purports that in the throes of the warring conflicts and prolonged feuds, the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang *vihāra* was in ruin and resembled the inner part (or: cadaver) of a lion eliminated from within by insects" (*seng ge'i khog pa 'bus zhig pa bzhin du nang nas*

remained a robust (on that score to this very day arguably being the oldest surviving timber-frame building in the world), yet also a fragile sanctuary throughout all times. In essence, we actually only know that it was a renowned translator, Zangs-dkar *lo tsā ba* 'Phags-pa Shes-rab along with one [m]Dol-chung *skor dpon* who carried through the first proper, but extensive post-dynastic repair of the Jo-khang.[3] During the same spell, stray information moreover seems to indicate that it was prior to the *chos 'khor* Council in 1076 A.D. that two true pioneers of the incipient Pramāṇa school in Tibet, Dvags-po dBang-rgyal and Khyung-po Grags-se each set up small competing schools (or seminars; *grva*) on dMar-po-ri and Po-ta-ri (*BA* Roerich 71, 93) respectively – which here suggest two sites on one and the same hill.[4]

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zhig); cf. *ZhK III* (KA) 72b3. The same idiomatic phrase – as if alluding to some subversive activities enacted by people with little or false faith – is at some point used by Bla-ma Zhang himself when assessing the fate of his own teachings; cf. *ZhK III* (CA) 268b4–5, 269a2. Similar proverbial imagery entered Tibetan idiomatic language; cf. e.g. Ch. Cüppers and Per K. Sørensen 1998: no. 10246.

[3] Cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 447–48; see also R. Vitali 1990: 79–83. The West-Tibetan Zangs-dkar *lotsāba* was a versatile translator who in particular excelled in the transmission of a number of esoteric cycles related to Vaiśravāna, Vajrapāṇi and Cakrasaṃvara. His *flourit* is to be placed in the late 11th and early 12th century. Minute details on this early important master are deplorably missing, and still without a proper biography, see R. Vitali, *forthcoming*.

The craftsman [m]Dol-chung (as toponym, later a *sde pa* seat; possibly referring to his place of birth in gTsang = Dol-chung-pa?; cf. also *Tāranātha rnam thar*; *passim*; *Paṇ chen chos rgyal rnam thar* 162; *rGyal rtse chos rgyal rnam thar* 19; Bu-ston's *Dus 'khor chos 'byung* 67.3),* on the other hand, is otherwise unknown, but evidently was a foreman of a circuit of craftsmen (*skor dpon*; or akin to a *bcu dpon*) or a head-sacristan of the Ra-sa *vihāra* ambulatory *skor lam* / *khang*. For the pioneering service of the latter, a statue was appropriately erected in Jo-khang; cf. *lHa ldan dkar chag* 9. The statue on the ground-floor is called Dol-chung *skyor* (var. *skor*) *dpon*.

It is reported that it was on the instigation of the nebulous Kashmiri yogi dGon-pa-pa (b. 1055), a Vaiśravaṇa-cycle teacher of Zangs-dkar, who urged the latter to conduct his renovation of the temple. Kha-che had resided at the gSer-phug hermitage of Nyang-bran and was later included among the pre-existences of the Dalai Lama succession or lineage for this service. We have no reports whether he personally participated in the renovation. Cf. *'Khrungs rabs* 7b2–3; Sørensen 2005b.

A fair guess for the dating of the first major renovation of Ra-sa by the team headed by Zangs-dkar would be sometime in the 1080's, well after the famous *chos 'khor* council of 1076 A.D. Other testimonies (*Rva lo rnam thar* 283–87; *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung I* 54a4–b5; *II* 92b1–93a1– the first testimony with a shaky chronology) report that the conflict between the communities of Klu-mes, the sBa and Rag led to serious damage of bSam-yas by fire, possibly in 1106 A.D. It would suggest that precisely those two communities largely had vied for supremacy in the settlement areas of lHo-kha and that bSam-yas was to remain in ruin and without caretaker for over 30 years, before it now was renovated by Rva himself. Late 11th century indeed was a period that saw large-scale renovations and re-institutions at numerous sites in Tibet, an indication of the prior widespread destruction and pillaging that took place in the throes of warfare. Such destructive repercussions were e.g. also felt at the newly established Rva-sgreng (1057 A.D.) to the north which in the period *ca*. 1085–1115 experienced a major gap in its abbatial succession (i.e. without caretaker), a period commonly designated as "the Dharma Famine." If Rva-sgreng (serving as a unifying centre among the pioneering establishments) thus was victim of the prolonged conflict too, it would indicate the geographical extent of the warfare and its resultant destitude.

* Dol-chung arguably may be a simple contortion for present-day 'Dus-chung/byung *xiang* of Pa-rnam *rdzong*. If this is the case, one assumes that the *skor dpon* may have been related to the rGyang-mkhar seat.

[4] See also *Zhva lu gdan rabs* 356.6–359.1. This or these school(s) or hermitage(s) on dMar-po-ri clearly does not refer to the later Dvags-po? *lha rje zo'u* (= *ke'u*) *tshang* in lHa-sa (this possibly refers to lCags-po-ri; it may be related to the Brag-lha klu-sbug/phug, famous as a prestigious Avalokiteśvara meditation retreat seat of Srong-btsan sgam-po). The otherwise unknown lHa-rje *zo'u tshang* as estate was transferred to the gNyos clan in the 1160's. Cf. fn. 48 below. One of these early Potala hermitages may later have turned into the seat of the Karma-pa on dMar-po-ri. lHa-ldan Po-ta-la or dMar-po-ri was a cherished site throughout the following centuries for staging debates as recorded in numerous sources.

A glimpse of the four groups and their manoeuvrings, we gain from the writings related to Atiśa or Dipaṃkāraśrījñāna (see e.g. H. Eimer 1979: 261f., 298). Behind one of the issues of dispute loomed the question which group were permitted or were in a position – by providing adequate patronage – to invite the Indian master to their settlements, an issue of considerable prestige which apparently triggered occasional feuds. From the exasperatingly brief descriptions, we also gather some insight into their relative strength and their internal hierarchic position, spiritually as much as materially. Of special interest here, the sources list four temples that initially had been erected by four of Atiśa's principal pupils and that evidently were sustained by the aforementioned four religious groups. The four *vihāra* seats (*gdan sa*) erected in token respect and commemoration of their Indian master in Central Tibet wherefrom the bKa'-gdams-pa movement evolved on a firmer footing included:

- sNye-thang 'Or *vihāra* originally raised by Bang-ston; it was held (i.e. represented) by the sBa-rag group.
- lHa-sdings or Se-rdur *vihāra* of 'Dren in Yar-klungs built by Khu-ston was held by the Klu-mes group.
- gSang-phu *vihāra* incl. the seat of rGya-phibs was est. by rNgog-ston and hence was held by the 'Bring

The fourth and the largest site was erected as a proper (ecumenical or unifying) convent seat

- Rva-sgreng and the Khyung-mgo-can or "Garuḍa-headed" *vihāra* erected by *dge bshes* ston-pa (i.e. 'Brom-ston) and rNal-'byor-pa Byang-chub rin-chen following the demise of the Indian master.[5]

It was a period where different masters occupied hermitages elsewhere in the nearest area; so in the hilly areas around lHa-sa (not least in the neighbouring hermitic Yer-pa area, mythically connected to lHa-sa), so e.g. Khyung-po rNal-'byor (978/90–1127?) and Pha-dam-pa Sang-rgyas (d. 1117) said to have occupied 'Jog-po *ri khrod* of 'Phan-yul due north of Ra-sa. Other ascetics associated with dMar-po-ri, e.g. were *gter ston* Sha-mi rDo-rje rgyal-po.

[5] Khyung-mgo-can originally may refer to the ossuary chapel (*gdung bzhugs*) of Atiśa at Rva-sgreng. The centrality of Rva-sgreng related to Srong-btsan sgam-po – erected as a common seat of Tibet (*bod kyi spyi mchod*) – is repeatedly addressed in bKa'-gdams-pa sources, foremost in the *bKa' gdams glegs bam* associated with the cult of 'Brom-ston.

The quadripartite community distribution reflects the situation as of the mid-11th cent. Entries in the Atiśa biography *rNam thar rgyas pa yongs grags* 210–221, 442–43 (Eimer 1979: 291–99, 304–06) compared with Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's brief *sDe pa'i gyes mdo* 297.1.6–298.2.2 convey the impression that formerly – following the demise of the Indian master in 1054 A.D. – the communities of the Lower 'Bring *tsho ba* originally had been divided between the 'Bring and the communities of sBa-rag (i.e. orig. the distinct sBa and Rag groups). The latter group(-s) in sNye-thang area had been headed by sKa-ba Śākya dbang-phyug/byang-chub who took 'Or in possession (once established by Bang-ston of the now fused sBa-rag group), the preferred main seat of Atiśa. Strong bonds were said to have prevailed from the very outset between Rva-sgreng and gSang-phu (which might presuppose ties between the 'Bring and the sBa-rag groups). It clearly not only was the skirmishes following in the wake of the contentious invitation of this master to Central Tibet, but also, in the wake of his successful missionary errand to Central Tibet, the subsequent distribution of the Atiśa relics and associated memorabilia as well as the prestige-laden occupation of the religious seats and the concomitant cultural prestige of representation associated with them that may possibly have triggered the ensuing century-long dispute.

It incidentally was at Bye-ma-lung of gNam district (where 'Brom-ston's birthplace is located; Part I: fns. 418, 422) that 'Brom-ston initially intended to erect a temple in the summer of 1055 A.D., but a local patron – spurred by the envy nurtured by one otherwise little-known Khyi-ston (= sKyi-ston?) Jo-bo Ye-shes – refused to grant (land and) permission whereupon he erected Rva-sgreng to the north-east. Members of the Ber clan (of Phrang-kha) (a mid-11th-cent. ruler of Phod-mdo area) sponsored its erection there; cf. *Rva sgreng dkar chag I* 72–76; *II* 8, 21.

The dispute that was to flare up and that prevailed for so long was less grounded in issues related to the question whether or not the above-mentioned three or four seats associated with the authoritative master turned into common centers or remain allocated to individual groups. Without more detailed knowledge concerning any underlying doctrinal issue or whether the question of the local hegemonic structure and personal ambitions during this period played any role, the true cause for the dispute and the clan affiliations behind the benefactors of this arrangement largely remain unknown. The same Atiśa biography nevertheless appears to tell us that the temples initially had been erected to serve the Jo-bo statues in lHa-sa simply suggesting that the four groups and their main seats originally had been set up as institutions in order to uphold the bKa'-gdams-pa teachings and the maintenance of the Jo-bo *sanctum* in lHa-sa.

Certain is that a number of authoritative sources purport that rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab – the prominent and popular figure adhering to the 'Bring *tsho* group therefore was a representative of the gradually strongest group in the nearest vicinity of lHa-sa. At that point he was in a position to invite Atiśa to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, clearly to the discomfort or frustration of other factions. In this endeavour, rNgog was assisted by a collateral clan member of his, rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas (of the Klu-mes group) who during the same period succeeded in inviting Atiśa to Yer-pa during the latter's stay in lHa-sa. It clearly indicates that the four factions were present and active in the area. Although the biographical materials related to the Indian master indicate that Atiśa certainly was far from welcomed in all corners of Central Tibet (e.g. in the Yar-lung valley, attesting to widespread animosity between the groups; others maintain that his lack of success in Yar-lung was due to Khu-ston's improper handling of the situation; *DL6* 342) and resistance to his presence occasionally is recorded, the prestige associated with him must have weighed heavy – *guru-prasādāt* always implied unequivocal devotion.

rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab had been ordained in the presence of 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan – about whom we still possess deplorably little concrete information – whereas the rNgog master, as a kind of patriarch, ultimately emerged as the fountain-head behind all subsequent 'Bring settlements. Gauging the extent of their subsequent dissemination, from the later dGe-lugs *doyen* of Vinaya,

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With an ironic bent of history, it was in the environs of this former site that the 2nd Zhva-dmar mKha'-spyod dbang-po was born and it was here in gNam [= gNam-mtsho?], located in Byang of 'Dam-gzhung district that Yangs-pa-can much later was erected – by the emergent arch-enemy of the dGe-lugs-pa. Currently deplorably unavailable, but informative appears to be a *Rva sgreng bzhengs pa'i lo rgyus* written by one 'Brom Shes-rab me-lce (Ms 32 fols.); see *Drepung Catalogue II*: 017285.

Confusingly, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan further states that nowadays (i.e. at the point of writing *sDe pa'i gyes mdo*; early 1200's?), Rva-sgreng was associated with (i.e. supported by) the sBa-rag *tsho*; 'Or (i.e. sNye-thang) now linked to the rMa *tsho* group, whereas gSang-phu still remained with the 'Bring *tsho*. New information may substantiate or alter the picture, but it appears that the erstwhile supporters of 'Or, sBa-rag now served the Rva-sgreng seat, being replaced by the rMa group what concerns the former seat (confirmed *Zul phu mkhan rabs* 4a2–3). Without being able to assess the true position and influence of rMa in the area, it is the position of the 'Bring communities that had remained stable, and considering their role in the area circumscribing and adjoining the central sNye-thang area, it at least would suggest to us their almost all-dominant position in sKyid-smad and beyond. The actual extent of the 'Bring *tsho* domain in the late 12th cent. had gradually expanded beyond their original settlement boundaries. The data at our disposal in the following note nevertheless remain inconclusive or questionable. The actual dominance and hegemony of the rNgog-based and later gNyos-based 'Bring communities, as recorded in some sources, must in toto be dealt with cautiously as it merely covers sections of Central Tibet.

yongs 'dzin Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan we are informed (*'Dul ba'i chos 'byung II* 88b4–89a2) that in the wake of the establishment of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog in 1073, the number of Vinaya students and followers of rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab (and eventually of his nephew, the equally erudite rNgog Blo-ldan shes-rab – 1059–1109) in the late 11th century – i.e. both prior to the initial destruction of Ra-sa (possibly in the late 1080's), but evidently also in the wake of its restoration – counted over 17,300 students in lHa-sa (i.e. attached to or under the jurisdiction of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang?) – these figures probably refer to the sum of Vinaya students in the communities within the narrow lHa-sa area including gSang-phu under the 'Bring. The same text claims that a large number (of rNgog students attached to the overall 'Bring [Ye-shes yon-tan] communities) were found in bSam-yas (13,000), rGyang-mkhar (20,000; whereas other sources purport that he had in total 23,000 disciples; cf. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 47b6) and in Ngan-lam (10,000),[6] in the settlement areas of this strong group. As with any sort of statistics, aside from being unable to assess whether these figures (evidently drawing upon data culled from currently non-extant biographies of rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab and Blo-ldan shes-rab or from rare Vinaya histories) refer to different settlements (i.e. including the other religious factions), they altogether seem somewhat exaggerated or scribal errors may have crept into the material. It appears that the initial spread of rNgog's celebrated translation-based teachings had emanated from the rGyang-mkhar seat in gTsang which here seems to refer to the late dynastic or early *phyi dar*-epoch and hence extremely old seat – no more extant – of rGyang-mkhar sTag-lung (also called Ba-'ug *lha khang*), located in rGyang-mkhar lung-pa Valley of Upper 'Dus-byung district in present-day Pa-rnam county of gTsang province.[7] It thus evidently

[6] Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul, on the other hand, refers to the ancient 'Bring *stod* settlement and old imperial Ngan-lam clan land where the late 10th-cent. 'Bring establishment Ngan-lam dByi-mo-dgon was erected, also reported to have served as the original point of departure for the subsequent 'Bring ramification (such as the later 'Bring *smad* communities in sKyid-smad, incl. gSang-phu, etc.). Later, this 'Phan-yul seat turned into the combined Sa-skya and dGe-lugs temple of Ngan-po (*var*. Len-po; now in ruins; located: 29°58'N 91°08'E in Byang-kha *xiang* of lHun-grub *rdzong*; cf. App. IV).

It remains a desideratum for future research to trace and to identify, through adequate textual references and eventually propped by *in situ* archaeological findings, remnants of the numerous communities that were distributed throughout Central and Western Tibet. An identification of these old religious settlements and communities shall constitute a key to a proper understanding of the later geographical distribution and affiliation in the ensuing formation of political, religious and underlying territorial hegemony. As we shall see below, most of the 'Bring communities in sTod-lung and Chu-shur eventually were dominated by branches of the gNyos clan.

[7] The old rGyang-mkhar sTag-lung monastery was seized by gZu-ston 'Phan-grags prior to rNgog Blo-ldan shes-rab's activities there. The seat was consequently taken over by the former's followers, the gZu *tsho* community throughout most of the 11–12th cent. Cf. MTP Uebach 131; *Bu ston chos 'byung* (= Szerb 70); *rGya bod yig tshang* 463.

The 'Dus-byung valley (named after its main settlement, 'Dus-byung) is the valley of the rGyang-mkhar (rGyal-mkhar) gzhung-chu, a large area comprising the adjacent Mag-lung and dKyil-mkhar valley. See Part I: Map 9.

In the 17th cent., most of the area adhered to the later influential 'Brum Pho-lha family (cf. e.g. *DL5 II* 58b4–5). A rGyang-mkhar-la or the Pass of rGyang-mkhar is further registered (at 29°06'N 89°45'E). A rGyang-mkhar Pa-tshab *yul* is known from the Gri-gum story (*mKhas pa'i lDe'u chos 'byung* 245.16) which according to context appears to refer to the confluence area of the rGyang-mkhar-chu and Myang-chu in Pa-tshab close to Pa-nam (Hazod 2007, *forthcoming b*; Part I: Map 9).* Cf. for details *Myang chos 'byung* 104–09, where a plethora of old settlements is listed scattered throughout present-day Pa-nam district, not least the central dGa'-ba-gdong seat that entertained close religious bonds to the sKyid-smad settlements and its later namesake there. In fact, rNgog Blo-ldan shes-rab initiated the spread of his teachings from rGyang-mkhar, and his lore successively disseminated to the Bo-dong area of gTsang and finally into dBu-ru and g.Yo-ru. Cf. also *rNgog lo bstan bskyangs* 448–49.

The temple (today in ruins) was situated in the upper part of the 'Dus-byung or rGyang-mkhar gzhung-chu valley (geograph. position: 29°45'47.3"N 89°07'44.8"E). In the *Myang chos 'byung* (105) as well as in the local tradition the Ba-'ug or rGyang-mkhar lha-khang is described as a foundation of the period of Srong-btsan sgam-po. The site is lo-

refers to one of the first 'Bring *smad* establishments that originated with 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan initially issuing from bSam-yas (i.e. at Khams-gsum Zangs-khang with 13.000 students) and who subsequently established first a branch seat in Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul and successively in sKyid-shod (i.e. the sites of sKar-chung and rNam-khang of Zhal in the area south and south-east of lHa-sa) and the rGya-gar seat (= rGyang-mkhar; cf. Table V.6 below). rGyang-mkhar temple would seem to have disappeared mysteriously at some later point, since no trace of it seems to have survived today. It remains beyond doubt that a major force behind the spiritual and scholastic success of the 'Bring rested with the impetus coming not least from rNgog that had initiated in gTsang, because it was the erudite rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab and his nephew who established gSang-phu. rNgog's tangible proselytic success seems corroborated by the information that rGyang-mkhar purportedly (but still doubtful) had been the center of a staggering number of 20.000 followers or students.[8] The other rNgog seats with a large number of disciples gradually, it appears, went into oblivion not least after gSang-phu had risen to become the main center of his teachings.

Prior to his visit to the Ra-sa *sanctum*, Atiśa had dwelled for 14 days at the temple of rGya-phibs of Sri (east of later Tshal),[9] which was another 'Bring *smad* settlement and following his visit to Ra-sa, he sojourned at dGa'-ba 'od-'phro,[10] a seat that had been (previously) destroyed (at a point when it was appropriated?) by the 'Bring community. In the 12th century, the 'Bring held three major community settlement areas (*stod*, *bar*, *smad*) which respectively inhabited and spread out from lHas of sKyid-stod, from sKar-chung of Grib and sNye-thang of sKyid-smad. Tracing their geographical distribution, it is nevertheless worthwhile to take a look at the clan allegiances behind the communities also, despite our meagre data available. As we shall see the strong rNgog clan along with the sNa-nam (i.e. the Zhang sNa-nam clan of Bla-ma Zhang) and the gNyos, possibly in confederation with the mGar clan (of Grib and sTod-lung), either were the stout supporters of the 'Bring, or they constituted the political-hegemonic backbone behind the 'Bring themselves (cf. also Table V.6). At least, they played in this part of sKyid-smad the leading, indeed the formative, political and religious role during this early spell of *bstan pa phyi dar*, a position they clearly secured by entering effective alliances of secular and religious leadership, strengthened, as we shall see, on the secular side through a widespread network of marriage alliances. Thus, their relative success not least was hinged upon an ideal combination of ample military and secular power

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cally also known as "Ru-lag *lha khang,*" alluding to its imperial history. It may be noted in this context that the temple is located at the traditional route connecting the areas of Myang and Srad, the latter to be identified as the centre of Ru-lag (see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 44; for the relationship of rGyang-mkhar and Srad, see also BA Roerich 419).

In *U rgyan rnam thar I* 222, a temple is reported to have been established in upper rGyang-mkhar in the late 1280's (see also *rGyal rtse chos rgyal rnam thar* 183), probably referring to a neighbouring temple in upper 'Dus-byung or to a temple in rGyang-mkhar of Rin-spungs.

* The name Pa-snam originally refers to a moiety-structured territorial rule of the two clans of Pa[-tshab] and s[Na]-nam respectively. The precise dating of this toponymical coinage is still unclear.

[8] Conducive to the success of the 'Bring no doubt was the massive patronage that rNgog received: he e.g. was recipient of wholehearted patronage from the side of dBang-phyug-sde, son of rTse-lde and king of Gu-ge. dBang-phyug-sde e.g. financed the former's lengthy stint to Kashmir.

[9] Cf. App. V: Table 6; App. IV.

[10] *rNam thar rgyas pa yongs grags* 177 purports that it now (i.e. at the time of the text's composition) is known as *skya khang chung chung* or "the little lay house" of sKar-chung. The former dGa'-ba 'od-'phro may have been identical with one of the local 8th-cent. lHa-sa sde-bzhi (i.e. custodianship) settlements known as dGa'-'od; see Table V.10 below. This settlement initially may have been located in the heart of lHa-sa, whereas from the above reference, it (now?) was located in sKar-chung in Grib, wherefore this inconsistency may in the first place not constitute a contradiction.

combined with appropriate ancestral prestige and background linked up with necessary spiritual and religious repute embodied in a number of prominent hierarch figures and their lineages (often born into the same clan to cement loyalty and commitment or to ensure adequate patronage) who held their position through sheer religious authority, ensured not least by being main propagators and transmitters of both orthodox and esoterically idiosyncratic key cycles. It was this complex network of common interests among different clan members and individuals involved that was emblematic of hegemonic rule in Tibet throughout these centuries and the alliances contributed to their enduring political success in remapping the political landscape in this period.

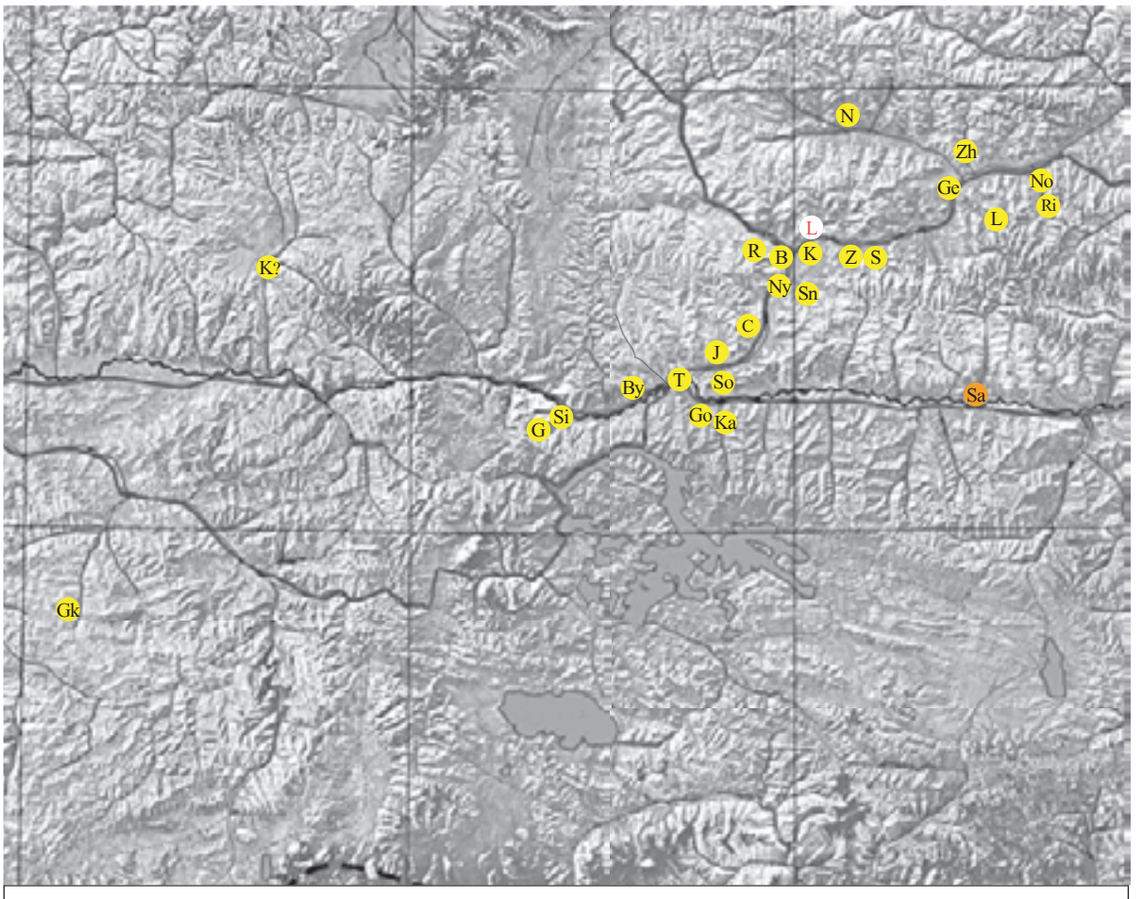
A formidable group, the 'Bring settlements would grow increasingly dominant in large areas abutting the lHa-sa center in the 12th century, and it was this dominance that may have repeatedly triggered skirmishes with the other groups.



2. *rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab*

2a. *The ruins of the rGyang-mkhar alias Ba-'ug lha-khang in Myang of gTsang* (2007)





Sigla:

Sa = Khams-gsum Zangs-khang in bSam-yas (L) = lHa-sa = sites of the 'Bring *tsho**

N = Ngan-lam dByi-mo-dgon (centre of the 'Bring *tsho stod*) **Zh** = Zhogs-pa
Ge = Gye-re'i gnas **No** = dBang-mkhar **Ri** = rGya-ma [Rin-chen-]sgang
L = Rlung-mgo of lHas and (or identical with?) Klu-dgon of lHas, the latter reg. as (later) centre of the Upper 'Bring *tsho*
Z = rNams-khang of Zhal **S** = rGya-phibs of Sri **R** = Ram-pa rGyab-ma
K = sKar-chung (registered as basis of the 'Bring *tsho bar*) **B** = Brang Ra-mo-che (original (?) centre of the Lower 'Bring *tsho*)
Ny = sNye-thang Brag-sna (reg. as (later?) centre of the Lower 'Bring *tsho*)
C = Cha-dkar of rNams **J** = 'Jangs-pa of Bur (inserted here at the level of sKyid-smad lJangs/lCang)
T = Thang-skya **So** = Sogs-pa-ri of gZad (= Srin-po-ri?)
G = 'Greng/'Brang-smad-gnas (in Kha-rag) **Si** = Sil-ma'i gTsang-lug (in Kha-rag)
Gk = rGya[ng]-m/'khar (in the 'Dus-byung district of Pa-snam county) **Go** = Gong-mkhar (= Gong-dkar?)
Ka = sKam-bu'i gnas (in gZhung) **K**? = ['O-yug] Klu-gong (also given as basis of the 'Bring *tsho bar* [= a confusion with the Klu-dgon of lHas?; see above)
By = Bya-zhing (insered at Bye-lung)

* not all sites are registered in the map; see for details Table V.6.-B

*Map **1**. The 11–12th-century 'Bring communities in the nearest environs of lHa-sa. Precursors of the initial hegemony in the lHa-sa area*

1.1 Circumscribing the Ra-sa *Sanctum*: The Four Local lHa-sa Communities as Model of Representation or the Question of Shared Custodianship

Prosecuting the question of the initial custodianship of the Ra-sa *sanctum*, the sources regularly refer to the *sde* or *tsho ba bzhi*, at times to the *lha sa sde bzhi*, the four communities, settlements or groups of (or around) lHa-sa, commonly identified with the aforementioned religious factions that, as already said, in the wake of their expansive establishments occasionally were at odds with one another: The Klu-mes, rBa, Rag and 'Bring factions had their settlements spread over Central Tibet and certainly not – at least not exclusively – within the nearest environ around the lHa-sa *sanctum*. We nevertheless have reasons to assume that the shared custodianship of the Ra-sa *vihāra* resembled a prior arrangement or a distributive system introduced at the prestigious bSam-yas *vihāra* by the same four groups when they initially arrived in Central Tibet at the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century. We are informed that the overly pious Klu-mes group appropriated the nearby Kva-chu temple (having initially rejected as prominent seat bSam-yas after having been offered the central dBu-rtse – but rejected this offer tendered them by a local bSam-yas king since they deemed the adjacent treasury kept there unsuitable as religious abode), the 'Bring group initially took over the Khams-gsum Zangs-khang temple in bSam-yas, whereas the groups of rBa and Rag appropriated the chapels of dGe-rgyas and dBu-tshal respectively. Importantly, the central dBu-rtse rigs-gsum temple in the bSam-yas Maṇḍala temple complex was chosen to serve as a site or chapel for "common offering" (*spyi mchod du byas*) among the groups,[11] a sort of ecumenical endeavour set up not least in order to cope with the great and common challenge of restoring the many dilapidated sites and institutions in the old heartland of Tibet. It should be the Rva-sgreng temple that assumed a similar position in nothern Central Tibet.

The way paved for the gradual urban development of the lHa-sa site, as already mentioned, was initiated with the establishment of a number of institutions that in the first place had been set up at the end of the dynastic period to cater for the ritual, liturgic and cultic needs of the central *sanctum*. It is justified to assume that the four groups, after their common efforts in bSam-yas, strove for a joint solution to the common administration to wield their influence in lHa-sa too, but with the decisive difference that it eventually was the 'Bring group and not least the strategy, charisma and prestige of rNgog's personality and of his lay supporters supported by their successful clan alliances that paved the way for their gradual dominance over the latter groups in sKyid-shod. Despite our dearth of sufficient informative and comparative sources, it nevertheless must be specified that the "four groups of lHa-sa" (which, incidentally, as fixed term and concept and contrary to the aforementioned four religious factions regularly find mentioning up until at least to the 18th century)[12] do not represent the religious factions *in toto*, but far more constituted four local

[11] The hitherto oldest presentation is found in Nel-pa Paṇḍita's *Me tog phreng ba* (MTP Uebach 142–43). Rva-sgreng, too, later was conceived of as a temple for "common offering" of Tibet (*bod kyi spyi mchod*) among the bKa'-gdams-pa seats around lHa-sa, see *bKa' gdams chos 'byung III* 102; *Rva sgreng dkar chag I* 84. See also the discussion in Stoddard 2004: 97–99.

[12] We occasionally come across the "four communities or groups of lHa-sa" as social categories. In folk literature, but also in religious literature such as biographies of early masters active in lHa-sa, a popular social group, evidently a communal and over the years – starting from the 12th century – a "municipal" institution or guild in lHa-sa was the so-called age-old lHa-sa sde-bzhi'i *chang ma*, which appears to indicate female *Weinschenker* committed to prepare and serve

social (originally family-based?) settlements within the narrowest area of lHa-sa, arguably situated strategically in the four cardinal directions of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone (but not necessarily being geographically identical with these).[13]

It nevertheless appears that some terminological vacillation or confusion has crept into the sources at an early point. Whereas the four religious factions and their widespread settlements represented units with distinct size and structure, the lHa-sa area settlements appear to have been made up of or conceived to represent a more fixed quadripartite scheme, in its outer form a socio-religious or sociological model, consciously set up in order to concentrically circumscribe the epicentric *sanctum* of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. The deeper relation between the communities and the imperial-time establishment of the *sde bzhi* congregation chapels set up in order to meet the liturgical needs and seasonal, cultic-ritual commitments of the lHa-sa *sanctum* remains to be clarified in detail and an answer to this may indeed constitute a key to our understanding of this unique custodianship arrangement. The communities down through time evidently played no small role in the genesis and formation of Ra-sa as a ceremonial center, with the Jo-bo *sanctum* as eminent shrine and as sacred enclave holding the palladium, the nation's cult icon *par excellence*. The origin (or better perhaps early history) of the *sde bzhi* and *lha sa sde bzhi* nevertheless appears to have distinct roots and backgrounds. The lHa-sa sde-bzhi scheme (later known as the Four Horns/Banners or the *lha*

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chang during social gatherings, communal, religious or festive arrangements; already registered in e.g. in *Ras chung rnam thar* 388 and in sKyer-sgang-pa's biography. We are here dealing with a common phrase that stands for lHa-sa *in toto*,* anyway the mentioning in the latter texts would suggest that it was an old institution where, aside from providing patronage, their initial commitment was restricted to this or similar functions.

* General but stray references in disparate sources such as *Red mda' ba rnam thar* 23b3: *lha sa sde bzhi'i sprang po thams cad* and e.g. *bKa' brgyud gdan rabs* 288.6 (early 15th cent.): *lha sa sde bzhir gnas pa'i sde dgu thams cad*, i.e. "all nine [= all] districts / settlements of the lHa-sa *sde bzhi*," where the latter *sde bzhi* maay be identical with *ru bzhi* and suggest an all-inclusive geographical term that includes all districts or settlements in the narrow lHa-sa area distributed within this basic quadripartite scheme. Other sources – especially in the later medieval phase right up until most recent times – speaks of the lHa-sa or lHa-ldan ru-bzhi (in the 17th century also lHa-ldan ru-bzhi spyi-tshogs; the "lHa-sa Four Horn Community;" cf. e.g. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 728; *Ga zi gdung rabs* 423a5; *bKa' blon rtogs brjod* 87, etc.; evidently headed by Chos-'khor lHa-sa'i *ru dpon bzhi*; cf. *DL5 II* 261b4) that may represent the same or an expanded form of four original social groups or communities, but at this point no more directly or exclusively committed to the patronizing maintenance of Jo-khang, but to related commitments. It is e.g. repeatedly chronicled that their tasks included the regular annual offerings in connection with rituals of perpetuation and longevity (*lo ltar 'char can gyi zhabs brtan, ring 'tsho rten 'byung*, etc.), or with providing horse cortege and escort (*chibs skyel*) for arriving or departing hierarchs and guests, or indeed for perfoming various plays and entertainments during the *sMon lam chen mo*, etc. During the last centuries, the lHa-sa ru-bzhi nevertheless appear *in toto* to be tantamount to the entire lHa-sa populace and its institutions, albeit their original function in the social topography still needs to be clarified and their history written in some detail. Our assumption is further corroborated by expressions such as *lha sa ru bzhi'i skye bo mchog dman mtha' dag*, *lha sa ru bzhi lha sde mi sde sogs* (e.g. *DL13* 44, 723) and *lha ldan ru bzhi sogs kyis gtsos grong dang grong khyer dag na gnas pa'i khyim po pho mo* which commonly stand for lHa-sa and its populace in its entirety. See also the early 14th-cent. *bKa' gdams glegs bam* (Vol. II: *Bu chos* 585): *nga'i rgyal sa lha sa sde bzhi*. For a mural illustration of the *sde*/*ru bzhi* community; cf. *Precious Deposits* Vol. 3: 182–83.

Parallel clan- or family-based *sde bzhi* structures, we encounter in the *sde bzhi* of Bum-thang (in present-day Bhutan), suggesting a similar proto-typical clan structure behind the lHa-sa settlement; cf. M. Aris, *Sources for the History of Bhutan*, 47–55.

[13] Bla-ma Zhang in the 1150's both practised asceticism and committed to writing some of his esoteric teachings at Dog-sde sGo-phu of the lHa-sa sde-bzhi (i.e. the Upper Corridor (i.e. Pass) of Dog-sde within the lHa-sa sde-bzhi [area]; also listed as lHa-sa sgo-phu; see *bKa' thang sde lnga* 195). A *yon bdag* of his also came from this area; it would on the one side suggest that lHa-sa sde-bzhi = lHa-sa as term and, on the other side, suggest that the northern point in this scheme and the lHa-sa sde-bzhi ditto were identical (cf. App. IV: Graph 1). It thus can be surmised that at least one (but arguably all four) communities dovetailed with the four traditional points in the zone.

sa ru bzhi) basically represents a center-periphery model, originally cosmogonic in nature (cf. also Chap. 2 below and TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: App. II): Such quadripartite models proved to be much cherished in the history of lHa-sa too, where they assumed different forms all stemming from or reflecting this basic, possibly maṇḍalic model (cf. further App. IV: fn. 12 below). The social units (*tsho ba, sde*) – not exclusively religious – entertained relations of some nature to the four contemporary religious groupings (*tsho ba*) of Klu-mes, sBa, Rag and 'Bring and in this connection the lHa-sa sde-bzhi represented such social groups that individually were attached to, proved loyal to or perhaps even had been called upon to represent the rights and commitments of each of the religious factions locally, in other words functioned as their representatives and custodians *in situ*. The lHa-sa groups anyhow enjoyed a shared or distributive custodianship of the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and it may well be argued that such family-based communities represented a guild of sorts with inherited rights and obligations, at least this may account for the confusion in properly identifying the four *tsho ba* units.

That this political arrangement did not always work seems corroborated by the circumstance that dissent, followed by warring skirmishes flared up among them, arguably for a number of reasons, but not least because some parties or members may have felt their rights violated or position misrepresented. It certainly also can be speculated that actual fighting did not emanate from the local lHa-sa settlements themselves, and that it indeed was lHa-sa and hence the four local communities that were the hapless victims of warfare triggered by disagreement that had prevailed among or sprung from the religious factions supported by their ambitious and armed lay patrons. This may in fact come closer to the truth. Aside from the assumption whether misrepresentation of rights held by the individual groups being neglected or whether deeper doctrinal and spiritual conflicts played a prominent role as *casus belli*, we can only speculate. But a major reason for conflict clearly rested with the crucial issues of access to, maintenance or supervision of the lHa-sa *sanctum.*

Another clue to the ancient quadripartite model of representation in lHa-sa in organizing and upholding shared patronage – consisting in administering and implementing a distributive form of custodianship – established to cater for the liturgical, ritual and ceremonial (and finally financial) needs of the center, we may gather, aside from bSam-yas, from other monastic or religious seats of yore in Tibet where regular maintenance and supervision often was deputed to different groups distributed into smaller units or even families of four: We may take the example of the establishment and custody of the bTsan-thang g.Yu'i lha-khang, an ancient branch temple of Khra-'brug in the Yar-lung Valley probably erected in the 8th century. This site had been pre-dated by another temple, the sGo-bzhi lha-khang, which was in the custody of the four original families (lit. "doors") of bTsan-thang, for which reason it also was known as bTsan-thang *sgo bzhi*. A similar quadripartite institution was the Khra-'brug sgo-bzhi, allegedly representing the four original families of the temple, who – this is only known or documented from oral tradition – allegedly had lived there even before the arrival of Srong-btsan sgam-po and his subsequent erection of the temple. The four families or settlements originally reflected a territorial division or classification, and their prime function down through history similarly was as keepers in order to ensure, on a rotational principle, the maintenance of the temple (cf. G. Hazod in App. II in TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005). Like in the case of lHa-sa, we here see the contours of an underlying structure executed along the criteria of an original geomantic terrestrial *sa dpyad* classification. Doubtless such sociological models reflected an early social stratum or structure in the formative history of Tibetan civilization (cf. e.g. Allen 1978). Whatever the ultimate identity and function of

the four local lHa-sa communities, it cannot be excluded that when therefore in the earlier sources the fighting among the four *phyi dar* communities in and around lHa-sa is briefly reported, in most cases it simply was a question of confounding the two distinct groups with one another. In the early 13th century, when Sangs-rgyas-'bum, the Yang-dgon throne-holder of Tshal, was designated the "Lord of the Four lHa-sa sde-bzhi," it evidently never was intended to refer to the religious factions *per se* (they had largely vanished or otherwise absorbed had been by this junction), but precisely to the now well-established lay communities in lHa-sa itself (inhabiting different quarters of the town) which as communities were responsible for the material maintenance of Jo-khang, in fact such communities stand as an overall synonym for the lHa-sa Jo-khang itself. On the other hand, when a source like the *gNyos rabs* refers to the lHa-sa sde-bzhi, it means the four religious communities. The same text also allows us a glimpse into the background as to which person – at least according to this rather apologetic source – finally broke the warring deadlock among the religious factions and bring peace and order to the site.

1.2 The gNyos Clan:
Old Rulers of lHa-sa District and Predecessors of Bla-ma Zhang's Tshal Hegemony

In the mid-12th century, a crucial phase of the so-called Renaissance Period (*phyi dar*) as we have seen, witnessing the expansive establishment of numerous religious communities – and coinciding with the explosive dissemination of both lay and religious movements and of lineages transmitting esoteric cycles or corpora not infrequently upheld by leading clan members and their relentless struggle to ensure adequate local patronage – one clan rose to extraordinary prominence and thus be destined to play no insignificant role behind the site's development, even to the point of emerging as temporary masters of lHa-sa, or at least wielding a pronounced political influence in the area. Whereas the gNyos may not be regarded as the first true polity that combined *chos srid*, clerical and secular rule on a systematic scale in Tibet (usually this honour is ascribed to the Tshal polity est. by Bla-ma Zhang), at least they could be seen as precursor to the latter polity. The first proper royal polity-based *chos srid* arrangement seems to have originated in Western Tibet – in and beyond mNga'-ris sTod (i.e. "Upper = Western Dominion"), where monarchies such as the confederative kingdom of Gu-ge was to pave the way for a dual secular-religious rule embodied or invested in a number of quite autocratic monk-rulers, a political system that set the standard of securing rule and hegemony in the coming centuries throughout Tibet.

The clan or people in question was the widely ramified gNyos clan, an ancient gentry stock, and originally a lHa-sa-based lineage, known later from Tibet's history not least from the main seat and ruling house of the lHa-pa, or from its religious school, the so-called lHa-pa bka'-brgyud-pa – commonly regarded as a clan-based offshoot or sub-school of the 'Bri-gung-pa, due to their close spiritual bonds to this denomination. From a number of important sources,[14] we shall be in

[14] The early history of the clan and the later aristocratic house is mainly based upon two primary sources, viz. the *Kha rag gnyos gdung rabs* (of 1431 A.D.; abbr. *gNyos rabs*; here using version B) and the rare and recently surfaced biography *lHa nang pa'i rnam thar I* (adding hereto the bio. written by Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog, i.e. *lHa nang pa'i rnam thar II* and the recently surfaced and hugely important *lHa nang pa'i rnam thar III*, in the sequel, resp. abbr. *lHa rnam I*, *II*, *III*) *passim*; also consulted were informative sources such as *DL6* 67, 104ff. (the 6th Dalai Lama Tshangs-

a position to recount the main lines of this ruling lineage in the area in question. It is worthwhile to make a brief detour into their exciting history, as well as to introduce the clan's most illustrious actors, not only because of their formative role in shaping the history of lHa-sa at that very point, but also because our sources for this crucial period are otherwise scarce or disfigured by too many gaps. A more detailed treatment here of the clan and their main actors are warranted because of their role in paving the way for the ensuing Tshal hegemony under Bla-ma Zhang.

Like a number of celebrated clans in Tibet, the gNyos boasted mythic or theogonic origins too, stating that it be included among or rather was destined to become one of the four great clans or people of Central Tibet (dBus-gTsang). Attempts to provide legitimizing interlinkages to noble proto-clans of yore in Tibet's remotest past, in particular to claim divine = royal descent (*lha*, i.e. *regia stirpe*) of erstwhile ruling houses or – only less pronounced in this very case – to seek divine origins and roots remained emblematic of many noble clans as can be witnessed in most ethnogenetic sources. No doubt, such steps were deemed indispensable in bolstering ancestral and historical credentials, in other words the bare necessity or priorities of ensuring hegemonic legitimacy and the continuous quest for asserting political (later spiritual) authority prompted the durable fabrication of much genealogical and ancestral fiction, the core of which, however, may have contained some modicum of historical truth.[15] As it seems, in this lineage reinvention and

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dbyangs rgya-mtsho was a gNyos; and Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho here should consult rare gNyos pedigree sources); *Deb dmar* 124–26 (ed. Dung-dkar); *rGya bod yig tshang* (abbr. *GY*): *lHa sa'i* [= *pa'i*]* *chos brgyud byung tshul* 553–555; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 425-426; *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung I* 57b4f.; *Nyang ral chos 'byung* 476–77; *mKhyen brtse'i dbang po'i rnam thar* 12b2f.; further, some standard 'Bri-gung histories; *DL5 passim* as well as the richly informative *sMyos rabs* 56ff. (sMyos is the often preferred ethnonymic variant when offshoots of one of the major lines of the gNyos clan later rose to pre-eminence in Southern Tibet and Bhutan – so e.g. Padma gling-pa was a gNyos – as well as the ruling hierarchs of the sMin-grol-gling seat that emerged from a southern Central Tibetan patriline).** For a more detailed synoptic survey of the lineage or genealogy of the gNyos; cf. Table 7 below.

* Most texts vacillate between lHa-pa and lHa-sa in referring to them, and aside from the graphic proximity of *pa* and *sa* in *dbu med* Mss accounting for this confusion, it is quite feasible that the original form lHa-pa was (or had been abbreviated from) lHa[-sa]-pa, rather than the cherished and equally feasible abbreviation, viz. from lHa-nang-pa.

** Bla-ma gSang-sngags, the compiler of *sMyos rabs* further refers to a number of currently non-extant, but significant biographic and ethnogenetic sources pertinent to the history of the lHa-pa gNyos such as *lHa gZi brjid rgyal po'i gdung gi 'phreng rgyun Dri med rab gsal*; *lHa rabs kyi rtogs brjod gSer gyi 'phreng ba* by lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po; further, one *dGe legs kun 'byung*, another biography of lHa-nang-pa as well as a number of invaluable local sources on the Bhutanese gNyos line. Their existence needs to be otherwise corroborated, and if extant, it is hoped that these additional sources one day shall surface.

[15] Such genealogical arrangements are commonplace and well documented in European medieval historiography too, where scribes or historians attempted to reconstruct family histories behind narratives of ruling families, noble houses or entire clans– concerned as they were with what amounts to *gloria et nomen perpetuum*. Spurred and motivated therefore by concepts similar to *nobilitas carnis* and by the credenda and miranda of power, they attempted to invent or reconstruct often fictitious genealogical "ancestral linkages" (*stirps*, i.e. "Ansippungen" always in retrospect and invariably to noble, divine or royal origins) consciously forged or contrived in order to underpin or reinvent contemporary hegemonic claims, in order to generate a sense of identity and common origin and course, to glorify ancestral or social prestige, or in order to surmount and counterbalance former ancestral and genealogical deficiencies and gaps; cf. the telling samples provided by Gerd Althoff, *Inszenierte Herrschaft* (Darmstadt 2003) 2f., 25f; K. Bosl, *Leitbilder und Wertvorstellungen des Adels* (München 1974: 22–23). The urge of prominent or noble clans (esp. the many local *jo bo* or *btsan po* claiming imperial legacies), often as *causa scribendi* prompted Tibetan authors of ethnogenetic tracts such as of the gNyos genealogy, but certainly also in extant writings related to other major clans in Tibet (e.g. to 'Khon, [lHa-gZigs] Rlangs, mGar, gNyags, Khyung, [s]Kyu-ra, lCe, Thon[-mi], Myang, sPyil, Khu, Shud-phu, rNyi-ba, rNgog, lDong, dG[y]er (~ sGer), etc.) to take recourse to similar narrative strategies and rhetorical means as a tool of legitimation and identity.

reconstruction – replete with antiquarian lore – the more distant the imperial pedrigee, the more intense the claim to the selfsame ancestry.

In the case of gNyos, with its ramifications and its numerous offshoots, the clan like other lines dispersed throughout Tibet from sKyid-shod – its place of origin. Its ethnogenesis was said to initiate with one Bya-thul or Bya-khyung dkar-po.[16] This mythic figure, a white Garuḍa or a "Bird-Cloaked" primogenitor, made his celestial descent – similar to (and evidently adapted from) the overall pan-Tibetan mythic advent of gNya'-khri btsan-po – onto the summit of a mountain, here Mt. Brag-rtse of Shun,[17] a summit that towers in the western outskirts of lHa-sa, its distinct

[16] *DL6* 106–07 vividly recounts how the first gNyos arrived from the supernatural realm of the Ābhāsvara to descent upon Mt. Shun, in the realm of humans. Initially the mythic progenitor was a White Garuḍa endowed with a diamond (or *vajra*) beak, a winged creature occasionally wreaking havoc on man and cattle in the neighbourhood of Shun – surely this totem *Gestalt* indicates the strategic means of the gNyos in defending and conquering new land. The name of the celebrated hermitage Khyung-tshang Brag-khung at Shun or the "Garuḍa-nest Cave" allegedly alludes to the mythic gNyos progenitor bird. Later, having gradually transformed itself into a manifestation garbed in a cloak that consisted of white *bya rgod* or "vulture" feathers, the progenitor was also known as Bya-thul dkar-po. (The white female vulture robe is a common apparel of the Bon-po recounted in Bon sources). Soon after it divested itself of its bird-like manners and fowl identity and manifested itself into a 16-year old fair-bodied human with all limbs fully developed, a high bridged nose, large forehead, long brows, endued with clear senses and white skin. Arriving at the foot of Mt. Shun, the people inquired whence he came and he responded that he was [originally] non-human having descended from the gods of the Ābhāsvara. Awestruck, they made him an object of worship. Due to the pollution or contamination (*grib*) – accruing from partaking of human food and cloth (again borrowing a motif from the canonical Buddhist theo- or anthropogenesis) – he became delirious or went "insane" ([*s*]*myos*), hence the clan's construed ethnonym. *sMyos rabs* however delivers other popular ethnonymic etymologies. The story clearly carries reminiscence not only of the celebrated anthropomorphic origin of man found within Buddhist canon-based cosmogonic paradigmata, but also reminiscences of indigenous (in part pre-historic) Tibetan progenitor origin myths, a clan's totemistic *origo gentis* (here from a carnivorous Garuḍa-like mythic super-eagle) intertwined with an aetiological popular etymological narrative; cf. similarly TBH Sørensen 48f.; Haarh 1969 168ff. The gNyos ethnogenesis clearly appears to be an elaborative adaption of such prototypical origin myths.

[17] Different names for the summit of Brag-rtse are transmitted: Shun gyi Brag-rtse and Shun gyi Brag-dmar gTe'u-gdong (= rTe'u-gdong, "Colt's Countenance of Red Cliff of Shun"). They are evidently two names deriving from different sources but referring to the same mountain(-summit or limestone top) in the Shun district in the western outskirt of the lHa-sa district, albeit often listed as distinct mountains; "both summits" count as vital points in the topomantic lHa-sa Maṇḍala layout. The origin myth clearly not only served to underpin the clan's non-human origin, but also served as a local story of legitimation that provided proof of the homestead (with its underlying claims and prerogatives) of the clan within the nearest lHa-sa area. For this key mount in the sacred lHa-sa landscape; cf. TBH Sørensen: 256, 260; see also App. IV: Graph 1 and Map 1 below. For the site's role as a *gter ma* site associated with Guru Rinpoche, see Akester 2000. In the biography of gTer-bdag gling-pa, himself a gNyos, the mountain of Kha-rag gi ri-rtse is listed as the mountain of the clan's descent *in lieu* of Shun; cf. *gTer bdag rnam thar II* 15b2–3. Arguably adding to the confusion (or even mistaken identity), the mountain chain situated between the gTsang-po river and Yar-'brog lake is often denoted Kha-rag Khyung-tshang-ri. Anyway, it may suggest two different versions of the myth, where the latter option may represent a slight adaptation of the former. As part of the lHa-sa Zone and hence as strategic site, Shun gyi Brag-rtse was also furnished with an image and statue of Buddha Śākyamuni, obviously in form of stone carving, which more than once was erected or renewed at the site according to the *sa gnad gso thabs* scheme (see below Map 4), evidently executed for the first time in 1659, repeated in 1677 and again 1697 A.D.; cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 90–92. Also a yellow Mahendra bDud-'dul mchod-rten was erected there in the late 17th cent., set up to counterweight and eventually pacify the local "spying Demon" as reported by Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho in his *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* and in *DL5 III*.

Shun area also counted as one of the thirteen *bon po 'du gnas* or assemblage places, a holy site, identified by the name Shel gyi Brag-dkar rTse-rdzong (= Shun kyi brag). The Bon link may also have had some bearings on the gNyos

silhouette being visible from afar. It is situated in the very heartland of sKyid-shod (Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho denotes Shun, the "center," i.e. *thig le* of sKyid-shod to indicate its centrality). With this descent the clan's point of origin thus can be identified with lHa-sa – or its westernmost outskirts towards the sTod-lung-phu estuary, where the forefather of gNyos made his arrival from the realm of the gods upon one of the cardinal points (West) in the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone (see App. IV: Graph 1 below). Similar to a host of other noble or royal clans in Tibet, gNyos further boasted descent from the Ābhāsvara or "Gods of Clear Light."[18]



***3**. Mt. Brag-rtse of Shun massif. One of the holy mounts and cardinal points of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone. The progenitor of the gNyos clan here made his celestial advent*

The clan's place of origin was the heartland of sKyid-shod, yet it was in particular during the fouth generation counting from the common ancestor that the different lines ramified by gradually crossing gTsang-po to spread out into g.Yor-po, into western lHo-kha and into the gTsang province itself (cf. Table V.7 below): The different scions chose to settle in different districts – one bKra/rTa-mkhar-rje settled in g.Yor-po – and it was from his well-recorded line that later scions spread to Kha-rag and to 'Brang-sil as well as to gZhung district in lHo-kha. Another brother settled in

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presence. The clan was considered a sub-clan of the primeval r/dMu clan-people and we do find a number of gNyos clan members listed in Bon sources; so e.g. gNyos A-rin (i.e. Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan) and his son gNyos sTag-rtse *alias* Kun-dga' tshul-khrims (allegedly contemporaries of lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje; *ca*. late 9th–early 10th cent.), who acted as propounders of the Vinaya teachings as transmitted within Bon, apparently in mimicry of the Buddhist transmission during the same epoch. Cf. e.g. *Dar rgyas gsal sgron* 698; see also Karmay 1972: 107–09; Martin 2001: 100–01.

[18] Cf. CFS Gyalbo *et* al. 2000: 25. The divine descent from the Ābhāsvara gods was another cherished mythic-narrative strategy in linking a clan with royal or divine cosmogony.

La-stod of gTsang, and still another brother sought his fortunes in Khams of eastern Tibet. Finally, the last brother line settled in sKyid-smad, and it was this highly respected patriline that became increasingly dominant in Gye-re Valley of Chu-shur district, and in fact remained in the area until the 20th century (see below).

Among these family lines, the initially most celebrated patriline which decisively contributed to the initial spread and fame of the gNyos clan was the one that had spread out into Kha-rag (*var.* mKha'-reg) in present-day sNa-dkar-rtse *rdzong* of old g.Yo-ru/g.Yor-ru, an area that constituted the ancient border between dBus and gTsang. From here they successfully spread to other districts of neighbouring gTsang. It is for this reason that the dominant gNyos lineage is commonly addressed Kha-rag gNyos.

Significantly, a major or dominant component in the clan's initial ascent to ancestral prominence and later to considerable spiritual prestige rested with their claim or affirmation of being the exclusive lineage-holders of specific or idiosyncratic Indian esoteric tantric teachings in an unbroken line. Unlike a number of other prominent clans which history had assigned a prominent role in dynastic Tibet thereby acquiring considerable terrestrial appendage and landed estates, gNyos could not claim a similar position during the rule of the kings, and they resorted to other means of constructing hegemony and lineage prestige. The privileged and exclusive transmission of esoteric or tantric corpera in this period proved a viable strategy to achieve the goal of enhancing and consolidating political power and spiritual prestige. This exactly was what happened with the gNyos clan. In this case, it was the most prominent figure gNyos *lo tsā ba* who almost singlehandedly contributed to perpetuate the name and repute of the clan in Tibet. In the 13th generation from the mythic forefather (whose descent thus may tentatively be dated to the 6th century) – so according to the *gNyos rabs* – the erudite gNyos *lo tsā ba* Yon-tan-grags (b. *ca*. 973 A.D.) emerged. He was commonly known in Tibetan history as an elder contemporary of and rival to Mar-pa *lo tsā ba*; both went to India in search for teachers and religious instructions and it is recorded that they developed a strained relationship. Some notes about his life and in particular his impressive religious legacy have been detailed in the previous Appendix (Chap. 2). We know that three celebrated cycles gained some popularity in Tibet, transmitted through gNyos *lo tsā ba*, namely the cycle of *Guhyasamāja tantra* according to the system of Jñānapāda, the *Kṛṣṇa Yamāri* / *Vajrabhairava* cycle commonly known as *gNyos lugs lha dgu ma* as well as the cycle of the Protector Trakṣad Mahākāla known as the *Trakṣad gNyos lugs*. They constituted what later became known as the *Tantra Triology of the gNyos* [*Lo tsā ba*] *Tradition* (*gNyos kyi rgyud gsum*), also called *Pha rgyud skor gsum* corpora.[19] Upon his return to Tibet with texts, consisting of a backlog of esoteric cycles, he became, just as spectacular as in case of Mar-pa, a famous teacher and an affluent landlord. The gNyos transmission is a perfect example of the dissemination of an esoteric Buddhist lineage in which the attempt was made through the affirmation of an unbroken lineage from a living Indian *paṇḍita* master to a Tibetan translator and master to ensure himself and his family ample esoteric authenticity as well as social and cultural prestige. Countless cases could be listed and examples cited of Tibetan masters (mostly from prominent clans, like the Shud-phu, Rva, rGya, Chag, etc. – all either holding vast estate land already in Tibet or following their successful missions) in the 11th and 12th century,

[19] See also *Sangs rgyas tshig mdzod* 498 where the three cycles are identified with the *Guhyasamāja tantra*, *Kṛṣṇa Yamāri* and the *Vajrabhairava*. Reading *brgyud*, it may indicate the *Transmission Triology of gNyos* or the *Three Lineage Cycles of the Father*.

affluent enough to set out on their mission to Nepal and India with gold in their baggage, which either ensured ancestral or spiritual-esoteric prestige through this tantric lineage and legacy.

His two gNyos family lines, spreading out from Kha-rag district, ruled over considerable stretches in the central and eastern part of the gTsang-province, an expansion ensured through his matrimonial alliances: firstly with a consort from La-stod Cung-pa – at that point already a well-known hub of religious activities in the gTsang province – as well as with one consort from Gro-mo (i.e. Chumbi) with whom he also settled down and established a family-branch line in rGyang-ro district (M/Nyang-stod; present-day rGyal-rtse district).[20] Numerous clan heads in this period ensured great prestige by constructing (real or fictional) lineages not least by incorporating in their lineages representatives of Indic Buddhist tantric systems.

His younger brother gNyos 'Byung-gnas shes-rab on the other hand had been ordained in the presence of dBya'-btsun dKon-mchog rgyal-ba. He clearly sought his fortune by contacting his gNyos kin in the Gye-re Valley of sKyid-smad. In the mid- or late 11th century, it was he who became *mkhan po* or headmaster of Brang Ra-mo-che in Lower sTod-lung (cf. Table V.8), one of the 'Bring *smad* establishments in the sKyid-smad district (cf. *gNyos rabs* 16.5–17.1); he was regarded as the founding figure behind the establishment of up to thirteen further monastic 'Bring settlements, among them Khi-ldir of sKul and Nya-mo-skyur (~ -'gyur) of gZhung south of gTsang-po, Sog-pa-ri [= Sog-po-ri = Srin-po-ri?], gSang-khang and Thang-skya all of bZad district,[21] and so on. He eventually became ruler over all 'Bring communities (see for details Table V.6 [B IIIb]). Worth adding is that in the second generation after bKra-mkhar-rje of gNyos who had initially settled in g.Yor-po, a 'Bring-sde and 'Bring-chung occurred (see Table V.7), which may have some bearings on or connection to 'Bring.

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[20] It was in fact in the neighbouring old imperial-time rTsis gNas-gsar temple of M/Nyang-ro or -stod that gNyos and Mar-pa met before they set out for Nepal in the 1040's.

[21] b/gZad district is an old imperial *yul dpon tshan* (together with Chu-shul; cf. *lDe'u 2* 257) later in the early *phyi dar* period a site of signal importance, partly identical with partly comprising present-day Sras-phu and Sras-mda' (= Srad, ~ gZad). gZad (also occasionally (mis?)spelled Zangs or bZang-mo) area as said included not only present-day Sras Valley, a side-valley west, north-west of Chu-shur *rdzong*, on the northern side of gTsang-po, but eastwards also including the oft-frequented lCags-zam area at the confluence of gTsang-po with sKyid-chu. Usually we encounter [g]Zad Chu-shur mentioned together, thereby occasionally blurring the actual border lines between these age-old district, cf. e.g. *Ga zi gdung rabs* 426b1; *bKa' blon rtogs brjod* 96. Yet only after a thorough mapping of all registrable sites related to gZad shall we be able to distinguish this area from the larger Chu-shur area. However, in the 1830 Tax Survey, Zad is registered as part of Gong-dkar *khul*; cf. *lCags stag zhib gzhung* 55–6. bZad – b/gZad *khul*, according to official documents, evidently covered areas both located in Chu-shur and in Gong-dkar *rdzong*; cf. *Rang 'byung gnod 'tshe ser skyon skor* 136.

Namesake temples included the Thang-skya temple located in dMar *xiang* of sTod-lung bDe-chen district (at 29°52'N 90°49'E) and more importantly, the 10th-cent. Thang-skya monastery (29°53'N 91°46'E) near Mal-gro *rdzong*.

Eastwards, yet still within gZad and close to the confluence of the two rivers, the clearly visible Mt. Drang-srong Srin-po-ri towers (a site where later the Kashmiri Śākyaśrībhadra sojourned, in the famous bDe-mchog *lha khang* or *gtsug lag khang chen mo*). The site treasured a celebrated image of Cakrasaṃvara Ekavīra allegedly manufactured and raised by Vibhūticandra in order to atone the sin allegedly accumulated by accusing 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten mgon-po of teaching fake Mahāmudrā lore; cf. e.g. *mGon po rnam thar* 58b1–4. For this event, see also Jackson 1990: 20–21. This site and the numerous religious figures that sojourned there down through time deserve a fuller study. Other sites of some note in the surrounding area included, as said, gSang-khang or Thang-skya also located in gZad; its connection to gNyos lHa-nang-pa is attested in *'Bras spungs dgon bca' yig* 291–92; cf. also App. V: Table 6 III-B below.

Among the three (or four) sons of gNyos Yon-tan-grags, most prominent was gTsang-tsha rDo-rje bla-ma (1008–1086 A.D.),[22] born in La-stod Cung-pa (for this place in gTsang, cf. Table V.5 fn. 4 below). Being well versed in the cycles and teachings transmitted through his father, such as the above *gNyos Tantra Trilogy*, including the *Saṃvara* and *Hevajra tantra* (a now-lost commentary on the cycles is said to have been composed by him and possibly was known up to most recent time), he made great progress in ascetic excercises, a hallmark of the gNyos practice at that point and his fame as a *siddha* disseminated far and wide. He became pupil of one of Mar-pa's favourite students, mTshur-ston dBang gi rdo-rje. Initially he settled in sPang-po of bZangs = bZad,[23] where he perfected his ascetic practices and became a great master of the *Guhyasamāja tantra*. It is reported that he was eventually requested to consecrate most of the temples of dBus-gTsang as well as the temple's receptacles. The prestige associated with this expanded further, to such an extent, according to the overly apologetic *gNyos rabs*, that the importance ascribed to a temple often was linked with the question whether or not it had been consecrated by him or not and it is also maintained that blessings from him would ensure that the progeny of a family would multiply. It was he who, following in the trail of both his father and uncle, received or rather inherited the 'Bring community areas both within their Kha-rag homeland but also further 'Bring settlement areas in sKyid-shod, possibly donated as large monastic estate grants by his most devout lay patrons and gNyos clan relatives. It is stipulated that it actually was through his flourishing activities that the gNyos clan rose to become one of the four great clans of dBus-gTsang or Central Tibet. During the 10th and the 11th century, the clan now held strongholds and major land holdings in the La-stod area of gTsang, in rGyang-ro of Nyang-stod as well as in the adjacent border area of Kha-rag towards Yar-'brog up until the Gye-re Valley of sKyid-smad.

The latter had three sons. The intermediate one was dPal gyi seng-ge (1054–1120 A.D.), who like his brothers was well versed not least in the specific cycles transmitted through their famous grandfather gNyos *lo tsā ba* which he studied under his father and uncle. The oldest son of dPal gyi seng-ge is recorded to be Grags-pa-dpal (1106–1165/1182),[24] considered – due evidently to his monarch-like and "pious" rule – an incarnation of Dharmarāja Aśoka in order to tinge him with a prestigious Cakravartin-like status – and occasionally addressed gNyos-nag (> gNyos kyi Nag-po spyod-pa or a gNyos-born Kṛṣṇācārya – an epithet also applied to his son – often merely Bur-sgom nag-po) Grags-pa-dpal. It was he who brought not only great political but also renewed spiritual fame to the family.

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[22] Also called gNyos rDo-rje. *gNyos rabs* briefly informs us that he reached the age of 78. The precise dates of some of the earlier gNyos masters are here based upon the *sMyos rabs*. But since its compiler Bla-ma gSang-sngags neither in his book nor during an interview with him in Thimphu (2000) could provide further documentation for these dates (e.g. precise source reference, etc.), these tentative dates are not conclusive and must ultimately await additional corroboration.

[23] It may refer to sPang-gshong of present-day mNyes-thang *xiang* of Chu-shur *rdzong*.

[24] He is registered as either having reached 61 or 78 years of age; hence either 1106–1182/3 (obviously to be preferred) or, less likely 1106–1165/66 A.D. He is registered as teacher to Phag-gru (1110–70). The biography of another pupil of his, rMog-lcog (also 1110–1170) mentions that Bur-sgom nag-po – *alias* Grags-pa-dpal – passed away in a "bird" year – which in this case would seem to correspond to 1165 A.D. (i.e. evidently prior to rMog-lcog's own passing). An important information, which would dovetail with the contention that he merely reached the age of 61, yet it contradicts most other sources. Grags-pa-dpal seems to have been involved in the subsequent take-over of lHa-sa and the renovation of its *sanctum* in 1169 (the mentioning of his passing in the biography therefore to be tentatively situated to another "bird" year, say 1177 or even 1189 – so e.g. *lHa rnam III* 19b5 suggests that he was still alive 1188 A.D.; cf. *rMog lcog rnam thar* 104). Vitali 2004b: 137 argues that Grags-pa-dpal reached the age of 61 years, and dates him 1126–1186 or 1138–1198 A.D.; the latter dates seem untenable. Cf. also App. V: Table 7 below.

His broad religious apprenticeship was impressive: Age 11, his itinerary brought him into the presence of a truly major authority in this early epoch, namely rGya-dmar-pa of sTod-lung district,[25] at whose feet he sojourned for a number of years being groomed in the basic treatises of Buddhist scholasticism. He further deepened his knowledge of *Guhyasamāja tantra* by studying with rNgog Mu-ne[26] for six

[25] It refers to the late 11th and early 12th-cent. (*fl. ca*. 1095–1135) *dge bshes* rGya-dmar-pa Byang-chub-grags of sTod-lungs ([Gad] Se/Sa-thang; where he set up a *grva gsar*, probably located *ca.* 29°39'N 90°54'E in sByar-rags *xiang* of sTod-lung?), pupil of Khyung-po Rin-chen-grags (of Dar-yul in 'Phan-yul; himself pupil of rNgog Blo-ldan shes-rab) and of Gangs-pa She-'u Blo-gros byang-chub (=? *dge bshes* Gangs-pa *alias* Lum-pa-ba Ye-shes byang-chub; *fl*. late 11th and early 12th cent.).

The highly influential rGya-dmar-pa was a true pioneer of early scholasticism in Tibet and a teacher to a host of pupils such as another recorded pioneer or father of Tibetan epistemology, Phya-pa Chos kyi seng-ge (who at the former's feet received teachings related to *Madhyamaka* and *Pramāṇa*) as well as being teacher to a host of other pupils including Kha-mo Ze'u-ston (of Khu-le dist.). It cannot surprise that Grags-pa-dpal developed a link with rGya-dmar-pa, since it was in the old (in part gNyos controlled) nomadic rGyang-ro district (of Myang-ro or Myang-stod where the latter practised) that Gangs-pa She-'u – himself pupil of the learned Madhyamaka pioneer Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags (b. 1055) of rGyal of 'Phan-yul – taught extensively and it was in the old *gdan sa* seat of Khyung-po, called Glang-pa 'Phang-thang dgon-pa where rGya-dmar-pa himself was active. It was at this site that this teacher of rGya-dmar-pa resided and where the Gangs-pa She'u dgon-pa (also called Gangs kyi Gangs-ro = rGyang-ro) had been erected, in Upper lCang-ra dist. of Myang-stod; cf. *Myang chos 'byung* 31–2, 43, 72–3, 76, 91–2, 104–6; *BA* Roerich 332, 386. A pupil of Gangs-pa She-'u was 'Khon-phu-ba Chos kyi rgyal-po (1069–1144 A.D.). Notably, the bKa'-gdams-pa Shar-ra-ba Yon-tan-grags (1070–1141), but later also Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa dPal Chos kyi grags-pa (1110–1193) and Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po studied under rGya-dmar-pa – of little surprise when we recall that one of Phag-gru's teachers were La-stod-pa or gNas-rnying-pa dKon-mchog mkhar-ba of Myang-stod, as mentioned above (see here Vitali 2004b and 2006). Phag-gru was ordained at Zul-phu (see Table V.8) in rGya-dmar-pa's presence in the early 1130's (1127 A.D. acc. to *dKar brgyud chos 'byung* 355.5). Still other disciples of the great and long-living sTod-lung master included: Ye-shes bla-ma (b. 1115) and Pa-tshab sgom-pa or sgom-nag (1077–1158).

Among rGya-dmar-pa's now lost writings arguably count a commentary on the [Atiśa's] *Satyadvaya*, as well as and commentaries on the seminal *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and *Pramāṇaviniścaya* treatises.

It was at rGya-dmar-pa's site (a *grva gsar*) that leading masters would receive authoritative teachings related to the pure Madhyamaka Svatāntrika school (i.e. the dBu-ma rang-rgyud shar-gsum tradition; cf. e.g. gSer-mdog's *dBu ma'i byung tshul* 12b): it was also here that one of the major transmission lineages of Śāntideva's celebrated *Bodhicaryāvatāra* was handed down. He therefore has a secured position in the annals of early Tibetan scholasticism, and it is most unfortunate that no proper biography of him has surfaced so far.

Sources: e.g. *Shar ra ba rnam thar* 24a4; *Yar lung chos 'byung* [B] 126, 129; *Phag gru rnam thar I* 3b4; *II* 3a2–4; *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 59; *Rlangs* 356 = *Si tu bka' chems* 265; *BA* 555f.; *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed* 137; *Myang chos 'byung* 29–30; *DL6* 113; *Tshur phu dgon dkar chag* 660–61; *rNgog lo bstan bskyangs* 450–54; *rGyal rtse rdzong lo rgyus* 48–49; see also *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung I* 44a1–3; *Ras chung rnam thar* 568–73 and *Pha dam pa rnam thar* 205–09; *Mig 'byed 'od stong* 15a5, 52a6; *Drepung Catalogue II*: 015397; and finally van der Kuijp 1983: 60, 283; 1993c: 288–89.

[26] rNgog/rDog* Nyi-ma seng-ge (ord. name Mu-ne, Mu-le; orig. Muni) was nephew of rNgog Ye-shes seng-ge (the latter brother to rNgog Ye-shes 'byung-gnas and rNgog rDo-rje grags-pa; see *rNgog rabs* 3bff.).** Age 21, he took over the Brag-ltag hermitage of 'Jad district in gTsang (formerly having been est. by his father), and he erected age 21 the Brag-ltag hermitage of 'Jad district in gTsang. rNgog Mu-ne was pupil of Ba-ri *lo tsā ba* Rin-chen-grags (1040–1112 A.D.). He was famed for having erected in total 13 temples throughout the gTsang province. He reached the age of 60 years. Mu-ne's son (before ordination) was called rNgog Āryadeva (also known as 'Phags-pa-skyabs and 'Bum-legs), reported to be author of a number of works such as *Rim lnga'i sgron chung*, etc. A pupil of Mu-ne was Mal Yer-pa-ba (1105–1170); cf. *Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar* 4a4f. from whom he heard the cycles of the celebrated *'Phags skor* such as *Pratipoddyotana*. He further established the rDog-grong seat. He held the see of Brag-ltag dga'-ldan for 32 years. For

years, then the cycle of A-ro with Brag-dkar-po,[27] as well as with one 'Jam *lotsāba*,[28] etc. On more than one score, his religious training bears striking similarities with that of Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po, occasionally sharing the same teachers and curricula. Small wonder since their paths crossed at several occasions. Probably in the mid–1150's, he is recorded to have been active in the Cha-dkar area of [s]Bur of sNye-thang,[29] evidently old gNyos land relatively close to Shun,

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their biographies and the lineage of the seat, see *rNgog gdung rabs* 3b4ff. It would place his flourit in the later part of the 11th and of early 12th cent.

The clan lines of the rDog/rNgog spread out into different territories. The line had originated in bTsong-kha and later settled down in 'Jad and in sGro-mon of rTa-nag, whereas another (or the real rNgog) early had settled in the peninsular Yar-'brog Do area, in gZhung Ri-bo and at sPre'u-zhing and yet another line in sKyid-smad (i.e. sTod-lung-mda').

The cycle studied by gNyos Grags-pa-dpal refers to the rNgog Mu-ne system (or rNgog-lugs) of *Guhyasamāja tantra* based upon the widespread Ārya Nāgārjuna hermeneutic system (*'phags lugs*) among the three systems that were prevalent in Tibet: 'Gos *lo tsā ba* lHas-btsas bSod-nams rtse-mo, through rNgog and thirdly via Mar-pa *lo tsā ba*; cf. e.g. *Bu ston gsan yig* 48b7–49a6; *gSang 'dus chos 'byung* 25a1–4, 26a6, 60a1–63b1. Among a host of masters, the sTag-lung founder bKra-shis-dpal also received this cycle and Grags-pa-dpal's son lHa-nang-pa too; *lHa rnam I* 12.

* The proper clan name is not conclusively clarified: rDog (var. rNgog), the former reading arguably to be preferred, since this line seems unrelated to the equally famous rNgog and since bTsong-kha as the place of origin of the present rDog? line more likely may be related to the proto-clan sT/Dong. In *bShad mdzod* (Smith 2001: 219), sNgog and rTog (= rDog) are listed separately as two of the eight sTong clans.

** The line settled in Gad-phu of 'Jad. Ye-shes seng-ge, a specialist in *Abhidharma* and *Prajñāparamitā*, later became well-versed in the *Guhyasamāja tantra* initially based upon the translation stemming from Rin-chen bzang-po's pen. It was he who originally erected the mother seat of Brag-ltag dga'-ldan *dben gnas* hermitage.

[27] From Brag-dkar Kumārabodhi (= *gZhon-nu byang-chub according to a Phag-gru biography), he heard the A-ro precepts (i.e. the rDzogs-chen *man ngag* precepts), referring to the cycles of *thams cad mkhyen pa* A-ro Ye-shes 'byung-gnas. Notwithstanding the above identification, Brag-dkar-ba conversely could refer to Brag-dkar-pa Shes-rab ye-shes, pupil of *rtogs ldan* sBra-sgom; cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 202 (but see *ibid*. 308, here called Brag-dmar). The latter was also pupil of Bla-ma Zhang (see Table V.5 below); which however would make the chronology quite problematic. Another, less likely, candidate is 'Phan-yul Brag-dkar-pa (1068/1080–1147/1159 A.D.), a prominent pupil of Po-to-ba. Cf. Sørensen 1999: 181; 2002: 243. See also CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 2000: 77; *Myang chos 'byung* 32. From the biography of Phag-gru, we are informed that at approximately the same time, the latter received the same cycles from Brag-dkar who resided in the gTsang province (which seems to exclude the latter option).

[28] He may likely be identical with one *bla ma* 'Jim *lo tsā ba* who similarly taught Phag-mo-gru-pa some mantric precepts around 1130 A.D. Cf. *Phag gru rnam thar II* 3b3.

[29] Cha-dkar (read: Bya-dkar? or retain Cha-dkar "White Apparel/Dress [of the progenitor bird"? see above]) is also the name of an early *phyi dar* foundation in sKyid-smad which is given in the sources as rNams (= gNam) gyi Cha-dkar or sNye-thang Bur gyi Cha-dkar (MTP Uebach 148, fn. 963). Today it refers to the present-day area of Ra-stod (R[v]a-stod bDe-ba-can or Ra-stod-phu, located *ca.* 29°32'N 90°53'E). This is confirmed in the sMon-lam chen-mo donation-list of 1409 A.D., where the community of the Bur-pa bDe-pa-can is spoken of; cf. *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 326.* See below Map 2 and Fig. 4. Worth mooting, yet evidently unfounded is the equation of the older 'Bur (or sBur) to 'Or of sNye-thang (where sNye-thang of 'Or is also registered).**

The toponym's considerable antiquity is nevertheless attested in the *Dunhuang Annals*, where we find Bur of sKyi already mentioned for 761 and 762 A.D. (Dotson, *forthcoming*; Hazod *forthcoming b*); at that point the place served as a winter assembly and it may be speculated that it in the dynastic time already was an ancestral seat of the gNyos clan, a lineage otherwise unmentioned in the dynastic Dunhuang materials.

At Bur Atiśa preached at a hermitage called Nyams-dga'-mo presided over by his *bla mchod* dGon-pa-ba; cf. Eimer 1979: 274. It was at Cha-dkar that Grags-pa-dpal's most prominent son lHa-nang-pa gZi-brjid-dpal was born in 1164 A.D. and Cha-dkar constituted Grags-pa-dpal's main residence wherefrom he ruled large part of the neighbouring lHa-sa area. lHa-nang-pa addressed himself Brag-sna-pa, the one from Brag-sna in sNye-thang, one of the settlements of the 'Bring *smad* communities of which Cha-dkar again was a branch settlement. Brag-sna corresponds to the place of the

where he practised asceticism and evidently at one point settled down in order to work there for the well-being of the people (often euphemistic for a rule as secular and religious master). His initial fame however is recorded to have been won in the field of asceticism, being at that point commonly known as Bur-sgom nag-po and as such reportedly one of Ras-chung's most prominent pupils – albeit this is not detailed in the extant biographical sketches of him. It was at [s]Bur of sKyid-smad that Phag-mo gru-pa sought his help and where the latter received many teachings and instructive precepts from Bur-sgom. The sources paint a vivid picture of a strong and increasingly stern local potentate who occasionally was at odds with his neighbours, in particular with the so-called "Cave-dwellers" (Brag-rum-pa) of Shun.[30]

'Bring *tsho* foundation of sNye-thang Brag-sna bkra-shis (*rGya bod yig tshang* 461.15) where, incidentally, rNgog Blo-ldan shes-rab conducted a number of translations and later a dGe-lugs establishment was erected; cf. Table V.6 below. lHa-nang-pa, like his father, also made retreat sessions in Bur gyi la (or: Bur-la: 29°30'N 90°52'E; see Map 2), in the hermitic "pass" area of Bur; also called sNye-thang sBur-bu'i ri. The last information informs us that his hermitage was located on the ridge across from the 'Brug monastery; see Part I: Map 8. The 'Brug dgon-pa, the seat of the neighbouring 'Brug-pa (the present-day 'Brug-pa dgon-pa village located at 29°32'N 90°48'E), with which the lHa-pa later entertained a contentious relationship which eventually – following repeated military conflicts – led to the fusion of the lHa-pa and 'Brug-pa into the *mi sde* lHa-'Brug in the 13th century under Tshal-pa *khri skor* hegemony. Anyhow, Cha-dkar thus was close to the 'Bring *smad* communities, not far from the G[y]e-re Valley controlled by their gNyos kin.

The actual extent of the ancestral Bur area in former time remains unclear, but the reference to the 11th-cent. establishment 'Jangs-pa lha-khang of Bur suggests that Bur during this period indeed may have included the area of lJang in present-day gNam district (loc. 29°27'N 90°53'E), located due south from mNyes-thang towards Chu-shur. If this extension seems warranted, it would indicate that Gye-re Valley (see below fns. 75–76) too, the homeland of another large gNyos settlements was part of the old extended Bur territory.

* It may be assumed that Grags-pa-dpal's Bur Cha-dkar headquarter was dissolved or abandoned (destroyed?) following his demise, and the famous bDe-pa-can seminary (in present-day Upper Rva-ba-stod) in 1205, arguably was raised upon the former's ruins or close to it, est. by rGya 'Ching-ru-ba Shes-rab dbang-phyug, pupil of gNyal/dMyal-zhig 'Jam-dpal seng-ge, resp. the 3rd and 4th Gling-stod abbot of gSang-phu (see Table V.8.5 below). In the 15th cent., with the establishment of the dGe-lugs-pa, bDe-ba-can turned into Rva-stod bDe-ba-can monastery. Today Bur (sBur) as toponym is widely unknown in the valley which has taken on the name of Rva-stod. A remnant is evidently the aforementioned Bur-la (pass), perhaps also the locality pronounced *Bung (*dBung = Bur?) by local informants referring to the innermost part of the valley. An early 'Brug-master rKyang-mo-kha-pa in Bur est. a similar-named seat; cf. *Mig 'byed 'od stong* 76b1–3.

** The above reference that Cha-dkar was part of the Bur area of sNye-thang immediately prevents us from suggesting that Cha-dkar refers to the site of Cha-dkar of gNas-chung *xiang* of sTod-lung (loc. 29°36'N 90°59'E; adjacent to Shun, cf. also *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 847 mentioned for 17th cent.; cf. *Dimingzhi* 101), in relative close distance to sNye/mNyes-thang. If the territorial extension of Bur is warranted (see above), it may well have been the case. This Cha-dkar was located adjacent to Brang Ra-mo-che. On the other hand, the sNye-thang site and Shun still would seem too distant to allow for an identification; the latter was registered in the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey (*lCags stag zhib gzhung* 33). Nevertheless, Shun Cha-dkar, at a later point, as estate was affiliated with Se-ra monastery as well as with the Klu-khang and Phu-khang aristocratic families, whereas 'Or (originally the 11th-cent. sNye-thang 'Or gyi *gtsug lag khang* est. by Atiśa's pupil Bang-ston) eventually was linked to Se-ra-smad grva-tshang. Therefore, the toponymic equation Bur / 'Or cannot be maintained (a toponym Hor-la is registered (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 116) and refers to a pass between mNyes-phu (upper [= northern section of] mNyes-thang) and upper Brang of lower sTod-lung. Perhaps the name is related to the ancient 'Or (Hor-la = 'Or-la?) which was part of sNye-thang).

[30] Grags-pa-dpal and his pupils Phag-mo-gru-pa and rMog-lcog Rin-chen brtson-'grus (*Ratnavīrya)* had studied in the presence of the same teachers, and the reference in the biographies of the latter two to *bla ma* Bur (= [s]Bur-sgom or Bur-sgom nag-po), as well as Phag-mo-gru-pa's ten (or eight) months sojourn in Bur-lung and rMog-lcog's even longer stay there (at sBur-sgom's feet where he honed his meditative skills and e.g. received the Lo-ro Ras-chung cycles, etc.) clearly indicate Grags-pa-dpal's status of seniority. This is confirmed in *BA* (Roerich 735) and in rMog-lcog's biography (74–75) where Bur-sgom's hassle with the neighbouring Shun-pa (inhabiting his ancestors' homeland, may be within the old borders of the Bur territory? see above) is reported, even punitive measures in retaliation – in conformity with Grags-pa-dpal's unyielding personality. It was rMog-lcog whom Grags-pa-dpal called in to assist – almost as a cadre or



Map 2. The old Bur ([s]Bur-lung, now known as Rva-stod valley) in mNyes-thang district. Former main residence of gNyos Grags-pa-dpal

[Sigla: **N** = sNye-thang sGrol-ma lha-khang **C** = Chos-rdzong dgon-pa (ruins) **R** = Rin-chen-gling **M** = rMog-lcog *ri khrod* **D** = Ra-stod bDe-ba-can] Photo: Google Earth 2006



***4**. The lower part of Bur-lung valley looking towards sKyid-chu* (PKS 2005)

It is to be assumed that he later remained in his family residence of sBur/Bur, after he became the undisputed ruler of the wide 'Bring-controlled lHa-sa area. Designated as a lay esoteric tantric household master (*khyim pa'i sngags 'chang pa*), he clearly rose to become a Mar-pa-like patriarch – equally stern, ambitious and uncompromising in his dealings. At that point the lHa-sa *sde bzhi* (which, as we have seen above, may refer to the four religious factions in dBus) were still enmeshed in internal fighting and the sources (*gNyos rabs* 24.2–3; *sMyos rabs* 81; *DL6* 113) in this connection claim that there were "none who possessed the key to open [the door] to lHa-sa (i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang)," for which reason the deities (i.e. statues) inside were despairing. To retain the analogy, the warring situation remained a "deadlock," or a stalemate, a scenario as we shall see below, that clearly attempts to tell us that the *sanctum* in lHa-sa not only was inaccessible, i.e. in ruins, but that no one was the actual or exclusive ruler of the site. We gain the impression that monks overly preoccupied with warfare and brigandry inhabited or controlled the site throughout the first part of the 12th century. Whatever it may be, Ra-sa was in ruins, badly in need of renovation, having until then been the hapless victim of a prolonged and seemingly forlorn conflict.

Tradition commonly holds that at that very juncture, it was Dvags-po sGom-chung [= Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims snying-po] (1116–1169 A.D.),[31] the paramount rGyal-tshab or successor-representative of the peerless bKa'-brgyud patriarch Dvags-po lHa-rje who decisively influenced events in lHa-sa. The nephew of sGam-po-pa, Tshul-khrims snying-po evidently was invited to

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soldier and similar to the initial role of Ti-shi ras-pa when requested to assist Bla-ma Zhang – who by magical means (e.g. by way of hail-attacks) was urged to punish Grags-pa-dpal's enemies (identified as the Brag-rum-pa (= Brag-rtse-pa?; cf. fn. 17 above) of Shun; Brag-rum evidently had been a *yul dpon tshan* in imperial time; cf. *lDe'u 2* 257) for stealing or abducting gNyos' livestock. The outcome – reminiscent of (or plagiarized from?) the biography of Mi-las ras-pa – allegedly was the destruction of his enemy's harvest and a massacre of people and livestock. The Brag-rum-pa soon were to seek a truce with gNyos and proved willing to return the confiscated livestock in addition to offering gifts such as horses and turquoise-studded armour as a token of submission. It may tentatively be speculated that the enemies from the "cliff-pockets" or Brag-rum of Shun may refer to the lHa-zhing seat. See below fn. 45.

Bur-sgom, as said, had been a prominent pupil of Ras-chung – in the latter's biography, it is mentioned that Bur-sgom usually resided in the hermitage of sBur-bu of sNye-thang; cf. *Ras chung rnam thar* 406, 414, 638; *Phag gru rnam thar I* 4b3f.; *rMog lcog rnam thar* 72f.; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 114, 308, 327. *Mig 'byed 'od stong* 14b5–6, 20a1 briefly confirms that Bur-sgom was a teacher of Phag-mo-gru-pa.

* The Shangs-pa master *mnyam med* rMog-lcog erected the rMog-lcog hermitage (loc.: 29°32'N 90°56'E) on Mt. mGon-po-ri towering behind Atiśa's sGrol-ma lha-khang in mNyes-thang adjacent to Bur-lung (see Map 2). In dPal Phag-gru's *sKyes rabs chen mo* 69.2–3, it is maintained that rDo-rje rgyal-po's relationship to both Bur-sgom and rMog-lcog essentially was that of an alternating teacher-pupil, resp. a relation between a *mchod gnas* and *yon bdag*, thus indicating to us that Bur-sgom Grags-pa-dpal in Bur-lung had been hosting both masters as a local patron.

[31] *gNyos rabs* 24.3 mentions Dvags-po sgom-byung (= chung), i.e. Shes-rab byang-chub (*alias* Rog-chung; 1130–1173; Vitali 2004b: 136 has combined sGom-chung Tshul-khrims snying-po and giving his dates 1129–81), the younger brother of Dvags-sgom, yet in this connection it appears to be a lapsus for his elder brother, mentioned in most other sources. It is generally maintained that it was the elder brother Dvags-po sGom-tshul who was invited to lHa-sa by the protective deities lHa-mo (*var. srung ma* Rematī) and Grib rDzong-btsan; cf. e.g. *Dvags po sgom pa'i rnam thar* (in *ZhK III* (KA) 72b3–5); *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 548.6–49.2; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 448–49; *sGam po pa'i rnam thar* 267.5f., *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 360–66; *'Jig rten mgon po rnam thar II* [B] 87.1–3, etc. The witness contained in the Dvags-po sGom-tshul biography, a rather mythic narrative, purports that the two deities miraculously turned into a black-dressed woman and into a young dog cloaked in silk that had been called in from sTod-lung. The cryptic allusion requires further deliberations. Signally, sGom-tshul's actual role in lHa-sa is confirmed, since in the Dvags-po hermitage a *sku 'dra* statue of sGom-tshul is found, consecrated by sGom-chung, made from the cremation ashes of the former, and set up there facing lHa-sa in order to protect the site against flooding; cf. *Dvags lha sgam po gnas yig* 38a1–2; *sGam po khri rabs* 27b6, 30a2–3.

lHa-sa by the *chos skyong* dPal-ldan lha-mo and rDzong-btsan[32] in the mid-1160's to mediate in the conflict and subsequently to carry through extensive repair works. His biography[33] relates how he succeeded in renovating Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and bring this task to completion in 1167 A.D. Behind the two protector deities of the lHa-sa area and behind the invitation we most readily shall see the responsible "caretakers" of lHa-sa (i.e. the lHa-sa sde-bzhi custodians), who here were entreating a strong religious personality (and subsequently a lay ruler from the neighbouring sNye-thang district) to come and intervene. One source even purports that among the lHa-sa sde-bzhi until that point war-like lawlessness reigned wherefore Dvags-po as a *pis aller* had been requested to intervene, in other words as a last resort of impartiality to break the deadlock, evidently due to his repute or due to the mediating prestige that he enjoyed among all warring parties. Behind the vague references in the relevant sources, however, it cannot be excluded that it in fact was the gNyos clan and their kin (in sTod-lung and 'Phan-yul where many gNyos families are registered for this period) who had been instrumental, at least in part, in inviting the Dvags-po patriarch to lHa-sa, expecting in return a favourable treatment in any post-war settlement perhaps. As recorded in *gNyos rabs* (which is a partisan tract that rather intends to glorify gNyos' role in the development), speaking to three representatives of the monk communities, i.e. probably representatives of those communities involved in the dispute,[34] Dvags-sgom reminded them that whoever was in possession of the key[35] brought it here – a phrase evidently signalling that whoever held (or ventured to hold?) claim over the site came forward and appropriate the site. He then continued, addressing Grags-pa-dpal with the words:

> since you gNyos Grags-pa-dpal, the actual lord of the 'Bring communities, both of upper and lower sKyid-shod, and since at this point the lHa-sa sde-bzhi [i.e. either the four warring factions or the closer lHa-sa region] had been seized by the gNyos clan and people, no one else than you would presently be capable of lifting the yoke (in other words of breaking the spell and bring peace). Therefore you must appropriate it and manage [the site] by bringing the fighting to a halt and by rendering service to the Jo-bo in form of renovating the temple, etc. (*gNyos rabs*, 12b3–13a2 = 24.3–25.2).

Being thus motivated, perhaps even entreated by sGom-tshul, Grags-pa-dpal evidently acquiesced to the commitment, and along with his disciples, he subsequently arrived at Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang.

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[32] Behind the invitation we shall therefore assume rDzong-btsan of Grib, the *yul lha* of the mGar clan who ruled in this area south-west of lHa-sa. Grib rDzong-btsan gi ri is the clan's *bla ri* (cf. *Grib btsan rdo rje mchog gtor chog*). The mGar clan had settled in Grib already in the 12th century and most of Tshal Gung-thang district (spanning from Grib until Sri) most likely was a former mGar estate wherefore it is surmisable that Dvags-sgom was invited by the mGar and not by gNyos. Cf. also App. IV. Misunderstood by R. Davidson 2004: 328.

[33] Cf. e.g. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 801f.; *sGam po pa rnam thar* 267.5f.; *Dvags po sgom tshul rnam thar* in *ZhK I* 352.4–360.3 = *ZhK III* (KA) 72b3–76a1; Chab-spel 1982: 19.

Dvags-po sGom-tshul's biography informs us that he several times contemplated leaving lHa-sa due to the immoral and materialistic monks present in lHa-sa. The denominational background of these monks is still unclear. Lawlessness reigning, he mentions the need for the introduction of a *rgyal khrims* or civil law to cope with the anarchism.

[34] See previous note. *gNyos rabs* here merely mentions three *btsun pa*, but this, it appears, can only be understood as the representatives of the other? three communities (aside from the fourth, here the dominant 'Bring) engaged in the warfare.

[35] This phrase either alludes to the key to "open the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang," in other words the physical control of the site or it indicates either the partial access to the site that each community held in turns through the shared custodianship by all communities (as indicated by the four communities of lHa-sa). Incidentally, the phrase "to hand over the key" implies "to hand over the control" or to appropriate an institution.

One reliable source conversely purports that Grags-pa-dpal indeed was urged by Dvags-sgom to come to lHa-sa, but that it in particular was through the combination of Grags-pa-dpal's untiring endeavours for instance in form of offering affluent donations and teachings that he had delivered to his kin, the G[y]e-re gNyos (in order to win them over on his side) as well as through craft and (military?) stratagems, that Grags-pa-dpal succeeded in bringing peace to the warring parties. The relevant sources do not give much detail on warring skirmishes at this point, – these are after all religious sources attempting to depict the gNyos protagonists in a proper light – but they must have preceded the settlement.

What seems to be purported from the above passage is that at an early point the gNyos, backed by the numerous 'Bring communities, had become the de-facto rulers of the lHa-sa area since in the period preceding this intervention by Dvags-po the lHa-sa sde-bzhi (whether referring to the lHa-sa area or to the areas of the warring religious factions?) had been conquered by the gNyos clan. This would strengthen our assumption that Grags-pa-dpal or his kin practically speaking stood behind the invitation of Dvags-po with a view to ensure spiritual legitimation and endorsement behind their (prior de-facto?) appropriation of the area. Anyway, Grags-pa-dpal at that point nevertheless must have been an imposing local potentate, in the eyes of Dvags-sgom obviously the most powerful figure in the area in the mid–12th century backed by a formidable basis of lay supporters and cadres. As ruler of both 'Bring *tsho* communities, he easily could muster or field a cohort of militia which he could conscript from his communities of sKyid-smad such as Grib (incl. sKar-chung), sNye-thang, sTod-lung, as well as large 'Bring settlements from Mal-gro and 'Phan-yul (also called 'Bring *tsho stod*) and even conscripts from settlements in Gong-dkar south of gTsang-po River in the district of Dol, gZhung and Grva (cf. Part I: fn. 422) could be fielded if need be. Other clans controlled many areas within these districts, such as the position of the mGar clan in Grib and rNgog of sTod-lungs-mda',[36] barring us from clarifying in detail the actual relationship between gNyos and these (minor?) local rulers. We do know that at that point Grags-pa-dpal was decisively assisted by the head of the different settlements of the Gye-re gNyos clan in sKyid-smad, headed by one gNyos Seng-ge-'od who eventually decided to donate to Grags-pa-dpal whatever territory his kin held in lHa-sa, controlled by the 'Bring communities.[37]



***5**. Dvags-po sGom-tshul (1116–1169)*

[36] The mGar clan in the sKyid-shod area occupied the territories of Grib and of Ram-pa in lower sTod-lung; see for details App. IV.

[37] *gNyos rabs* 13a2–3 = 25.2–3, reads *dgyer gnyos kyi gtso bo rnams phyogs phyogs su sogs | ston mo rngos gdab tha dad du byas | gnyos seng ge 'od kyis kyang khong rang gi lha sa'i* [= *lha pa'i*?] *mnga' ris ci yin phul*.

Of major significance, albeit still relatively undocumented is the relationship at that point between the mGar clan, the gNyos clan/people and the local 'Bring communities in Grib and beyond that included, as we know, both the western areas of gSang-mda' and -phu as well as the adjacent sKar-chung area. A connecting or mediating, certainly a powerful link had been held by the influential rNgog, the clan of the leading religious masters of gSang-phu, with its seat on the southern side of sKyid-chu. It must be recalled that it was with one member of a sub-line of this clan that Grags-pa-dpal had studied intensively during his youth and another of his teachers, rGya-dmar-pa of sTod-lung too stood in the line of rNgog Blo-ldan shes-rab. We are thus informed about prevailing spiritual or doctrinal bonds between this line and other lines of the rNgog clan and of gNyos. It is noteworthy that Grags-pa-dpal's uncle gNyos dPal-le (one of the dBus-gtsang Jo-sras bzhi; mid- and late 11th cent.; see Table V.7 below) similarly is registered as student of the gTsang-based rNgog Mu-ne, too.[38] Future research shall hopefully deepen our knowledge of the crucial linkages that seem to have prevailed between the clans of gNyos, rNgog and the Zhang sNa-nam (in confederation with mGar) and their concomitant and formative roles in shaping the political landscape of the 11–12th-cent. Central Tibetan heart-land. The bonds between Zhang and the rNgog clan – it may be recalled that the principal among the teachers of Bla-ma Zhang was rNgog mDo-sde, whose father was related to rNgog *lo tsā ba* of the 'Bring – was close and cordial.[39] Friendly bonds also existed between the rGya clan (of gTsang-pa rGya-ras), Zhang as well as gNyos i.e. lHa-nang-pa.[40] Most significant for the complex network of clan alliances or affiliations, however, was the circumstance that rNgog is registered as the clan name of Grags-pa-dpal's mother.[41] Grags-pa-dpal therefore boasted descent from two powerful clans dominant in sKyid-smad and lHa-sa – the gNyos and rNgog. His pedigree served as an ideal but clearly also necessary precondition for the successful implementation and hence survival of his hegemony. Aside from these traceable clan settlements in the narrow sKyid-shod area, the prior presence – up to a few hundred years earlier – of the dBa's clan is still unexplored (during this period they were military rulers of sKyid-stod and sKyid-smad; see *bKa' thang sde lnga* 439; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: App. II, Chap. 3) in the same area. Notwithstanding, the role putatively held by the imperial dBa'[s], a house and clan line commonly regarded as the true rulers of the wider lHa-sa marchland throughout the early imperial period is still uncharted.

Akester (2004: 58) in this context suggests reading this account so that Grags-pa-dpal proved successful in pacifying the four communities of lHa-sa, seen by him to be represented by a conflict between the heads of the dGyer and gNyos clans. Indeed, the passage is here not unproblematic, and the presence of the dGyer clan (see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: Intro.) in the conflict otherwise remains fully undocumented, we would argue that the text refers to the heads of gNyos clan of the dGyer / Gye-re valley (to distingush them from other areas populated or dominated by gNyos).

[38] Doubtlessly, the clans entertained relations affinally as much as consanguineously. Another clue to the bonds between gNyos and rNgog, however feeble, is corroborated by the fact that Po-to-ba ('Phan-yul, of the gNyos clan) in the mid-1050's had been ordained at Brag-rgyab of 'Phan-yul in the presence of rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas (of rNgog, however, of the Klu-mes group – here not of the 'Bring group) – suggesting that clan links possibly overlaid religious commitments and affiliations); cf. *Pu to ba rnam thar* 4b4–6.

[39] One text speaks about his root-teacher being rNgog sTod-lung-pa, linking mDo-sde with this area; cf. Part I: fn. 18.

[40] See here Vitali (2004a: 16) based upon a recently surfaced *Tsa ri dkar chag* putatively written by gNyos lHa-nang-pa.

[41] His mother 'Od-gsal-ma from the rNgog line stemmed from Thang-phu of (lower) sTod-lung and his grand-mother from the Ne-ring clan, the seat and homestead of which was located in the Chu-shur district too, and both lines evidently represented powerful local families. Thang-phu was situated not far from sNye-thang and 'Bur, the main-residence of Grags-pa-dpal. The latter thus had chosen a lady from a powerful clan in the nearest neighbourhood. Interestingly, Bla-ma Zhang also practised asceticism in Thang-phu of sTod-lung. It was at this site that later the dGe-lugs seat of Thang-phu was erected.

In particular it was through this united front, propped by the seemingly massive gNyos domination or control over many settlements, that peace was resumed in the area. It cannot surprise that most sources flatteringly (but not unrealistically) designated Grags-pa-dpal as *bdag po* or ruler of up to one hundred establishments and monasteries inclusive of lHa-sa. The renovation of the war-torn Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, long overdue, could finally find its commence. Dvags-po sGom-tshul, the *rgyal tshab* or successor of his famous uncle and the fountain-head of the bKa'-brgyud-pa, safely could assure the three (remaining) monk communities that their wishes (of seeing Jo-khang repaired and of ensuring peace) finally had come through (*gNyos rabs* 25; *DL6* 113–14; *lHa rnam I* 4–5).

Following the successful renovation of the central sanctuary in lHa-sa, sponsored not least by the gNyos and brought to completion evidently in 1167 A.D. under the active participation and authoritative guidance of Dvags-po sGom-tshul, an unusual event is recorded to have taken place which appears to have had some bearings on the question of the claim to and subsequent transfer of power in the area.

1.3 Cornucopia: The *Cintāmaṇi* Skull of gNyos and its Legacy – Clan *Trouvaille* or Victory's Trophy

The gNyos sources chronicle an episode that appears to have taken place in late 1163 or early 1164 A.D., an event foreboding and hence intimately associated with the birth of Grags-pa-dpal's famous son, lHa-nang-pa: a group consisting of gSang-phu-ba Rin-chen-dpal[42] and one Khams-pa 'Jad/'Dzing, but also including, it appears, gNyos Grags-pa-dpal, being teacher and pupils once were busy reciting the *Guhyasamāja* [*tantra*], one of the esoteric key cycles of the gNyos, on the grassy plain between Ra-sa and Ra-mo-che. They decided to proceed to circumambulate the mChod-rten Ka-ru (i.e. Garu[ḍa]), a holy shrine filled with sacred Tathāgata relics which was located towards the south.[43] Suddenly they spotted an apparently smiling (*'dzum mul*) corpse with

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[42] Cf. *lHa rnam III* 7a4–5. Rin-chen-dpal deplorably remains unidentified, whereas gSang-phu was affiliated with the rNgog clan where Ne'u-thog, the celebrated seminary was established in 1073 A.D. It was a lower 'Bring establishment. Later as *mi sde*, it adhered to the Tshal-pa *khri skor* under Zhang's hegemony (cf. Part I: fn. 434). The 'Bri-gung founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po was in part associated with teachings offered at Ne'-thog and among his pupil may well have counted the 7th throne-holder 'Jam-seng.

Rin-chen-dpal is a very common name throughout this period, also held by the 'Bri-gung founder sKyob-pa *rin po che*. The only seemingly realistic clue – perhaps an important and convincing one since it suggests a *flourit* in the very early 13th cent. if not earlier – was one gNyo [= gNyos]-ston Rin-chen-dpal (who by chance may not be identical with lHa-nang-pa's younger brother Byang-chub-dpal?), reported to have performed a *ganacakra* (in Pu-rang of West Tibet) with Mar-lung-pa; cf. *Mar lung rnam thar* 129a1.

[43] A number of candidates could be identified as the proper site: The Ka-ru/Ke-ru *caitya* alludes to a receptacle the origin of which stems from or seems to have been associated with the basic terrestrial lay-out of the lHa-sa geomantic landscape. It originally refers to the site in the southern direction of lHa-sa, once (and still) the abode of a terrestrial antagonist (*sa dgra*) that configuratively resembled a black scorpion pouncing on its prey. In the relevant sources, it was generally (and falsely?) identified with the eastern summit of Yug-ma-ri; i.e. sKar-chung g.Yug-ma-ri, the summit and southern coordinate of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala scheme, cf. App. IV: Graph 1. For its pacification, the *sa dgra* was affronted and suppressed by a *garuḍa*-bird, in form of a receptacle. It is therefore conceivable that the inchoate *keru* = *garuḍa*. Cf. TBH Sørensen 255–56. It remains unclear whether, or if at all, any link could be made between the mythic gNyos progenitor Gestalt and the *garuḍa*-receptacle.

a well-preserved skull (*kapāla, thod pa*) that had been washed to the place by the water of sKyid-chu. One source signally claims that it was the corpse of a monk (*bande*). They shaved the head (i.e. purified it ritually?) and hid it underneath the sand. At dusk, having arrived upon the upper floor of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, they observed how in the direction of the place where the skull had been concealed, fire was ablaze (i.e. all by itself light emitted miraculously from the object). The following morning they therefore went to fetch the skull. The wonderous object immediately aroused faith and wonder among all people of the lHa-sa sde-bzhi, which possibly tells us that the disinterred object either became a (common) religious object of veneration or an object to be coveted by everybody. The location where it got stranded, at the base of a Ke-ru *caitya* may thus may refer to a receptacle already known from the lHa-sa mythic-topomantic lay-out as detailed in the primeval Buddhist geomantic probe of the site, namely located in sKar-chung area of Grib, south-west of lHa-sa. This indicates that the corpse had washed ashore at the southern bank of sKyid-chu, close to present-day Ra-ma-sgang. Alternatively, it may refer to a cemetery located along the northern shore of sKyid-chu close to Jo-khang, at a site where Srong-btsan sgam-po sat meditating in an "earth-pit" in order to protect lHa-sa from being flooded.

The texts continue by informing us that the discovery of the cornucopia-like precious skull proved a true miracle: an affluent amount of riches [was produced that provided the revenue for the implementation e.g. of] banquets for the four [lHa-sa] communities[44] and an immeasuable amount of material donations manifested themselves, in fact over four(teen) (*var*. forty) times donations and offerings consisting of one hundered thousand (? items or commodities) emerged.[45] One text seems to conversely suggest that the huge amount of riches was the result of a sheer endless amount of presents that were donated by the four lHa-sa communities after they had won great

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Another lead would suggest that it refers to a "white *caitya*" located along the northern shore of sKyid-chu, adjacent to the *sa khung* cave-pit of Srong-btsan sgam-po (cf. fn. 116) where a "white *stūpa* shrine" once stood. The nearest neighbourhood comprised a cementery (which evidently would account for the occurrence of a corpse there). A clue to this place is given in *Mar lung rnam thar* (89a5–6) which relates the history of Bla-ma Zhang and his Tshal polity. A future rebirth of the master was prophesied to be born adjacent to lHa-sa *gtsug lag khang*, at a site resembling an opened "horse cadaver," said to house a *mchod rten ka ru*.

Still another – yet less likely – option is the site presently called Ka-ru Ko-sa or Ferry Station upstream from lHa-sa, where an imperial *rdo ring* and an ancient drawing of a *caitya* have been found; cf. Richardson 1985: 156–57. The latter may be a viable alternative to Grib. Finally, a less likely option is the reference to the ancient dKar-ru or "White Horn" establishment in the early lHa-sa topography (cf. fn. 1 above),

An illustrative discovery in the sKar-chung area, unrelated to the gNyos *trouvaille*, was the story of the corpse of the 10th-century cultic Mer-khe ruler, whose spirit later transformed itself into a sTag-lung protector deity. It too had been carried along by the waters of sKyid-chu only to wash ashore at Ra-ma-sgang. The site at sKar-chung evidently constituted a central ritual or cultic meeting-point in the archaic sKyid-chu geography. Cf. Dung-dkar, *Tshig mdzod* 1620–21.

[44] Text: *sde bzhi'i ston mo dang 'bul mo che dpag tu med pa byung*. This refers, as we shall see below, to grand gatherings and charity banquets like the Brown Sugar Festival, i.e. the funding or subsidizing of religious gatherings; it may have somewhat resembled later institutionalized gatherings like the Curd Feast in lHa-sa during dGa'-ldan pho-brang times; the latter charity banquets may well find parallels in early bKa'-gdams-pa circles; so it is reported that the sister of Sha-ra-ba Yon-tan-grags (1170–1141 A.D.) in the early 12th century, sponsored and entertained up to 8000 monks during a Yoghurt Festival in 'Phan-yul.

[45] No details are offered and the description remains vague. The text is slightly corrupt as it merely reads '*bum tshar bcu bzhi* [read: *bcu*?] *lhag pa 'bul mi* [= *ni*?] *byung pa.* One may also conjecture, recalling that the wish-fulfilling jewel *thod pa* washed to the shore at the dKar-ru *caitya* in lHa-sa, that what miraculously was created were 14 huge dome reliquaries or *'Bum mo che* filled with riches?

faith in the precious object (*DL6* 114). In fact, one part or segment (of donations, i.e. from this veritable cornucopian skull) was kept in or was donated to lHa-sa itself (possibly donated to or safeguarded by the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang custodians to finance its maintenance); one part was offered to Zhang Rin-po-che and finally one faction was donated to gTam-chad lHa-zhing lha-khang.[46] Furthermore, a rain of grants of land, territories and sites thus was secured by Grags-pa-dpal which included land and territories under the former royal hermitage of Brag-lha [klu-phug in lHa-sa][47] that later had been appropriated by the lHa-rje treasury (lHa-rje zo'u-tshang; or rather storehouse; *lha rje zo'u tshang* (= *zo'u 'bru* [or *ke'u*] *tshang*) (? of Dvags-po lHa-rje sGam-po-pa or Dvags-po dBang-rgyal),[48] and a number of minor religious estates incl. its subjects in the narrow area around lHa-sa such as sGung-pa chen-po of Shun, Chu-skor-gnas, Ra-mo-che'i gnas [of sTod-lung], Rin-chen-gshongs, rTsib-ma-gnas, Nag-rong *gzhis kha*, mKhar-gsar-pa, Be'u-ru, La-ba-nang, and 'Brog-mo-gnas, as well as Thag-ma lha-khang [of sTod-lung] and Rin-chen lha-khang, etc. – i.e. all establishments, it appears, to be situated within in the narrow southern lHa-sa area that thus fell into the hands and dominion of gNyos.[49]

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[46] It is identical with (gTam-chad? = ? *smra chad*, referring to ascetics who had taken a vow of silence) lHa-zhing gnas-gsar, the "new settlement or site" of the "Divine Field" located in the Lower sTod-lung area (exact location is most deplorably still unclear) established by the group behind sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug of the Klu-mes group; cf. Table V.6 (IIb). It e.g. was visited by 'Jig-rten mgon-po and gNyos [Grags-pa-dpal?]; cf. *'Jig rten mgon po rnam thar II* [B]: 85.2f. Also the important *mkhas pa chen po* dBang-phyug rdo-rje (a pupil of sTag-lung thang-pa) received teaching at sTod-lung lHa-zhing (cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 618) from the teachers Shu-ru *'dul 'dzin* sNa-'phar-ba, Cog-so sTon-grags, and from Brang-ti Shes-rab seng-ge [? = sBal-ti Shes-rab seng-ge (1181–1253), the 3rd sKyor-mo-lung throne-holder; cf. Table V.8 below]. Another reliable information suggests that it was a hermitage-like settlement located in a *brag rum* i.e. a "cliff-pocket" (and as such it suggests that the hermitage was located somewhere on or close to the Massif of Shun. This equation is supported by other sites listed here to be identified as former sNa-nam settlements. The nature of the relation between Bla-ma Zhang and the sNa-nam clan – aside from common clan roots – still remains to be clarified. If this equation is unfounded, it remains unclear which community or lay supporter actually stood behind this temple. Gauged from the gNyos story, being the apparent recipient of large quantities of riches, it or they must have held a prominent political or spiritual position in the narrow lHa-sa area.

[47] The former hermitage site of Srong-btsan sgam-po in lHa-sa; cf. TBH Sørensen 297.

[48] See above fn. 4. It is still uncertain what this refers to. Dvags-po lha-rje (1079–1154) was also listed for having erected a community, namely Gye-re'i gnas as reported in one source; but this seems untenable; it is commonly regarded as the establishment of gNyos; cf. Uebach 1987: Table V.6 and fn. 147.

[49] Aside from the lHa-sa area itself, most of the partly unidentified estates and sites listed here were evidently situated close to lHa-sa, to the south-west, in the nearest neighbourhood of Lower sTod-lung and related to the sNa-nam clan of Bla-ma Zhang, viz.

1 sGung-pa chen-po evidently was an older or alternative name for sGung-mtsho, an estate (during the dGa'-ldan pho-brang rule) located in Shun-khul area due west of lHa-sa in lower sTod-lung. The latter may refer to the later site of sGang-khang-gsar (located: 29°35'N 90°59'E; cf. also *DL5 I* 293b6–94a1 attached to the sKyor-mo-lung monastery) of gNas-chung area.

2 Chu-skor-gnas* refers to Brang Chu-skor-gnas of lower sTod-lung (cf. MTP Uebach 141; the water-mill est. for the grinding of roasted grain, as one text maintains; in sTod-lungs Brang-phu, it was here that Bla-ma Zhang practiced asceticism and here the infamous Tibetan minister Ma-zhang Grom-pa-skyes in the 750's was buried alive; his tomb is still found there). For its name, see *sKyor lung chos 'byung* 34; it was one of the Vinaya establishments of sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug (himself pupil of Klu-mes); cf. Table V.6 below. sTod-lung Brang-phu and Zhong-pa constituted the old dynastic territory of the sNa-nam clan (wherefrom Bla-ma Zhang also stemmed), areas constituting their *dbang ris* (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 187.3; *sBa bzhed* 18.7; TBH Sørensen 365).

3 mKhar-gsar is mentioned in Zhang's writings e.g. *ZhK* I 279.7. It may have been located in Lower sTod-lung.

What follows in the pertinent gNyos sources is the drawing of a positive depiction of Grags-pa-dpal as a true religious master who proved capable of winning scores of teachers and benefactors alike for his quest, all engaged in furthering the Buddhist doctine under his auspices and benign hegemony. His fame as a great ascetic – as Bur-sgom nag-po – and as one-time teacher of Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po and rMog-lcog must have earned him considerable cultural and spiritual prestige in the eyes of the younger Bla-ma Zhang and 'Jig-rten mgon-po, two bKa'-brgyud-pa founders who were directly influenced by Grags-pa-dpal and the latter's secular polity. The text attempts to depict him as a man deeply devoted to religion, yet he also proved successful in cementing his hegemony that guaranteed his success in the religious field. It informs us that he generally took recourse to warfare throughout this period as a means of pursuing his religious and hegemonic objectives, but that these were strictly guided by religious principles and that killing eventually could be avoided or proved unnecessary. We have reason to believe that warfare was a common means to resolve conflicts. Moreover, this depiction revealingly resembles the stance and approach chosen by Bla-ma Zhang who during the same or following years attempted to expand his own power basis by using (un?)usually draconic means yet simultaneously wrapped this quest in benign terms and altruistic objectives. Was Grags-pa-dpal directly serving as model for Bla-ma Zhang? It certainly tells us that the latter sought to emulate the successful, aggressive strategy chosen by gNyos Grags-pa-dpal in cementing his rule. The dominion of gNyos, like other hegemonies during this spell, had been characterized by strict patrimonialism. All considered, it is probably not amiss to claim that it was gNyos Grags-pa-dpal who served, more than anyone else, as a precursor to and a model for Bla-ma Zhang in his coming crusade and in his idiosyncratic quest for his religiously oriented hegemony at Tshal and it was Zhang who clearly inherited the position and prestige that had been held, at least in part, by gNyos in the wider lHa-sa area following the loss of gNyos' dominance after Grags-pa-dpal's demise due to his son lHa-nang-pa's disinterest for secular rule (see below). This was precisely the period when Zhang successfully initiated the establisment of his twin edifices in 1175 and in 1187 at Tshal Gung-thang. Bla-ma Zhang, we know, had entertained amicable relations with the gNyos clan as may be gleaned from the relevant sources.[50] It therefore can be assumed that the (gradual?) transfer of control over the lHa-sa area from the gNyos clan to Zhang and his associates in the 1180's for the most part had been peaceful rather than followed in the wake of warring clashes between the parties. But Bla-ma Zhang even expanded his domain and turned it into an even more durable polity than in the case of gNyos.

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4 La-ba-nang *and* Be'u-ru (*sic*) most readily refer to La-chung Ke-ru of lower sTod-lung, similarly a sNa-nam establishment (cf. Table V.6 below); or to Lab-nang (= La-ba-nang?) located in sByar-rags of sTod-lung (*ca*. 29°46'N 90°46'E). close to sTod-lung-chu and gZhong-pa. Alternatively and far less likely, it refers to Lva-ra village in Chu-shur district (in present-day mNyes-thang area; located at 29°32'N 90°59'E) a southern side-valley in Bur-lung (now Rva-stod Valley; see Map 2).

5 'Brog-mo-gnas most probably refers to 'Brog-mo (loc.: 29°41'N 90°52'E) in sByar-rags district of Lower sTod-lung. The latter in turn may be identical with 'Brog-mo (listed as late as in the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey where it is registered to adhere to the gNas-chung religious estate; cf. *CTZhZh* 17). Also? called 'Brog-ma, reported to be located in a southern valley from sTod-lung-chu, not far from gZhong-pa lHa-chu (see Part I: Map 3).

* *gnas* as term appears to be an early or cherished pre-12th-century synonym for *dgon pa*. The corn (*'bru*, or "popped corn" *yos*) stemming from this mill was famed all over Tibet, in recent centuries, the Dalai Lama is said to have received flour exclusively from this mill.

[50] Cf. e.g. *lHa rnam I* 37.

The full implication of the discovery and the deeper symbolism of this talisman-like precious item still need to be fully appreciated.[51] In the initial part of the story, this taliman along with a *vajra*-bell were considered auspicious portents for the birth and rise of the new-born lHa-nang-pa into becoming a true religious master. It appears that the skull which would become known as the "maroon-coloured skull of gNyos" (*gnyos kyi thod pa smug po*; *smyos kyi nor thod yid bzhin nor bu smu*[*g*] *gu*)[52] was tantamount to a wish-fulfilling *cintāmaṇi*. It carries obvious reminiscence of the general symbolism surrounding *kapāla* as a ritual object employed in connection with arcane and esoteric rites of "skull observances" (*kāpālavrata*). According to tantric practice and its cultic ritualism, it is well-known that usually a search shall be undertaken for a corpse with the cranium attached; such descriptions emphasize that the skull subsequently be ritually purified, be wrapped up and buried in mud or clay. The *kapāla* after proper treatment and beset with specific *mantra* then is qualified as a "wish-granting jewel" which turns it into an object of worship, or it may turn into an offering vessel or bowl. Another use of the skull in rituals is as a paraphernalia to the Dharmapālas where it functions as a bowl that contains *amṛta*. Specifically auspicious objects of worship are the skulls (*dbu thod*) of deceased ascetics, usually kept and treasured as bless-bestowing objects or *ring bsrel* producing relics. Tibetan literature is showered with references to such items that usually are inserted in other *nang rten* to retain their blessing power. Worthy of note is the import associated with skulls in the *Guhyasamāja* and *Yamāntaka* tantric cycles, both central to the gNyos spiritual or esoteric lore. And it cannot be excluded that this particular

[51] The entire narrative setting and plot reminds us of similar narratives that commonly vex medievalists of European historiography when confronted with historical events where modes of perception and techniques of argumentation in retelling the past often differ from contemporary conventions and norms. To the medieval mind, it remained consistent that supranatural or otherworldly agencies regularly intervened through signs in order to indicate their approval or rejection of human endeavour. Dreams, visions and manifestations (or as here "discoveries") were significant components in the political and ritual discourse. Historical events often were accompanied by, or were garbed in anecdote, magic or thaumaturgic narrative modes, yet such symbolic narrative discourses never remained arbitrary, when the inexplicable often could only be communicated in such format. See e.g. *Das argumentative Gedächtnis* in G. Althoff 2003a.

[52] *lHa rnam I* 37 calls it "the Precious Jewel of Tibet – the Origin of All Wishes" (*bod kyi nor bu rin po che dgos 'dod kyi 'byung gnas*); *II* 3b1–3 adds that it was an object rarely seen in Tibet. The same wording and characterization, we later find employed to describe the *Cintāmaṇi* of Tibet, the Dalai Lama institution. Aside from *Yid bzhin nor bu*, the Dalai Lama is also designated *Yid bzhin dBang gi rgyal po*; cf. e.g. *DL12* 481. In religious sources, we occasionally find mentioning of such *thod pa smug po*. See also *Sanghabhadra'i rtogs brjod* 549–50.

A somewhat similar object is reported in the biography of the 'Brug-pa master rDo-rje gling-pa Seng-ge Shes-rab (1238–80 A.D.), a blessed "rainbow[-patterned] maroon-colour skull" (*ka pā la smug gu 'ja' tshon ma*), known as the specific precious object (*khyad nor*) of the bKa'-brgyud-pa, and allegedly once being the drinking bowl (*gsol zhal*) of Nāropa. Cf. *Seng ge shes rab rnam thar* 210.2–5. In fact, *smug po* (orig. dark hue of any colour) often is tantamount to a brownish or maroon colour.

We still have no indication whether the gNyos (and later 'Bri-gung) maroon skull similarly was used as a drinking bowl of sorts or whether it carried the same religious symbolism as the Nāropa bowl. For another skull associated with gNyos lHa-nang-pa; see *'Bras spungs dgon bca' yig* 291–92.

In Tibet, as detailed in prevailing Tibetan skull histories (such as the ones paraphrased in Loseries-Leick 1992: 160–61), a skull is considered a *yid bzhin nor bu* when it bears specific marks or when discovered under specific circumstances; a proper skull moreover "gleams and sparkles brightly." This would seem to carry some outward reminiscence to the gNyos skull story. Parallels drawn to similar stories in India are obvious, also in terms of its cornucopian function. An anonymous Tibetan text *Thod pa'i lo rgyus*, offering a description and examination of different sections of a skull as signs in dreams, reports how e.g. a herdsman with the help of a skull gained control over an entire country and himself turned into a *bodhisattva*, etc. (*op. cit*. 163). Skulls finally often were treasured and concealed as a *gter ma.*

form of the treasury may have been associated with or understood in the light of these cycles. The gNyos skull discovery must in this context be seen as a tantric terrestrial or geomantic ritual (*sa'i cho ga, sa dpyad*) where here a sand burial had been included.[53] Born from the waters of sKyid-chu, the *rin chen thod pa* itself had originated from the realm of the local *klu rgyal* and thus may be read as a donation presented to Grags-pa-dpal or gNyos by the powerful local telluric gods, resembling in this capacity the *rin po che dbang gi rgyal po* known from the founding story of Gung-thang.[54] Its discovery at Grib would further suggest that the powerful local deity rDzong-btsan of Grib here served as the intermediate link: rDzong-btsan not only invited Dvags-po sGom-tshul to lHa-sa, here too the local god was indirectly, so it appears, the last chain in the transfer or transition of power in form of the skull insignia to gNyos. In the founding story of Tshal Gung-thang, the precious object *dbang gi rgyal po* – a synonym for *cintāmaṇi* – played a crucial role both for the material, ideological and the legitimate basis behind the rise of Bla-ma Zhang.[55] Although we can only assume the deeper rationale behind such supernatural legitimation, it appears that the interaction through a non-human agency – similar to a *deus ex machina* in a narrative plot that heralds a decisive *volte face* in the events, here the intervention from the local *klu* realm powers, themselves the indigenous *genius loci* or inhabitants of the site that may be seen to harbour or embody "the key" to the particular site – served as an indispensable prerequisite for the establishment of a human edifice. Their collaboration as interlocutor between the divine and human worlds and their sanctions constituted a *sine qua non* for the viability and perpetuity of the man-made project.[56] We have reason to assume that the same holds true for the gNyos story, albeit the skull object here seems to have further or slightly different (at least still not clarified) implications, it follows the same basic pattern of granting approval *pro indicio*. Each prospective ruler, it appears, had to be individually approved anew by the *genius loci*, in other words had to be accepted either as new rulers or as founder of any prospective new edifice and the non-human mediation thus carried reminiscence of a coronation and a royal empowerment. It therefore may not surprise that similar aetiological legitimation stories abound in clan sources and royal histories which recount the background for and the mythic rationale behind once-held terrestrial claims or served to underpin contemporary prerogatives. The discovery of precious jewels or similar costly commodities prior to a major event in particular appears to be common-place in local

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[53] It is here perhaps relevant to mention that precisely the location between Ra-sa and Ra-mo-che where the *Guhyasamāja tantra* was recited also was the place where the statue of Kong-jo allegedly in the 7th cent. got stuck in the sand (i.e. the plain of Ra-mo-che); cf. TBH Sørensen 243, 594. Another reference to the site is located in the biography of Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa as a site where he preached intensively; cf. *rDzogs chen chos 'byung I* 92a4–5. The same site was also known from the story of a "water-abating or apotropaion temple" which similarly was erected between Ra-sa and Ra-mo-che on a "hill-top" resembling a tortoise (reminiscent of the initial lHa-sa landscape profile?) – anyway the sacred space between the two sanctuaries seems to hold special significance in the mythic topography of lHa-sa; cf. Chapter 2.8 below.

[54] Cf. Part I: fn. 588. By extension, everything which has to do with lHa-sa sKyid-chu ultimately stems – in cultic-mythic terms – from the terrestrial or telluric god gNyan-chen Thang-lha, the source or genetrix of sKyid-chu river. The telluric *nāga* played a role by the founding of almost all major seats in Tibet, so e.g. for the building of bSam-yas and e.g. later 'Bri-gung in Mal-gro, the prior approval from Mal-gro gZi-can was a *sine qua non*. For the position of the *nāga* in Indian cosmological myths, see Rawlinson 1986.

[55] For completeness, the precious Jo-bo statue in lHa-sa was also euphemized as a *Cintāmaṇi*.

[56] This indeed was the case too with the prestigious Ra-sa or lHa-sa founding project allegedly associated with Srong-btsan sgam-po that had required otherworldly or non-human mediation in order to be successful. We may also refer to the prolonged struggle over the appropriation of the utmost prestigious royal *can dgu* regalia and heirlooms in the wake of the break-down of the dynasty; cf. G. Hazod in Gyalbo *et al.* 2000: 192–97.

clan-myths but also in the treasury-findings by gTer-ston such as in case of Sangs-rgyas gling-pa (see below).[57] The narrative frame is easily detectable: Like in common treasury detection stories, the precious object or item itself as symbol seems to be constitutional to such stories. For clans and indeed for ruling hegemons such legitimacy stories constituted what might come close to an (often prophetically legitimised and anticipated) self-staging in retrospect where the object's prior concealment heralded its subsequent discovery, a commonly seen *modus operandi* of Treasure Revealers or a cherished literary technique employed in historiographic writings, often characterized as *vaticinium ex eventu*. This very kind of technique not least constituted the strategic technique or the mechanism that governed the detection or revelation of "treasuries" (*gter ma*) by a Tibetan gTer-ston. In case of the gNyos revelation, it probably served as a sort of foresight as well as a visible symbol of the legitimacy concerning their actual or prospective hegemonic rule and at the same time provided evidence of their material affluence. If this interpretation is valid, did it imply some measure of forgery? If anything, it was rather a strategy for authentication. In its concrete manifestation, the discovery would seem to symbolize either a "gift" – purporting approval of their rule – that had originated from the local *genius loci* or it may simply have served (symbolically) as a war-trophy. It may be argued that the symbolic skull insignia in the wake of certain rituals therefore had been concealed at the selected site beforehand, possibly accompanied by a "terrestrial probe" (*sa dpyad*); anyhow, the discovery in no way was arbitrary, it far more can be argued that it in the end was a carefully plotted mis-en-scène enacted by the clan itself, the outcome of which not surprisingly produced a *trouvaille* ideally serving the purpose of providing an appropriate amount of legitimacy behind already held or sought-for claims.

Whereas *GT* and some 'Bri-gung sources confirm that gNyos indeed was the most affluent power in lHa-sa in the mid-12th century – in fact until the mid-13th century, the first actual ruler of large stretches of Chu-shur and lower sTod-lung districts, or as one source puts it, Grags-pa-dpal simply was designated *sa chen po'i bdag po* – the majority of Tibetan historiographical writings has nonetheless preserved a slightly different and much briefer story, namely that it was Dvags-po sGom-tshul who entrusted the care and maintenance of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang directly to Bla-ma Zhang, a transfer that evidently must have followed upon Dvags-po's demise in 1169 A.D.[58] The position of Chos kyi rgyal-tshab which went from Dvags-po lHa-rje via Dvags-po sGom-tshul to Bla-ma Zhang would seem to indicate that the religious responsibility of lHa-sa went between the three figures, a lineage which does not exclude that gNyos Grags-pa-dpal may have held the secular or political responsibility, before also this went into the hands of Bla-ma Zhang. In this last transfer version, however, there is no mention of gNyos. The role of the clan, aside from isolated

[57] So e.g. in the dGe-lugs-pa origin myth, its power symbolically was associated with a *klu* gift, a white conch once detected by bTsong-kha-pa in dGa'-ldan; it later was handed over to his pupils and eventually ended up in dGa'-ldan pho-brang of 'Bras-spungs. Similarly, in the origin myth of Khra-'brug, often described as Tibet's oldest temple, at the place where the subterranean sea flowed away, a *dbang gi rgyal po* (synonym for a *cintāmaṇi*) was found. Finally, a similar precious object is mentioned in connection with the erection in lHa-sa of a "water-abating chapel" by Zhig-po gling-pa in the mid-1550's; cf. below.

[58] Dvags-po sGom-tshul was designated Chos kyi rgyal-tshab – a general term prototypically used in bKa'-brgyud-pa sources to indicate a successor; cf. e.g. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 548.3–4; also used for the *spyan snga* of the Phag-gru seat at gDan-sa-mthil. In the same text, Bla-ma Zhang was designated rGyal-tshab too, i.e. successor of sGom-tshul, in this case in lHa-sa when he was charged with the care of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. Following Zhang, mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes was designated Chos kyi rgyal-tshab. In Tshal-pa sources, the school evidently saw themselves as rightful heirs to sGam-po-pa.

references to *dge bshes* gNyos in Zhang's own writings,[59] is signally and inexplicably absent from these and other Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa writings. Conversely, the version embedded in gNyos sources, as we have seen, confirms that Bla-ma Zhang initially received one third (or one fourth?) of the "abundant wealth" (arguably here also implying "rights" and "prerogatives" associated with the maintenance of the prestigious lHa-sa *sanctum*) that was procured from the skull *trouvaille* or *cintāmaṇi* of donations. Beyond the conflicting testimonies, the precise succession and modalities in the transfer of power and rights between the spiritual authority sGom-tshul, gNyos Grags-pa-dpal and Bla-ma Zhang still need to be further explored.

Gauged from the above description, it is also unclear to what extent the skull object was taken as a concrete object. Clearly it was seen as an auspicious talisman of sorts, and later certainly as some sort of clan heirloom. But it is not unlikely that the discovery of the skull, perhaps the entire story, in the first place served as an ill-veiled euphemism for the affluence that stemmed from the concrete war spoils or the booty that was confiscated during the preceding battles that had been successfully waged by gNyos on behalf of the 'Bring communities, in other words it constituted a dearly won "war-trophy" – it may be recalled that the skull as *cintāmaṇi* later was used as or domesticated into becoming an insignia of the dominance or hegemony of the gNyos clan. Following this reading, the distribution of the spoils such as one third to Bla-ma Zhang and his cohorts would suggest to us that the latter had been actively participating in the warfare on gNyos' side and therefore was suitably rewarded in the ensuing post-war settlement when the conquests were parcelled out to loyal supporters; more than anything, gNyos and Zhang must therefore have joined hands in surmounting common foes, and this also accounts for the smooth transition from gNyos to Zhang in controlling lHa-sa.[60] The gNyos clan was a dominant political factor in this period, and the control and care of lHa-sa indeed would seem to have passed over to the gNyos in the early 1170's, before the "key" to lHa-sa directly was transferred to Bla-ma Zhang, latest at the point of Grags-pa-dpal's demise around 1182/83. One key text maintains that this took place at the point when Grags-pa-dpal and his son handed over the gNyos skull (here understood as insignia, by extention, euphemistically standing for their wholesale patronage commitment or obligation) to the latter's root-teacher, the 'Bri-gung founder in the same year the former passed away – donated possibly in a state of religious fevour after he had been urged by his son.[61] There had been many suitors vying for the precious

[59] *dGe bshes* gNyos in the Zhang writings here refers to lHa-nang-pa, the pupil of 'Jig-rten mgon-po. Among lHa-nang-pa's writings, we hitherto only have at our disposal a work compiled by him on 'Jig-rten mgon-po's teachings entitled *Tshogs chos Rin chen rgya mtsho* commonly included in the latter's *bka' 'bum*. Beyond that, we are informed that lHa-nang-pa also authored other mainly doctrinal treatises (some listed in *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 321–22). Importantly, lHa-nang-pa's *bka' 'bum* (or most of it?) has survived, contained in *dPal 'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi chos mdzod che mo* (vol. CI), mainly consisting of an (auto)biography and his 20-chapter pivotal doctrinal treatise *Them skas bang mdzod*.

[60] This seems corroborated when in the mid-1240's the Tshal-pa were enmeshed in warring skirmishes with the 'Brug-pa of the neighbouring gNam valley, arguably on the side of the lHa-pa. The 'Brug-pa and the lHa-pa again were at odds with one another in the 1250's, before both districts as one *mi sde* unit (lHa 'Brug) were donated to Tshal by the Mongols; cf. Part I: fn. 420.

[61] Signally, prevailing skull stories further purport that proper skull vessels (often from a deceased master himself) are most apposite in tantric cults, and that it ideally was offered to a saintlike teacher who will make the best use of the skull for the welfare of sentient beings. The gNyos skull donation to the 'Bri-gung founder may evidently represent such an example. Cf. Loseries-Leick 162.

lHa rnam II 3b4–5 maintains that the skull object was wrapped up in silk, donated to 'Bri-gung (i.e. to 'Jig-rten mgon-po) and kept as a precious relic in the local *gSer khang*. Its whereabouts at 'Bri-gung (and in the current *gSer khang*)

object (*lHa rnam I* 37–39), but they had been rejected. Following the father's demise, the same main source seems to indicate that most of the closest kin and relatives (such as the younger brothers of lHa-nang-pa and most of the gNyos relatives based in Kha-rag) too passed away – a circumstance that suggests to us that they were victims of a prior large-scale warring skirmish that had flared up during and after the father's demise. The younger brothers of lHa-nang-pa like *slob dpon* Byang-chub-dpal – possibly foreseen to inherit the gNyos heritage (and as we have seen may have been involved in the detection of the "skull" in the beginning) – displayed little interest in the extensive care needed for the many monasteries under their sway and the result was a gradual loss of these to other hegemonies. Assessing the donation to 'Bri-gung of the precious object in connection with the demise of Grags-pa-dpal and the ensuing warring conflict – it may even be speculated that the old patriarch had not died peacefully in the wake of this "betrayal" – entailing that most of the monastic settlements such as Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang were appropriated by others. The same text suggests that the Thang-skya-mo-ba and the Gru-gu-sgang-pa – both of Chu-shur district, were the temporal winners of the set-back of the gNyos house. Nevertheless, most of the former gNyos settlements, landed estates and monastic centers, were appropriated by other hegemonies in the mid–1180's – headed by the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang which, to all appearance was gradually appropriated by Bla-ma Zhang, as said either accompanied by warring skirmishes or, more likely, through peaceful means – at least we possess no information that the many gNyos-controlled sKyid-smad settlements directly went into the hands of the 'Bri-gung-pa, their main seat being located relatively far to the north-east from lHa-sa. At least, it can be noted that the gNyos skull object thus was neither handed over to nor entrusted to Bla-ma Zhang, despite the circumstance that the relationship between the two hegemons at that point would appear to have been amicable. Zhang's polity at this early point in the 1180's had not yet fully been established. It also seems to tell us that the skull foremost represented a sort of cornucopia, a fount or a source of material wealth, rather than carrying specific or exclusive religious import. It suggests that Grags-pa-dpal clearly divested himself willingly of the lineage's heirloom, symbol of the clan's wealth and prosperity which for many courted misfortune and initiated a temporary decline of the clan. The relevant sources recount that rumours circulated which bespoke that his son lHa-nang-pa indeed had wasted the paternal heritage and wealth.

The seat or headquarter of Grags-pa-dpal and hence of his line was situated in Cha-dkar of 'Bur in sNye-thang of Chu-shur district, where the master resided for most of the 1160's and beyond. It was here that his famous son lHa-nang-pa was born (major events like this usually take place in a ruler's private residence). 'Bur is located not far from the Gye-re Valley, the valley with the largest number of Grags-pa-dpal's clan relatives. In close proximity, we find the settlements of his many lay supporters and the area of sNye-thang was further circumscribed by numerous 'Bring settlements. Grags-pa-dpal's mother 'Od-gsal-ma stemmed from the rNgog clan of the neighbouring sTod-lung-mda', a circumstance which would explain a good part of his bonds to the powerful rNgog, who played a major role under the 'Bring communities and altogether smoothed his way to pre-eminence among the *sde bzhi* communities. Cha-dkar was nevertheless located relatively close to lHa-sa, but not close enough to ensure supervision of lHa-sa itself. As we shall see, once Bla-ma Zhang took over the control in the area in the 1180's, he wisely established the seat of his hegemony within visual sight of Jo-khang at Tshal Gung-thang, his natal seat that was strategically closer to lHa-sa, right across the sKyid-chu river, doubtless also to ensure a more direct or personal supervision of the holy site.

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today remains unknown, and it is to be assumed that it fell victim to and was lost in the throes of the massive destruction of 'Bri-gung during the *Gling log* of 1290.

From the relevant sources the picture therefore allows us to conclude that it was the powerful and strong-minded Grags-pa-dpal who ruled the lHa-sa area already from the early 1160's until his death most likely in the early 1180's. His life as a ruling house-holder and lay patriarch may have resembled that of Mar-pa in lHo-brag a century earlier and surely was similar to a number of other local patriarchs throughout Tibet in this period. It initially may have been Grags-pa-dpal (continued by his son, see below) who as patron and benefactor subsidized the huge religious "Molasses Festival" (*bur ston*) that convened at 'Bri-gung, staged or set up as a prelude to the foundation of the main seat by 'Jig-rten mgon-po (see below). Invited to this festival and grand religious teaching session were allegedly 55,525 monks (which is probably a distortion; akin to the one which took place in Sham-bu-bcal when the monastery of g.Ya'-bzang in 1206 A.D. was founded; Gyalbo *et al*. 2000: 77–78), but it tells us how affluent the gNyos were at that point as secular supporters within the larger lHa-sa area. It may even be argued that the gNyos-based hegemony and influence made gNyos the most powerful man in Central Tibet at this particular point, at least a major part of it, in view of the different picture delivered by a number of sources. But these sources probably do not exaggerate when they occasionally stress the prominent position that the gNyos and later the lHa-pa held in wide parts of Tibet until *ca*. 1250. Grags-pa-dpal thus remained an undisputed clan patriarch, a man of great determination, fortitude and with a stern and evidently earthly character who with different wives fathered up to seven sons – of which four alone died a tender age – and at least one (some sources say two) daughter(s).

Most prominent among these counts rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa (*aliases* gZi-brjid-dpal, Chos kyi gZi-brjid; 1164–1224).[62] Born in Cha-dkar of 'Bur,[63] his destiny was to establish a sect which became known as the lHa-pa bKa'-brgyud, and he rose to great fame, even overshadowing his father on that score. Prophesied as a rebirth of Kṛṣṇācārya by Bla-ma Zhang, he is commonly regarded as one of the eight principal disciples of the 'Bri-gung founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po, being counted as one of the members of a triumvirate of rTsa-ri peregrinating ascetics and "sacred site openers" (the trio was commonly abbreviated gNyos 'Gar Chos *gsum*) that thus included gNyos lHa-nang-pa, *grub chen* mGar Dam-pa Chos-sdings-pa gZhon-nu rdo-rje (a.k.a Śākya-dpal; 1180–1240) and *dpal ldan* Chos kyi ye-shes.

His initial years of studies took him to the nearest surroundings around his home in sKyid-smad district then under gNyos control. Age five in 1168 A.D., gNyos-chen lHa-nang-pa arrived at sKrig-ma [*sic*? = sProg-ma / 'Brog-ma] monastery in Chu-shul district,[64] where he began his

[62] The many names of gNyos chen-po included versatile appellations and later soubriquets such as Sangs-rgyas ras-chen, Brag-sna-ba, rTsa-ri ras-chen and dPyal-kha *chos rje* (in Upper sPa-gro Valley of Bhutan, i.e. towards the Jo-mo lha-ri Massif where a lHa-pa seat had been established in the late 12th cent. that lasted until 1240's, when it was destroyed by an earthquake and the local headquarter of the lHa-pa was transferred to Rin-chen-sgang of Phag-ri), as well as gNyos-sgom ras-pa.

Sources: e.g. *Zhang lo tsā ba rnam thar* 3a5; *lHa rnam I* and *II*, *III*, *passim*; *DL5 gSan yig III* 129b6; *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung I* 57b5–58a2; *Mig 'byed 'od stong*; 27a6–b5; *Jo nang chos 'byung* 47–48; *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 319f.

An alternative (and incredible) version of lHa-nang-pa's pedigree is contained in *DL6* (104–05), obviously originating from Padma gling-pa writings where an incongruous attempt is made to link lHa-nang-pa with a royal line in Sa-tham (in 'Jang or Yünnan).

[63] Also sKyid-shod sBu-ru/tu or sBur. Cf. fn. 29 above and *lHa rnam I* 107, 124; *II* 8b1; *III* 7b4f. The birthplace is given as Ba-ma sgang-po of Bur.

[64] From the still unidentified master Pu-rangs-pa, he took a lay practitioner's vows to be kept on certain days, such as



***6**. gNyos-ban Ras-chen alias gNyos lHa-nang-pa (1164–1224)*
Frontispiece

studies under *dge bshes* Pu-rangs. Age six, he received teachings in the Yamāntaka cycle and age seven (*ca*. 1170 A.D.), he was invited to Gung-thang along with his father where he met Bla-ma Zhang, who immediately accorded him a grand reception, positioned the young infant on a high throne and foresaw that he would become a perfect ascetic.[65] This early meeting in 1170 must have coincided with the renovation of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang in around the same period. From his father lHa-nang-pa simultaneously received all the tantric cycles, teachings and relevant empowerments stemming from the great grandfather gNyos *lo tsā ba* and with Dan-'bag-pa sMra-ba'i seng-ge, in the field of scholasticism, he studied *Madhyamaka* and *Pramāṇa*. At sKar-chung (of Grib), he studied with one g.Yor *dge bshes* Shes-rab 'byung-gnas (the Five treatises of) *Maitreya*,[66] from another of his father's pupils, the otherwise unknown Rong-ka Jo-'bum (of gNyal?), he heard the *Guhyasamāja* according to Mar-pa's system and became a master of *pranayama*; from La-stod sMon-mkhar-pa, he heard the *Lam 'bras* system according to Ma-cig Zha-ma.[67] By now a young man of quite impressive stature as it seems, he

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on the 8th, the 15th and the 30th of the month. The identification of the corrupt sKrig-ma [read: sKrog-ma? = sProg-ma] is not fully clarified.

It refers to the otherwise little-documented sBrog/sProg/Srog-ma-dgon* of Chu-shur where in the early 1200's, Kha-che Paṇ-chen Śākyaśrī sojourned (cf. *Yar lung chos 'byung* [B] 170; *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung II* 101a4–b1; *DL5 III* 56b6–57a1); it may be queried whether or not the latter is identical with 'Brog-mo-gnas/'Brog-ma (however in neighbouring sTod-lung), one of the sites given to lHa-nang-pa's father as estate in the 1160's, but this is still questionable (see above).

A gloss in *gNyos rabs* identifies it – still questionable – with Grum/Gru-ma-dgon, which may be corrupt for sKyid-smad Grum-bu (or Grum-po)-lung, a site of some note mentioned in medieval literature; cf. e.g. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 610.11; *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 295, 299, 416; Kaschewsky: 159–60. The latter place refers to Grum-bu-lung of gZad (with [g]Zad as part of Chu-shur *rdzong*; cf. *BA* 142, 411).** The Grum-bu-lung again *either* may refer to present-day Grum-pa Khog-tshang village (located at 29°10'N 90°39'E) of present-day rTa-dkar district in Chu-shur (as suggested in *HSLG* Vol. 8: 34–35, 49*; lHa sa'i dgon tho* 305) *or* it refers to Gru-mo-lung lha-mo-khang (= sKyid-shod Gru-mo-nub?; present-day located in Chu-phu *xiang* of Chu-shur *rdzong*; a temple later associated with the neighbouring 17th-cent. rNying-ma-pa center Chu-shur Thar-pa-gling, located 29°23'N 90°43'E; both seats were e.g. visited by the 13th Dalai Lama in 1912 on his way back to lHa-sa; cf. *DL13* 507). A pupil of Po-to-ba was known as Grum-bu-lung-pa (at whose feet 'Ba'-rom-pa Dar-ma dbang-phyug later received teachings; cf. *Jo nang chos 'byung* 44–45).

* For clusters sb/spr- → sr-, i.e. a so-called merger, see also Part I, fn. 403. Srong-ma-dgon of Upper Chu-shul is confirmed by *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 55b4–6, 76b6. It later (around 1594) became known as Cog-mo Byang-chub snying-po *ri khrod* erected by the local *sde pa* lHa-yul-pa and used by the ascetics of the local dGa'-ldan-gling.

** The place was also associated with rTa-ston Jo-yes (1169–1230). As said, gZad was an old imperial *yul dpon tshan*, later in the early *phyi dar* period an area of major importance located in present-day Sras-phu and -mda'. *lHo rong chos 'byung* locates it in adjacent gNam district, which may indicate to us that the borders of the latter district ran differently in former times.

[65] One source even maintains that lHa-nang-pa was offered the seat of Gung-thang from Bla-ma Zhang (*sic*)– chronologically impossible; cf. *Jo nang chos 'byung* 47.

[66] *lHa rnam II* 2a4 maintains that he was only seven years of age, and that he from *dge bshes* g.Yor (also known as g.Yor-gnyag) received the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. Quite an early age to study Dharmakīrti. It is further maintained that he composed a *zin bris*; cf. *Jo nang chos 'byung* 47; *lHo rong chos'byung* 618. In the same area, in the early 12th cent., sKar-chung ring-mo, a teacher of Bla-ma Zhang, was also active.

[67] The "Fruit with Path" here in the system transmitted through Ma-gcig Zha-ma, which gZi-brjid had received from

at one point wished, confident that he would be capable of withstanding the hardship of India, to proceed thither in the glorious trail of gNyos *lo tsā ba*, but his repeated attempts were hindered by his anxious father who reminded the young son of the many dangers and the hardship involved. He was instead requested to serve as the paternal *purohita*. His main biography informs us that he excelled in many disciplines and crafts, whether in debate, or in conquering vicious enemies on the battleground or whether indulging in worldly pleasures and female company – a depiction that would seem to resemble the standard description of the earthy life enjoyed by the historic Buddha prior to his worldly renouncement. His father wanted him to settle down and marry, wherefore the son was introduced to lHa-gcig bDe-mchog-ma, a daughter of bTsan-po Mang-bkur – a mighty ruler of numerous districts in sKyid-smad.[68] It was in fact Bla-ma Zhang who intervened, trying to persuade him from entering the bonds of matrimony by alluding to his status and commitments as Kṛṣṇācārya. Disgusted with worldly affairs – again resembling the biography of the historic Buddha – he now more than anything wanted to become a *lo tsā ba* like his great grandfather and sought means and ways for funding his trip to India – independent of his father evidently or in the wake of the latter's passing. Wanting to embrace religious life in the same year of 1182 (other sources suggest 1184), he finally was persuaded to seek the presence of the 'Bri-gung *chos rje* 'Jig-rten mgon-po in Mal-gro-mda', a meeting that turned out to be the most decisive spiritual encounter in his life. The latter, however, requested him to complete his preliminary studies of *Vinaya*. He therefore was dispatched to the latter's favourite student, Thag-ma *'dul 'dzin*, also known as *dge bshes* rDo-rje gzhon-nu at Thag-ma lha-khang in sTod-lung.[69] There he completed

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his teacher sMon-mkhar-ba rGyal-po-grags; lHa-nang-pa conversely is registered as teacher to Ko-brag-pa (1170–1249/ 1182–1261 A.D.) in the Ma-gcig-based transmission of Lam-'bras teachings. Cf. Stearns 2000: 24.

lHa-nang-pa evidently also received teachings from another pupil of 'Jig-rten mgon-po, namely the influential Zhig-po bdud-rtsi (1149–99); cf. gTer-bdag gling-pa's *gSan yig* 20b2–5.

[68] The local king carrying the same name as the first mythic Indian king according to the Buddhist cosmogony Mahāsaṃmata, the fabled progenitor of the Śākya line. It is most unfortunate that we know neither the territories of this local ruler not his clan affiliation.

Other sources maintain that lHa-nang-pa indeed begot a son, but it remains uncertain (the sources are at variance). It does tell us that the father would use matrimonial alliances as a useful strategem in order to solidify his hegemony. Anyhow, after she had conceived, she was dispatched to her own district where she begot one bDe-mchog (? *alias* gNyos-ston 'Khrul-zhig *chos rje*; 1179–1265 A.D., so according to *sMyos rabs*, the alleged fountain-head for the entire later sMyos line in Bhutan that produced i.a. Padma gling-pa and the 6th Dalai Lama).

DL6 115 conversely maintains that he was offered the daughter in marriage, but refused to settle down just like his father as an household ascetic, he wanted to pursue an ideal ascetic life and subsequently went into the presence of 'Bri-gung-pa.

[69] Thag-ma lha-khang, which is still not precisely localized, yet clearly to be situated in the narrow sTod-lung-mda' area – was a former 11th-cent. centre at least until the 13th century, widely famous all over Tibet for its Vinaya hermeneutics, a settlement of the Rag-śi group (cf. Table V.6 below).

The first important (in fact the founding) figure at Thag-ma was *'dul 'dzin* Thag-ma Ka-ba Dar-[ma] seng[-ge], pupil of sNe'u zur-pa (1042–1118) and of Sha-mi sMon-lam-'bar (1084–1171); cf. e.g. *Lam rim bla ma brgyud rnam thar* 222–223; *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung I* 32–34; *II* 91a1–3; *rGyal rabs sogs* 3a1; *Jo nang chos 'byung* 44–45. He at one point sought 'Jig-rten mgon-po and became his pupil. Among his main disciples counted gZhung-pa sTon-ye, rNal-'byor Byang-chub seng-ge (in the third generation after Po-to-ba (see Shen Weirong 2002: 159), when he erected the dPe'i [*sic*; 'Phan-yul] Gro[s]-sa dgon-pa (loc. 29°49'N 91°04'E of Gad-po *xiang* in present-day lHun-grub *rdzong*);* albeit other texts speak about Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston (1138-1210) or sBal-ti (of sKyor-mo-lung) as founder).

Thag-ma-pa's main pupil and successor on the Thag-ma see was Go-sa che-ba (~ Gro-sa, ~ Gu-ra-ba / Gu-ru-ba) dPal-chen rDo-rje gzhon-nu (*var*. dBang-phyug gzhon-nu?). Known also as dPal-chen Thag-ma-pa [*phyi ma*] rDo-rje gzhon-nu, he too had many celebrated students (cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 409–11; *Khu dbon rnam thar* 432–33; *bKa'*

his ordination, having rDo-rje gzhon-nu serving as *upadhyāya* and the sKyor-mo-lung founder sBal-ti Jo-sras dGra-bcom-pa as *ācārya* (for the latter, see Table V.8 below).

The events surrounding his adult spiritual life are more commonly known, and was marked by incessant peregrination as detailed in his biography. The sources thus draw a picture of gZi-brjid-dpal where he, surely to the discomfort of his father, displayed no particular interest in the paternal wealth or property. By nature – or under the long shadow of his father – he had grown into a feeble person deeply devoted to ascetic life, a person, unlike his assertive father, not cut out for worldly affairs. He or his father initially sponsored large gatherings and donated great wealth to sKyob-pa *rin po che* Rin-chen-dpal at 'Bri-gung, a patronage policy which culminated when the father at the close of his life donated the mysterious gNyos *cintāmaṇi* skull to sKyob-pa *rin po che*. This charity and patronage polity was repeated and even enhanced by his devoted son to the point of sacrificing his whole life and body to his 'Bri-gung root-teacher, as custom normally dictated. The kind of gathering mentioned mainly consisted of grand-scale religious banquets, a tradition which in fact has gone down in the 'Bri-gung history as the "Molasses Festival of the gNyos Clan" (*gnyos kyi bur ston*);[70] and it initially reflected patronage that was yielded in return

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brgyud gdan rabs 152.3–55.3) such as Tshul-khrims rdo-rje (1154–1221/22?; he in fact was temporary successor (*rgyal tshab*) and a major pupil (from 1199 A.D.) of the 'Bri-gung founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po (1143–1217 A.D.) – between 1214–17 and/or 1217–21, he even served in two? terms on the see of 'Bri-gung as abbot; cf. *'Jig rten mgon po rnam thar II* [B] 154.5; *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 106–07; *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 327–28). Most importantly, 'Ba'-rom-pa Darma dbang-phyug was ordained at Thag-ma in the presence of the above first two Thag-ma see-holders.

rDo-rje gzhon-nu's main tenure at the Thag-ma seat is to be dated to the late 1210's, and he may well have been Dar-seng's son (alt. nephew); further among his pupils included Sangs-rgyas dbon-ston, gNyos lHa-nang-pa, but also Zhig-po bdud-rtsi (1149–99) and Ti-shri ras-pa (1164–1236), etc. A *bla ma* bZang-[= bZad] yul-ba? (but another bZang-yul is located in Dar-yul of 'Phan-yul) is mentioned to be active there in the late 13th century; cf. *Sangs rgyas ston pa rnam thar* 267; *bKa' gdams chos 'byung IV* 76a3; *rGya bod chos 'byung* 9a6. At Thag-ma between five hundred and one thousand *Vinayadhara* are reported to have congregated; cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 105–07; *BA* Roerich 79. The relation between Thag-ma and 'Bri-gung remained close in their founding phase.

* Gro-sa indeed may reflect the site of the imperial sGro clan and their old territories in 'Phan-yul.

[70] The "Molasse or Syrup Festival" (*bur ston*, i.e. *bu ram kyi dga' ston*) at 'Bri-gung (already known from the earliest years of the 'Bri-gung founder, but similar banquet gatherings were arranged in lHa-sa too, see above) were repeatedly (one text speaks about seven times in all; four times during the time of Phag-mo-gru-pa at gDan-sa-mthil, i.e. until 1170 A.D. and three times until the demise of 'Jig-rten mgon-po, i.e. until 1217 A.D.) sponsored by the gNyos' and usually characterized or accompanied by food distributions and charity not least to the monk community as reflected in sayings that were used in this connection to illustrate gNyos' generosity: "a hundredfold gift was replaced by thousandfold and thousandfold topped by myriadfold contribution" (*brgya thog stong bzhag stong thog khri bzhag gi 'bul*). The last and most spectacular of such religious charity feasts (akin to or forerunners of the later hugely popular and obligatory *mang 'gyed* distributions) was staged in 1215 A.D. at 'Bri-gung, followed by a final commemorative gathering after lHa-nang-pa's passing in 1224. As a token of respect, during the 1215 grand festival held on the Bri-gung-thang (i.e. Bla-dbye-thang courtyard, at the foot of the slopes of the 'Bri-gung-mthil monastery), lHa-nang-pa was offered half the main seat (usually occupied by 'Jig-rten mgon-po) and was crowned as *Chos kyi rgyal tshab*, as his worthy 'Bri-gung successor).

The same text offers details as to the actual extent of distribution flowing from the rich gNyos revenue that were collected in their large areas in Central Tibet and lHo-mon, which they controlled. During the first? of the grand 'Bri-gung festivals, other sources chronicle (*DL6* 116; *sMyos rabs* 92–93) that molasses amounting to an arrow-size cubit, etc. was distributed to each of the 55.525/55 monks (other sources mention up to 90.000 monks!) presided over by lHa-nang-pa, and sponsored by him. Large-scale molasses distribution and charity donations are also well documented from the early sTag-lung-pa and Sa-skya-pa traditions.

for religious teachings and guidance. There are fair reasons to assume that Grags-pa-dpal and in particular his son thus remained the single most important benefactor behind the rise of 'Bri-gung in Mal-gro district in its founding phase, evolving in this period into something of a patron-priest or patron-client relationship where the 'Bri-gung revenue to an appreciable extent came from the large gNyos-controlled estates in dBus and from Mon-yul.[71] The ascent of 'Bri-gung in the 13th century as powerful religious seat and as political hegemony – being the only other seat to seriously challenge the Sa-skya position in the later part of the 13th century – not least was grounded in the wholehearted support and backing that 'Bri-gung enjoyed from powerful (and revenue-generating) regional sub-schools not least the lHa-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa.

In the aftermath of the loss or rather the voluntary divestment of the gNyos skull talisman to 'Bri-gung, it was lHa-nang-pa who was targeted for any "ill talk" or malicious gossip and for the unlucky hand in handling a good deal of the patrimonial or inherited share. His one-sided or partisan patronage politics in general soon led to widespread disgruntlement towards his person from other settlements that had not been blessed by similar donations and it is generally maintained that it triggered warring conflicts and thus contributed to the loss of power that had formerly been enjoyed by his line and which had been symbolically invested in or had been represented by the *cintāmaṇi* skull, insignia of the gNyos wealth and hegemony. As said, it was at this junction that Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang went into the hands of the now prospering Tshal. Following these family setbacks and pursuing his ascetic life, lHa-nang-pa remained devoted to spriritual ideals throughout his entire life. His peregrinations included not least prolonged sojourns and retreats at Tsa-ri, to Ti-se and in particular to sPa-gro of Mon-yul (where he allegedly remained for a total of 11 years) in the old estate lands there once tendered to his ancestor gNyos *lo tsā ba.* Here he should leave behind a strong clan legacy, known and appreciated in the area even today. He was active tendering teachings, displaying numerous ascetic miracles such as reverting the course of the waters at Ram-pa lHa-sdings[72] and in establishing hermitages and recluse convents, or opening up "hidden lands and regions" throughout the remote western and southern Tibet, etc. One source purports that the lHa-pa establishments in fact spread all the way up to the borders of Mi-nyag.[73] The institutions constitute the birth hour of a school which came to be known as convents of gNyos lHa-nang-pa or lHa-pa bka'-brgyud-pa. Later he succeeded, after gNyan-chen thang-lha had accepted to act as patron as it is said, in erecting a hermitage-cloister named lHa-nang which eventually comprised a community with close to one thousand monks (other sources claim up to 5000). At one point,

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In the 'Bri-gung founder's writings, Bla-ma lHa-pa (= lHa-nang-pa) is praised as one of his heartiest spiritual sons, whose service and veneration remained unmatched – clearly a reference to gNyos' extensive charity and affluent patronage.

Sources: cf. his *bKa' 'bum III* 582–86; *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 82, 101; *gNyos rabs* 36.3–37.1; *'Brug pa'i chos 'byung* 417.12–14; *'Jig rten mgon po rnam thar II* 388.6–389.1= [B] 170.1; *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 300; *BA* Roerich 598–99; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 826.18–19; *lHa rnam I* 42, 125; *lHa rnam II* 3b5–4b3; *III* 36a2–3; *Sanghabhadra'i rtogs brjod* 549–50.

[71] Cf. also *'Brug pa'i chos 'byung* 417.

[72] At the confluence or estuary of sTod-lung-chu and sKyid-chu in connection with flooding in the lHa-sa area, due to which we included lHa-nang-pa among a number of contemporary "water-controllers" in the area (*lHa rnam I* 67–69; *III* 33b6, 35b2; see Chap. 2 below). Prior to this, in the same area, Rva *lotsāba* is said to have conducted similar feats; cf. *Rva lo rnam thar* 259.

[73] The lHa-pa bonds to Mi-nyag were strengthened through the close and seemingly affluent companion of lHa-nang-pa by the name 'Gar Chos-sdings-pa and his visits to the East.

he was at 'Bri-gung elected as rGyal-tshab in the wake of 'Bri-gung-pa's demise (1117), although this is not confirmed in standard 'Bri-gung sources. Its assertion is probably the reason why some sources speak about a schism within the 'Bri-gung-pa, where the lHa-pa constituted one wing that developed its own school and convents. At the close of his life, in 1119 (or 1120) he returned from sPa-gro in Mon-yul and established the lHa-pa heritage seat of lHa Rin-chen-thel in Byang of Central Tibet, in the mountains of the gNyan-chen thang-lha massif,[74] in one of his favourite hermitic areas. At the point of the demise of this great ascetic in 1224, it is recorded that even the ancestral Thang-lha was mourning. It was lHa-nang-pa's nephew lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po, however, who became his successor and who carried out the legacy of his great uncle and founding figure of the lHa-pa school.[75]

1.4 The lHa-pa Ruling House of the Gye-re Valley in sKyid-smad – Clan Loyalty and Ancestral Prestige

Given the strong presence and overwhelming influence stemming from the gNyos clan in this epoch, it is small wonder that we regularly come across the name of the ancient house and apparently affluent clan in Tibetan literature: The prestige-conscious G[y]e-re lHa-pa, a hereditary lineage of religious masters, whose residence, landed estate and monastic seat, as we have seen, were located in the Gye-re Valley (G[y]e-re-phu and -mda' (also called Ge-re smad, see Map 3a, b). Their once-imposing mansion or estate house[76] – repeatedly rebuilt and enlarged, now in ruins – is met with

[74] Its was located in the mountain-range of gNyan-chen thang-lha – regarded as a seat of Avalokiteśvara – on the glacial spur of the Thang-l[h]a pass; cf. *lHa rnam II* 7b3–8a4; *III* 34a5–6. lHa-nang Shel-phug reportedly was visited by the 14th Yangs-pa-can throne-holder Ngag-dbang bkra-shis, see *Kam tshang brgyud pa* 316a1. The proper identification of the seat still needs to be made. The lHa-thel site is said to have resembled in lay-out the main seat of the 'Bri-gung-pa.

[75] It was also during his reign at Gye-re that another esoteric talismanic treasury – allegedly consisting of genuine "Buddha relics" i.e. so-called "multiplying remains" (*'phel gdung*) that stemmed from the historic Buddha and that had been the *rten skal* of the latter's historic patron, King Bimbisāra, etc. – fell into the hands of the lHa-pa, namely Buddha relics as well as 108 statues of Guru Rinpoche once detected by the 12th-cent. *gter ston* Gu-ru Jo-rtse at Zangs-yag-brag (Brag-dmar Zangs-[g.]ya[n]g Nam-mkha'-rdzong; a hermitage complex located at lHa-ri rtse-lnga (Ri-bo rTse-lnga; the Tibetan "Wutaishan"), a few miles from 'U-shang-rdo opposite Gye-re Valley; see e.g. Bya-rigs-pa 2004). The great Jo-nang *rje btsun* Kun-dga' grol-mchog Blo-gsal rgya-mtsho'i sde (1507–65) in his informative biography chronicles a visit to the Gye-re seat of lHa-nang-pa (he considered himself a rebirth of the latter), and lists its most famous, awe-inspiring relics kept there: aside from the above Tathāgata *'phel gdung*, also a statue of Padmasambhava, known as Nga-thim-ma ["Absorbed-in-Me"], a *zhabs rjes* of Tilopā, a stone-statue of Samvara given to Mar-pa by Naropā, and a hand-bell of Sangs-rgyas ston-pa. He also personally inspected writings kept there from the pen of lHa-nang-pa. Cf. *rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog rnam thar* 196. Another lHa-pa talisman was the Gye-re lHa-pa'i *bla g.yu*, a gift of the telluric *gzhi bdag* Ra-ma klu-btsan of the neighbouring gNam valley. Cf. *rDo ring rnam thar* [B] 363–64.

The lHa-pa served as patrons to this treasure-finder. These objects – considered the most powerful relics possessed by the lHa-pa (*lha pa'i drag shos 'phel gdung*) – was later appropriated by Zhig-po gling-pa (and be installed in his (hapless) flood protecting rDo-rje lha-khang sanctuary in lHa-sa erected in 1557–58 A.D.; for the text cf. M. Akester 2001: 23) and an object that subsequently became the bone of contention between the latter and his later arch antagonist, the 5th Dalai Lama; cf. *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 393–94; *gTer ston lo rgyus* 55a6–56a3; *Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar* [B] 14b3f., 46b3f. See also Chap. 2.5 below.

[76] The (17th cent.?) three-storied Chos-rgyal Nor-bzang pho-brang Mansion* of the lHa-pa estate (now in ruins) is located in Gye-re-mda' at 29°25'N 90°49'E (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 120; below Fig. 7a; the valley is now part of Tshar-pa-nang/sna *xiang*). M. Akester 2004 incidentally designates the Nor-bzang pho-brang Mansion as the gSang-sngags

in sources from the 13th up until the 19th century and thus alludes to the estate of one of the oldest and most prominent aristocratic houses in Central Tibet inhabited and ruled by the even older gNyos gentry aristocracy who once settled there. At the entrance to the Gye-re valley, they had their religious main seat. Initially erected by lHa-nang-pa as a hermitage, following the expansion of their power, it subsequently was expanded into the Gye-re lha-khang in 1231 A.D. (completed 1244/46 A.D.) raised by lHa-nang-pa's nephew, lHa-pa dBang gi rgyal-po, *alias* lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po (1201–1270 A.D.)[77] and assisted by his pupil and loyal cadre 'Dam-pa ri-pa (1200–1263 A.D.). lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po had sojourned for a longish period in another old estate land of the lHa-pa, the area of sPa-gro valley (lHo-Mon Kha-bzhi or present-day western Bhutan),[78] later he sojourned at lHa-thel in gNyan-chen thang-lha and finally at the Rin-chen-sgang monastery (erected 1244–46 A.D.) in Phag-ri of Chumbi valley.[79]

Tracing the origin of the lHa-pa, we conclude that they constitute nothing but an offshoot, a separate main patriline of the gNyos clan that, issuing from Kha-rag, had settled in sKyid-smad – south-west of lHa-sa. The specific lHa-pa stemmed from the settlement of one bKra/Ta-gur-rje (*ca.* late 7th

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gzhis ka mansion whereas *Dimingzhi* merely calls it Gye-re lha-pa. Some older ruins next to the abondened estate house or mansion may be the remains of the original lHa-pa pho-brang (see Fig. 7b).

* According to a local tradition, the name of the local palace is intimately connected with the Tibetan adaptation of the *Jātaka* tale and later libretto ballad of king Nor-bzang (i.e. Sudhana). See e.g. Tshe-ring 1997. It is here suggested that it was a locale in Upper (*phu*, and not as we read it, *mda'*) sGe-re.

[77] For the biography of this lHa-pa ruler who was regarded as a manifestation of Mu-ne btsan-po, see *gNyos rabs* 41f. From 1227, he occupied the see of lHa Rin-chen-thel, a tenure that lasted until 1231. The erection of the spacious Gye-re lha-khang appears to have lasted until 1244, but due to a conflict between the 'Brug (residing in neighbouring gNam district) and the Tshal-pa, its completion was postponed until 1246 A.D. A number of celebrated persons reportedly were involved in its consecration such as the 4th gSang-phu Gling-stod abbot rGya 'Ching-phu-ba, gCung Rin-po-che but also Gu-ru Chos-dbang.

The old Gye-re lha-khang (today no more extant) is not to be confounded with the Gye-re dgon-pa (or Gye-re gSang-sngags pho-brang dgon-pa) which was founded as a successor institution in the early 15th cent. (see Akester 2004: 56). The site, now in ruins, is located in Gye-re-phu (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 121a). See Fig. 12 of Table V. 7.3 and Map 3b below. Other sites in Gye-re: the dGe-lugs-pa monastery of Phun-tshogs dgon-pa (north-west of Nor-bzang pho-brang; cf. *HSLG* 8: 36f.) and the ruins locally known as bKra-shis-pho and said to be the remains of a former monastery. Akester 2004: fn. 13 gives the site as "rDzong-tog" and the hill he identifies with the Dum-bu-ri mentioned in a passage of the *gNyos gdung rabs*. Some nameless ruins are to be found behind this hill.

[78] From the biography of Pha-jo 'Gro-sgom zhig-po (*ca*. 1184–1251 A.D.) of Mon-yul, we are allowed some insight into how the lHa-pa, during the time of lHa-nang-pa and especially during the reign of his nephew lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po ruled in southernmost Tibet and Bhutan. We here are informed that the regime (and the tax sxstem) of the lHa-pa was harsh, as it commonly was in those times where unswerving loyalty and submission to the local landlord were expected from the subjects. We can assume that the policy in contemporary Tibet, in sKyid-smad was not much different.

[79] The detailed history of this important lHa-pa site in Phag-ri Valley (originally the old estate land of the imperial 'Gos clan) is deplorably largely unwritten and therefore still needs to be chronicled. Its history must however await the surfacing of local records from the Chumbi valley. It was initially destroyed in the 1290's by the southern Dung people; cf. e.g. *rGyal rtse chos rgyal rnam thar* 8. It remained a lHa-pa center at least into the late 14th century. In the founding period, one *kun mkhyen* Saṃgha-bhadra (i.e. *dGe-'dun bzang-po 1231–99) – incidentally considered a rebirth of lHa-nang-pa – in the 1250's, visited the site, and he reports about a wall-painting there depicting the gNyos Protector Trakṣad Mahākāla; cf. *Jo nang chos 'byung* 48; Kun-dga' grol-mchog, *Samghabhadra'i rtogs brjod*; *Trakṣad chos 'byung II* 8b2–4.

Rin-chen-sgang is present-day located in Gro-mo-smad, at 27°26'N 88°56'E (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 245). The site is occasionally visited by pilgrims; cf. e.g. *Tshong dpon gnas bskor* 60; see also Chan 1994: 799.

cent.)[80] whose line originally had taken up residence in the lHa-sa district, more precisely – as the sources remark – in dGe/dGyer = G[y]e-re [lHa] Valley of sKyid-smad – still so named. The latter's lineage there became known as the G[y]e-re gNyos line. It was in the environs of this new Gye-re lHa-pa homeland or territory that his descendants as local landlords eight or nine generations later counting from the remote founding figure (during the time of the early 11th-cent. gNyos *lo tsā ba* Yon-tan-grags, and his son rDo-rje bla-ma; see above) served as patrons to and later rulers of some of their own and neighbouring 'Bring smad *tsho* communities that had settled in the sKyid-smad district and its closest surroundings. Their presence would account for a good part of the prominent position held by the gNyos in respect to the communities but also for their enduring position in lHa-sa itself. We shall even argue that the strong position in sKyid-smad, on the threshold to lHa-sa along one of the most frequented pilgrim routes leading to the Jo-bo *sanctum*, may account for the invitation and prior arrival of gNyos *lo tsā ba* great grandson, namely the 12th-century gNyos-nag Grags-pa-dpal and his son, who would soon be strongly supported by affluent landlords, the descendants of his own father and uncle as well as by the gNyos brethren and kinspeople of Gye-re Valley as patrons, and also explain why he so easily became the actual ruler of most of lHa-sa and eventual of large stretches of sKyid-shod district as some sources emphatically claim. It may provide some explanation behind the circumstance that already at the time of *lo tsā ba* Yon-tan-grags, Gye-re lHa (= the Gye-re Valley)[81] was firmly established as an ethno- and toponym. As a geographical appellation, it remained so – not untypical in a Tibetan context – almost up to this very day as the homeland of the lHa-pa. It was from Gye-re lHa that Yon-tan-grags and Mar-pa *lo tsā ba* set out on their journey to India in the early 11th century (see e.g. Decleer 1992: 20) and it was Rva-lo, as one of the first ever, who reports the Gye-re lHa, when he was received by one *dpon* mGon-po sTag-zhon ("The Tiger-riding Lord;" comm. epithet for bravery; akin e.g. to our epithet "lionheart") and his retinue (*Rva lo rnam thar* 233–34; but see *BA* 144). Following the erection of the G[y]e-re dgon-pa, it remained for the next two hundred years one of the head-quarters of the lHa-pa bka'-brgyud-pa at least until the tenure of lHa-pa Sangs-rgyas dbang-phyug.[82]

lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po played no small role in Central Tibetan politics in the initial Sa-skya-Yüan period. He is reported to have been involved in warring conflict with the 'Brug-pa in the late 1240's and early 1250's and it is chronicled that it was rGod-tshang-pa who personally called for a truce by paying his respect to Rin-chen rgyal-po (*rGod tshang rnam thar* 198–99) – plausibly in an act of *dititio*. When Möngke Qan sent an expeditionary force to Tibet, headed by general Dörbetei (i.e. Du-pe-ta Bādur), probably in 1251 or 1252, it is claimed that it was through the intervention of lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po,[83] and his allegedly good relations to the Mongol chief that saved the

[80] The fourth generation after the progenitor Bya-Khyung/-thul dkar-po; see Table 7 below. Cf. *VS* 163–4.

[81] This combined ethno- and toponym on the one hand refers to the local name of the valley where gNyos settled and lHa (of lHa-pa) refers to the theogonic origin of the clan from the *'od gsal lha*, similar to other prominent clans which have this metonym in anteposition of their clan name. Another clue to its origin may be from the hermitage of lHa-nang (*var*. lHas-gnang), attached to and later used as metonym for gZi-brjid-dpal.

Still another clue may be that lHa-pa is an abbreviation of lHa[-sa]-pa, as indicated above; viz. those (among the numerous gNyos lines) stemming from lHa-sa.

[82] For the initial abbatial lineage of the throne-holders of the G[y]e-re lha-khang; cf. Table V.7 below.

[83] The text reads 1251 (*lcags phag*), better is 1252; cf. *gNyos gdung rabs* 45–46; Petech 1990a: 12–13. However, its historicity is unclear.

Other seats claimed similar feats that in hindsight evidently were associated with cultural or political prestige:

'Bri-gung sources, referring to two successive invasions (the first Hor-dmag led by Dor-ta during the 1240 invasion,

lives of most people and prevented the Mongols from their usual marauding. The prestige won by him for this mediation – true or fictitious – may have been tremendous. The same (apologetic) text even seems to suggest that his loyal assistant 'Dam-pa ri-pa in the period between 1245 and 1263 served as (local?) *spyi dpon*, a position which subsequently was taken over by one *mi dpon* Jo-bo rDo-rje-dpal.[84] Unable to assess or corroborate the value of the information, it rings true, though immediately in conflict with most sources, which maintain that the Sa-skya-pa, following the devastating 1240 intermezzo, eventually rose to become the most powerful force in Central Tibet, albeit – and not unimportant for assessing the role of the lHa-pa – the 'Bri-gung *spyan snga* Grags-pa 'byung-gnas at one point should hold a very central position in the initial dealings with

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where the 3rd 'Bri-gung throne-holder allegedly intervened, headed by one Hor kyi rgyal-po Khas-te-kha / Kho-le-ta during the 4th 'Bri-gung throne-holder, gCung *rin po che* (1210–79), and since the latter's actual tenure was 1255–78, the last invasion either must be identical with the invasion of Tufan (A-mdo) by general Qongridar (Ch. Huanglitaer) in 1264 or the punitive incursion in 1267–68, in the wake of the passing of Phyag-na rdo-rje; cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs I* 475*; III* 112, 115–16; Petech 1990b: 18. *Si tu bka' chems* 7 ascribes it to the tenure of *spyan snga rin po che*.

Conversely, the 'Brug-pa claim to have rendered service of mediation on that score too and roughly during the same period: cf. *rGod tshang rnam thar I* 157.

sTag-lung sources on the other hand argue that their 3rd throne-holder Sangs-rgyas yar-byon similarly was successful in appeasing the unruly Mongols. It, however, refers to (another) invasion of a Mongol force in 1263 headed by general Du-mur (Temür); cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 498; *Sangs rgyas yar byon rnam thar* 5a1f. One may also consult the impressions left behind in Yang-dgon-pa's biography. Even to the 3rd Zul-phu abbot Chos kyi byang-chub (*ca*. 1220–1300) are ascribed similar feats; cf. *Zul phu mkhan rabs* 9a3–4.

It thus appears that each major monastic seat in Tibet attempted to boast initiative on that score; it is nevertheless not unlikely that different missions may have entered negotiations with the Mongols following the wholesale *diditio* of all Tibetan centres.

[84] *gNyos gdung rabs* 47–48: *spyi dpon* of lHa-pa or dBus? A gloss in the text says that he was *spyi dpon* of dBus-gTsang. It remains unclear exactly in which function he was chief administrator. From the notes below, it appears to be a local adm. or secular position in the pre- or initial Sa-skya-Yüan period. A number of candidates may be mooted to identify him: Firstly and most obvious is the first Phag-gru *khri dpon* rDo-rje-dpal (d. 1266), who in 1254/58 erected an administrative center at sNe'u-gdong. Cf. e.g. *Si tu bka' chems* 10–18; Petech 1990b: 88–90; Vitali 2004b: 140.

Secondly, and far less likely – it may allude to the gNyos-affiliated 'Bri-gung *dpon po* rDo-rje-dpal (*fl.* late 13th cent, in other words at a point when he was administrator or *sgom pa*, roughly during the tenure of the 8th and 9th 'Bri-gung throne-holders). This rDo-rje-dpal was a younger brother to Ye-shes-dpal, who had served as administrator for 25 years, partly under the 8th 'Bri-gung throne-holder bCu-gnyis-pa (1278–1314; *rl*. 1296–1314) where Ye-shes-dpal signally ruled as *dbus khri stong thams cad spyi dpon*. Here the *spyi dpon* position seems to be different from the position of the *sgom pa* or anyhow seems unrelated. In fact, *'Bri gung gdan* rabs *III* 123 mentions Sa-chen rDo-rje-dpal, a *blon po* of [i.e. under] *sgom pa* Śākya rin-chen and he theoretically may be the *spyi dpon* alluded to (cf. *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 365). The son of *dpon* (= *dbon*?) rDo-rje-dpal was *sgom pa* Kun-dga' rin-chen. Cf. e.g. *Phun tshogs bkra shis rnam thar II* 601–02. Evidently, this is the best alternative option, although the chonology is shaky.

Equally possible is his adversary, Ag-len rDo-rje-dpal, the powerful Sa-skya *dpon chen* (*rl.* 1290–98).

Finally, another candidate – yet too early to be a serious option and hence not particularly realistic – is a family member of the line of the Mi-nyag or Xixia ruler rGyal-rgod (i.e. Shenzong, *alias* Weiming Zunxu; rl. 1211–23; d. 1226) called Mi-nyag rDo-rje-dpal who had studied under Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1147–1216 A.D.); cf. the 5th Dalai Lama, *Bod kyi deb ther* 113.5–12 (= tr. Tucci TPS 631; with a problematic chronology, however). It would explain Jo-bo or lord (of noble birth – though). rDo-rje-dpal's grand?-son 'Bum-sde (in the late 1240's?) was patron to Sa-paṇ and this line in fact served as patrons to the Sa-skya-s, and following their exodus from Xia established Ngam-ring as main seat of their La-stod Byang-bdag ruling line. This line were great patrons (and in part artists) behind the manufacturing of art-objects, and included rulers like Byang-bdag rNam-rgyal grags-bzang (1395–1425 A.D.), Byang-bdag Nam-mkha' legs-pa and Byang-pa'i *dpon* bKra-shis rin-chen, etc.

the Mongols in Central Tibet. In the 1240's, he was invited to Sa-skya by Sa-paṇ where he was eulogized and commanded their undivided respect (*Mig 'byed 'od stong* 30a3–5). Corroboration for the prominent position of gNyos in this period may be adduced from the circumstance that 'Phags-pa either in 1244, himself as a minor, or in the mid-1250's upon his first return from Mongolia in some capacity was involved in the consecration of G[y]e-re dgon-pa. During his visit 1265 to the lHa-pa, the imposing lay-out and perimeter of Gye-re lha-khang inspired the Sa-skya-pa to use the lHa-pa temple as model for the erection of the lHa-khang chen-mo at Sa-skya,[85] erected a few years later. It may therefore be argued that in the initial period in Central Tibet and in the absence of the leading Sa-skya-pa who sojourned among the Mongols, the lHa-pa as ardent supports of the 'Bri-gung-pa – the only serious inner-political challenge to the rising tide of Sa-skya-pa in Central Tibet at that stage – for a short while held large revenue-generating territories under their sway, and wielded strong influence throughout large areas. The nature of the early relationship between gNyos and Sa-skya remains one of the still uncharted questions of 13th century Tibet.

In the late mid-13th century, the territories of the lHa-pa became part of the Tshal *khri skor* (in conjunction with the neighbouring 'Brug territory in gNam district as part of a *mi sde* denoted lHa 'Brug, see the App. III and below Map 3a). Following the dissolution of the *khri skor* structure in the mid-14th century with the emergence of the Phag-gru hegemony, the lHa-pa eventually resumed full control over their estate land and again win a fair modicum of strictly local autonomy, yet the central Gye-re dgon-pa did not survive the vicissitude with warring insurgencies and internal strife that in the 1380's raged in the present-day Chu-shur district of sKyid-smad.[86] The main temple fell victim to a devastating fire during those unruly years, a common outcome of warfare. Its ensuing renovation coincided with its conversion into a dGe-lugs-affiliated centre (thus ensuring adequate spiritual and economical patronage) known as gSang-sngags pho-brang dgon-pa which as institution – as indicated by the name associated with esoteric teachings – survived into our time. For the following period, we only have stray information on the internal structure of the old gNyos land. The Central Tibetan lHa-pa entertained close bonds to the dGe-lugs-pa,[87] and like other former independent minor schools, remained a grateful recipient of the

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[85] It alludes to the visit to Gye-re dgon-pa by 'Phags-pa Bla-ma in 1265 A.D. which inspired the Sa-skya *dpon chen* Śākya bzang-po to take Gye-re dgon-pa as model for the erection of the lHa-khang chen-mo in Sa-skya. Cf. cf. *Yar lung chos 'byung* 154–55; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1367.

It may be speculated that the Gye-re temple which served as model was not Gye-re in sKyid-smad, but the Gye-re Glang-ra in gTsang; cf. *rGya bod yig tshang* 463. The Gye-re Glang-ra temple counts among the early *phyi dar* foundations (*Bu ston* Szerb 69), i. e. the later gTsang-stod Gye-re-dgon? cf. Eveding 2000: 9. Klong-rdol (vol. 'A 445 in his *gSung 'bum*), however, clearly identifies the model as sKyid-shod Ge-ra [*sic*] lHa-sa'i lha-khang. Most likely, deeming the fact lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po at that point was considered one of the most powerful and affluent men in Central Tibet (cf. e.g. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 426.11–16), it shall be argued that it was the spacious lHa-pa seat that served as model. This seems confirmed by *gNyos rabs* 47.4 which remarks that the same 'Phags-pa, as a minor, had been involved in some capacity in its consecration in and around 1246.

[86] The war was the outcome of prolonged internal anarchy in the lHa-pa controlled areas in the period *ca*. 1350–80, involving many settlements in the Chur-shur area; cf. Table V.7 below.

[87] A statue of gNyos clan Protector Trakṣad Mahākāla was e.g. erected in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang by Gye-re lHa-pa (*lHa ldan dkar chag* 27.7–9). Its donation clearly reflects the wish of the lHa-pa to contribute to the refurbishment of the lHa-sa *sanctum.* One of the ancestral gNyos cycles was known as the *Trakṣad gNyos lugs*; cf. App. I.

The data available are scarce: G[y]e-re-pa Grags-pa rgya-mtsho (1552–1623; born at Gye-re dgon-pa) was the 33rd dGa'-ldan throne-holder. The Gye-re lHa-pa seat was in 1569 visited by 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho;

overall patronage and support proffered by the dGe-lugs-pa, at least initially and throughout 15th and part of 16th century, but we also possess information of their apparent sectarian vacillations or shifting loyalties already in the 16th century, which appear to reflect some hesitations on their part in choosing side strategically in the struggle for supremacy in the lHa-sa area during this period (cf. e.g. *Pad dkar rnam thar I* 100b2–101a3).[88]



***7a**. The lHa-pa manor estate in Lower Gye-re valley*
Photo: Google Earth 2006

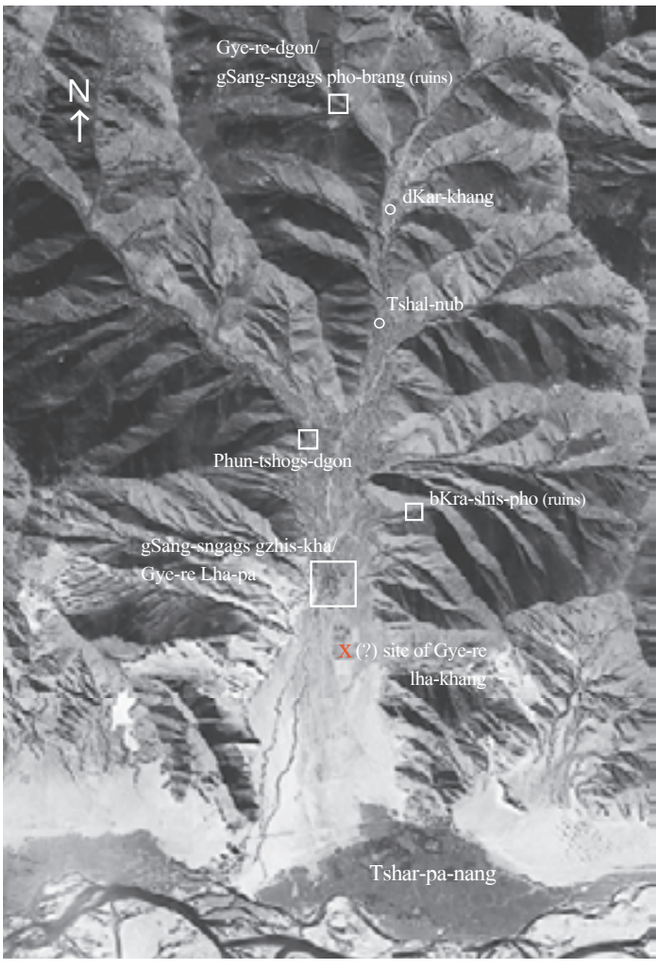
cf. *DL3* 78a2, 83a4. The lHa-pa ruler Don-grub bkra-shis in 1662 is reported to have appropriated the brGya-grong sPyil-mkhar *gzhis ka* of sNye-thang.

[88] Among their known figures lHa *rin po che* or gNyos-ston *lha btsun* lHa-dbang rgya-mtsho, repeatedly mentioned at the close of the 16th cent. where they were active in lHa-sa. He (here called lHa bsTan-pa'i rgya-mtsho; id.?) transmitted the Trakṣad protector cycle of the gNyos to Tāranātha. A lHa-pa regularly mentioned in the literature was the ruler Gye-re *lha btsun* or "noble/prince monk" Srong-btsan Tshangs-pa who both invited and rendered service to the 4th Dalai Lama in the early 1600's (cf. *DL4* 33a1–3; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 36b5) as well as the influential *zhabs drung* lHa-pa *sprul sku* incarnations, Blo-bzang bstan-pa dar-rgyas and Blo-bzang 'phrin-las during the same epoch.

The G[y]e-re lHa-pa kept playing a role locally in the following centuries (and a larger role in the present territories of Bhutan until at least the 17th cent.), at least until the 19th century. During the tenure of the 13th Dalai Lama, but probably already earlier in the 18th cent., the Gye-re temple had become a dependency of Se-ra. In the same period, a part of the area (generally known as G[y]e-re Shar-pa and G[y]e-re lHa-pa) finally, through intermarriage, became landed estate dependencies (*gzhis lag*) – akin to a latifundium – associated with the lHa-klu noble house (*yab gzhis*). One of the last references to the Gye-re lHa-pa house dates from 1913 A.D. in connection with some governmental reshuffling; cf. *DL13* 523.



Map 3a. The area of "lHa 'Brug" in sKyid-smad
Photo: Google Earth 2006



Map 3b. The Gye-re Valley in sKyid-smad. Old estateland of the lHa-pa ruling clan
Photo: Corona Satellite 1970



***7b**. Ruins at Gye-re lHa-pa* (2002)

2. WATER MONSTER'S WRATH – NATURE'S CURSE: lHa-sa Diluvium – Concentric Cosmology, the Birth of Flood Control Politics and the Survival of a Holy Site

> Before the water overflows, a dike must be erected
> *chu ma shor gong nas rags rgyag dgos pa*
> bsTan-'dzin dpal-'byor, *rDo ring rnam thar* 168
> [Tibetan proverb]
>
> Once lHa-sa was submerged in water, Bar-skor ring could only be crossed in a coracle
> *mTshur phu dgon gyi dkar chag* 572

Notwithstanding the vicissitudes of the key *sanctum* or "national shrine" of lHa-sa during the unruly 11th century, at a point when it was unclear who initially had been in charge of the site, one source ominously claims that it, at one point, was without "owner" which means proper care. We know that the unprotected site soon was dragged into the mire of warring conflicts, in a period coinciding with the first serious attempts to reconstruct ideological links to its glorious imperial past. It cannot surprise when we recall the site's historic position, in fact Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang can boast of a long and rich past. Its erection in the middle of the seventh century documents – both in original concept, structure and in artistic lay-out – the strong Nepalese artistic and cultural influence that prevailed at this very early stage of the civilisatory history of Tibet. In the ensuing centuries – in particular in the post-dynastic period – its central position ensured it an unrivalled position both as an epitome and monument of national heritage and legacy, first for the introduction and gradual spread of Buddhism, later for its geo-political importance in the conceptual formation of a center-oriented model in the struggle for hegemonic supremacy in Central Tibet. It seems just to maintain that generally the site as an emblem of national prestige, lineages of spiritual masters and local rulers were vying for supremacy in providing patronage and in controlling the site (cf. also R. Vitali 1990: 69–83). Remarkable is the unanimously high esteem it commanded – similar only to the other early national edifices such as bSam-yas and in part the Khra-'brug *vihāra* – from all denominations and schools down through history. Its key image, the Jo-bo statue of Śākyamuni, counted as the country's most sacred object, the cynosure of countless devoted pilgrims for over a millennium and a permanent vortex of Tibetan spirituality. The esteem and prestige of the *sanctum* as such naturally hailed from the central statue, and its numinous properties that sanctified the site and its surroundings. However, its rise as a national sanctuary primarily was linked to its central role in the rise and formation of the cult of Avalokiteśvara in Tibet initiated and both forcefully and intellectually boosted with the arrival of Atiśa in Tibet, the one person who should become its most vigorous promoter, actively assisted, as we shall see, by his favourite disciple and successor, the patriarch 'Brom-ston-pa. Knowledge of the vicissitude of the site during the dynastic time, initially merely known as *ra sa* (or *lha sa*) [*d*]*pe/ spe har* (*cum var. lect.*), i.e. the lHa-sa *vihāra*[89] called accordingly in emulation of its Indian *vihāra*

[89] This simple name "the Ra-sa Temple" found on imperial inscriptions and earlier documents appears to be another indication that the epithet 'Phrul-snang, a metonym that originated or that was coined in connection with the introduction of the Indic-Nepalese legend of the Svayambhūcaitya (see next note), was not in use in the earliest period. Whereas it may be contended that the same artists may have brought this popular legend and motif along to lHa-sa in the 7th century,

idiom, is deplorably sparse and fragmentary as indicated in previous chapter. We are informed that it suffered destruction in the wake of the factional dispute in the late 10th or early 11th century and from the onset of the *bstan pa phyi dar* period our knowledge of the shrine is intimately linked with the history of its ever-changing architectural, artistic and cultural refurbishments and renovations, a knowledge that increases proportionally with the increase in the number of informative sources. Generally, our picture of the site and its history has been enriched by a relatively popular mid-17th-century pilgrim book or guide written by the 5th Dalai Lama – the hierarch who would prove to be mainly responsible for elevating the site into becoming the key state shrine and to incorporate it into his elaborate ritual state calendar.[90] Available also are a number of historiographical treatises that offered in-depth descriptions of the shrine and its mythic or miraculous origin (*'phrul snang*),[91] that gave it its name. Further, we also have at our disposal stray texts which describe the occasional renovations or refurbishment of the cult shrine in the wake of deluge-destruction such as the one written by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa and the one by the 13th Dalai Lama, among others (see also the convenient but not exhaustive survey by Shakabpa in his *Guide*). We finally can avail ourselves of a number of ritual manuals that in one way or another are dedicated to a description of the pre-emptive ways and means of protecting the shrine from natural or elemental menaces, in particular its foremost natural enemy water (or rather river-waters) and deluge that required extensive and incessant flood diverting measures (*chu bzlog*, *chu bsgyur*) and endorsed the erection of dikes. As it turns out the lHa-sa history and society proved to be a diluvian one.

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the epithet itself came into full use in the 11th century only. This seems to indicate that the lake-drainage myth originated in the 11th-cent. only, at least in its current form. A recent study (Alexander 2005) provides the hitherto most comprehensive discussion of the sanctuary's architectural structure and idiom. The sanctuary clearly was conceived of as an integral *vihāra* complex from the very outset. The idea advanced in a recent paper that the sanctuary originally had been built as a sort of tower and as a royal residence is clearly unfounded, as already argued in Alexander 2006.

[90] The *lHa ldan dkar chag* by the 5th Dalai Lama is a comprehensive 17th-cent. inventory of the central *sanctum* and its numerous chambers and annexes. It may have replaced another, similar work dealing with the site compiled by Pha-bong-kha dPal-'byor lhun-grub (1561–1637 A.D.), also titled *'Phrul snang gtsug lag khang gi dkar chag* (deplorably non-extant) or the 5th Dalai Lama may have reworked the latter and finally had it published in his name; cf. *dPal 'byor lhun grub rnam thar* 25a6.

[91] In the original concept behind the mythic genesis of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang (i.e. "Miraculously Manifested / Emerged;" a epithet still in common use) as it is contained in the earliest (11th cent.) *gter ma* sources such as the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, *Ka khol ma*, and *Nyang ral chos 'byung,* etc. (ref. in TBH Sørensen 264–65), it is narrated how initially the temple rose [self-]manifestly from the middle of a lake as a light-emitting *caitya*. This concept has been adapted from or inspired by the origin myth of the Svayambhūcaitya or Self-Evolved Stūpa (cf. e.g. the version *Svayambhūdharmadhātusamutpattinidānakathā* (8r4–7) of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*) which narrates how similarly the latter as a crystalline (*sphaṭikamaya*) and light-shaped (*jyotirūpa*) *caitya* rose autogenous (*svayam abhūt samutpannaḥ*) in the middle of a lake; see von Rospatt 2000: 5–6, 254; for a source survey, H. Decleer 2000. In its Tibetan adaptation, a ring is thrown into the 'O-thang sea by the queen, modified from the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* where a lotus seed is cast by Tathāgata Vipaśvin. It would be worthwhile to conduct a close comparison of different topical and narrative elements in either legend. The shared motifs, the outcome of cultural loan, cannot surprise if we recall that the Ra-sa *vihāra* was erected by Nepalese artisans who employed Indic/Nepalese models and conceptions.

2.1 Genesis of lHa-sa:
Ocean's Drainage, Cosmos' Dramaturgy and the Sanctification of Space

It is still relatively unclear what settlements actually existed along the marshy riverland of the lHa-sa Valley prior to the erection of the Ra-sa *sanctum* in the 7th century. The Dunhuang sources are largely silent, allowing for no clear picture. It not least was the antecedent sKyi[d]-chu river (i.e. the river of sKyid-shod district, i.e. ancestral land of the sKyi clan) which cut its NE-SW winding course through the valley floor that gave the district its decisive contours and topographic features. The narrow lHa-sa area during the imperial epoch was known as the landed territories of the ancestral dBa's (*var.* sBa, dBas) clan (see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 237) and it probably remained their homeland for a lengthy period, at least until the Yar-lung kings set up more permanent residences in the area. Looking further back in time, excavations unearthed in the closer lHa-sa area as well as findings in the wider dBu-ru district, however, suggest (pre-)historic human settlements dating from the times of late Palaeolitic, Neolithic culture and from the Early Iron Age. In the Holocene epoch, traces of neolithic culture are verified by farming, pottery and cattle breeding in the valleys, cultures that had vanished before the first recorded settlement took place in the 7th century. Yet excavations in the lHa-sa area, in the northern suburb close to Chag-grong (also at Glang-ru and at Rags towards Yer-pa) have displayed late neolitic findings (more than 4000 years old) of stone spades, knappers, vessels etc. indicative of a thriving agriculture but also of a fish-hunting civilization in the nearest environs of lHa-sa.[92] Only further archaeological and pedological evidences, supported by detailed palaeoecological, limnological and not least palynological investigations related to the physiography, geomorphology and the vegetative lay of the narrow lHa-sa landscape during the late Holocene shall inform us about shifting climatic structures or anomalies prevailing during those remote periods. The data in turn may be indicative of the preconditions reigning during the area's incipient settlement history and the extent of its flooding vulnerability.



***8**. The dried-up 'O-thang lake upon which Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang was built.* Wall-Painting in Eastern Srid-zhi'i Phun-tshogs Hall in the Potala (sMan-gsar Style, executed 1648)

[92] Archaeological findings (including different stone tools, bones, grinding stones, late Neolithic pots as well as bronze and copper arrowheads, clay masks, stone-coffin tomb; etc.) are documented from Rags-mda' and Chos-gong village (the latter due west of Se-ra monastery, discovered 1984); cf. P. Aufschnaiter, *East and West* 7 (1956); Chan 1994: 375–77; Chayet 1994: 48–50; *Precious Deposits I*: 44f . Chinese estimates suggest human settlement in the area in late Neolithic time and as early as 2nd to 3rd century agriculture and cattle breeding was practised; Huang Weiwen, The Early Paleolithic in China (*The Quaternary Research* 2 (1989): 237–42).

It has since long been widely recognized that important cultural insights can be gained from detailed studies of the ecological context in which cizilizations were born and prospered. Still short of such analyses, all we know is that later Buddhist historiography – our main sources along with the Dunhuang materials – merely chronicle the site's relatively recent settlement history, namely the initial conquest and occupation of the valley in the wake of a gradual transfer (along what may be designated Tibet's "Royal Path" or *via regia* that passed from Yar-lung, through 'On and rGya-ma Valley until the royal entourage and the kings reached lHa-sa and set up the new residence there; cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: App. II) of the royal main seat from the Yar-klung Valley at a particular point in the royal line that initiated with the presence on one of the hill-tops in the valley-floor, namely of a castle complex (*sku mkhar*) linked to King Srong-btsan sgam-po on the Red Hill (dMar-po-ri), the predecessor of the later Potala Palace. But the civilizatory and cultural history of lHa-sa should initiate with the building of the *sanctum*. The stories detailing its foundation – overly mythographic – were arguably compiled in the 11th century, having in part been based upon late dynastic, orally transmitted narratives and their compilation coincided with or were accompanied by the execution of a series of contemporary renovations of the sanctuary including narrative murals limning its origin as well as containing other moral-edificatory and aetiological stories executed in dynastic temples during renovation in the 10–11th century. It is therefore not amiss here to turn our attention briefly to these literally reworked and mythographically couched histories concerning the origin or genesis (*byung khungs*) of the Ra-sa sanctuary and hence the incipient beginnings of lHa-sa as urban enclave; it can altogether be surmised that the narrative descriptions certainly have older roots, yet they evidently received their final draft in the early post-dynastic centuries.

In retelling the origins of the lHa-sa site from the vantage point of the 11th century, the focus in the narratives initially was on its idiosyncratically topomantic distinctiveness in the overly mythically layered landscape of early Tibet, being linked with the grandious and radical process of implanting Buddhism onto Tibetan soil. The mythic narrative behind the drainage story of the subterranean lake (or ocean) is well documented and repeatedly told and therefore shall not be reiterated here. In the popular and telling metonymic depiction or hypostatization of Tibet as a "supine demoness" (*srin mo gan rkyal du nyal ba*) (cf. Aris 1979; TBH Sørensen 253f. and App. I in TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005 for details behind this ideology) – an imagery and classification that evidently was steadily elaborated and revised during the early post-dynastic centuries – the shrine was seen to have been raised upon the very "heart-blood" of the demoness. The ideology behind this depiction bespoke that the local territory, the home of the local telluric lords (*sa bdag*) inhabiting the site in the topographical and territorial lay of the land, had assumed different forms – whether in the form of rocks, cliffs, valleys, rivers or very often mountains, etc., employing an imagery where the "ominous signs" (*sa dgra*) were compared – in tangible mimicry of nature – to the *topographic configuration* and *formation* of certain bodily limbs and features, whether human or animal and later intended to resemble certain Buddhist emblems raised as powerful apotropaion. The focal points behind this scheme surely had different sources of inspiration. The suppression of the concentric ensemble of sites that were considered key focal points compared to *me btsa'* or moxabustion in a healing process fixed upon "a hypostatized body" of Tibet; an imagery of the suppression of nature and landscape is thus envisaged, in which an adequate mirror of the territorial expansion of the empire is presented. The set of three concentric squares arranged around a matrix governing the "supine or prostrate demoness model" (i.e. 0 (= center) + 12) has, as is well-known, been both ably and cogently discussed by Aris (1979:15f.). He has drawn interesting parallels to the territorial

conception and concentric (*siſang*) models prevalent in ancient imperial China where cosmomagic models were developed which carry witness to the widespread existence of territorial schemes in state building and imperial urban planning. It were models that attempted to bring into reality a reduced version of cosmos through the imitation of a celestial archetype (cf. Wheatley 1971: 411f.). However, aside from Princess and Geomancer Kong-jo's celebrated involvement in the birth of the temple in the heart of lHa-sa (this may well represent a disjunct myth), it still remains unclear to what extent, if at all, the underlying concept or model derived from Chinese sources or not. The original quadripartite model may well be exclusively Tibetan and as model may as well have served the body of a vertebrate or other animal, a quadripartite concept of a "body" as or in form of a "territory" which was always conceived of as concentric.

Whatever the foreign origin of a central part of this basic concentric scheme, an initial, arguably older – on its side based part on indigenous archaic models, part on Indic-oriented cosmic, center-oriented – hybrid models behind the demoness representation is euphemistically represented in what shall be aptly called the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone scheme,[93] a "quadripartite or pentadic" construct that

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[93] In a gradually unfolding territorial sanctification of Tibet (i.e. its sacred geography), numerous areas and pilgrimage sites too underwent similar recodings. One example was the 'Bri-gung Maṇḍala Zone around the 'Bri-gung-mthil seat.

Tradition commonly imparts to us that the origin of this "mandalic" structure goes back to the sage or wise-woman Kong-jo's geomantic scrutiny (*sa dpyad*) of Tibet and specifically the lHa-sa landscape where the Ra-sa *sanctum* was considered the concentric epicenter of the surrounding landscape and where evolving concentric sets of cardinal points – each dotted with a number of fixed sacred centres – conceived of as protective zones around lHa-sa, were made out; cf. App. IV: Graph 1 and the discussion there. This pattern we shall aptly call the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone. The language used in these descriptions allows for no other interpretation, although the native Tibetans, so it appears, employed it neither as a technical term, nor as a fixed political metaphor nor as a toponymic metonym *specifically* for the zones or districts circumscribing the lHa-sa Valley.

On a local level, lHa-sa (Ra-sa) was conceived of as a *maṇḍala* as may be referred to in the name of the inner courtyard (variously spelled [lHa-sa / lHa-ldan / Chos-'khor chen-po] *dkyil 'khor sdings*, °*steng*, °*mthil*) of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, the epicentric or cosmocentric navel, omphalos (*lte gnas*) or central axis (i.e. *universalis columna*) and hence very heart of lHa-sa. Although the concept thus seems very old, its common use appears to have come into full and conscious usage only during the establishment of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang rule, wherefore the assumption that the *Nepalmaṇḍal* scheme at this point gradually may have served as model is not entirely unfounded.

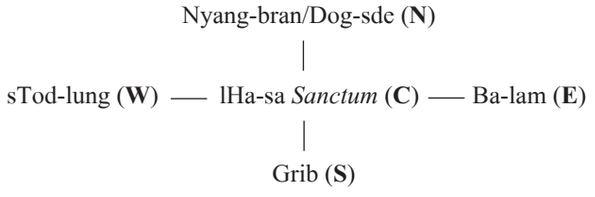
It is likely that the mandalic concept applied to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang at the earliest is an 8th-cent. invention, despite the description delivered e.g. in *bKa' thang sde lnga* 156–57. It was in the lHa-sa dkyil-'khor-mthil/sdings* or Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang's "Maṇḍala Zone" that selected monks and hierarchs regularly conducted both secular and religious state rituals (*bstan srid kyi sku rim*, *gzhung gi sku rim*); for instance those conducted upon the request of the 5th Dalai Lama, such as gTer-bdag gling-pa's long-life rites and *ganacakra* presided over by the 1st Paṇ-chen, to mention a few. It was also the site where secular patrons and their client priests conjointly (*mchod yon lhan cig*) conducted such rituals already during the pre-*pho brang gzhung* period so in the early 1600's (see e.g. *dPag bsam rnam thar* 54b3; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 740).

It is reported that this inner courtyard (i.e. the Inner Hall, *'du khang* or *maṇḍapa*) incidentally contained a small stone that was designated "the navel of the earth" (*sa'i lte ba*) – it evidently refers to the stone-slab in [the north-east corner of] the dKyil-'khor-mthil Hall in the 'O-thang rgya-mtsho lha-khang that usually was a gateway accessing the alleged subterranean ocean; this would seem to aptly equate an *axis mundi* – and allude to the site's purported cosmocentrism; the stone (and its underlying history) is unknown today in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. In fact, as part of the epithet of lHa-sa – the stone conceptually merged with the site – was later known as *Bod yul sa'i lte ba rdo rje gdan chos 'khor dpal gyi lHa sa*; cf. e.g. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* [A] 1516. See further M. Akester's note in Alexander 2005. See also Fig. 31.

* It was here (in the 1080's?) during the first post-imperial renovation that Zangs-dkar *lotsāba* carried out artistic refurbishments and e.g. erected a Kashmiri-styled Vajradhātu chapel; cf. *Tāranātha rnam thar* 298a3–4.

received its final form in the 17th century and which is repeatedly mentioned in the literature, but a matrix or model which, incidentally, had its precedents or parallels throughout Asia, where the cosmic-hegemonic model as concept served to form what Tambiah not inaptly has called "a galactic polity" (Tambiah 1976: 102f.; 1977). This localized cosmocentric matrix had a division, according to perspective, into four (if including the center into five) sections, in other words it constituted a quincunx of four cardinal points with a zenith as a fifth geocentric locus. To what extent the widely known Nepalmaṇḍal scheme – conceived already in the Licchavi period (7–8th century) and itself modified down through the medieval period – served as model (itself reflecting the idealized state concept and political theory detailed in the classic *Arthaśāstra* by Kauṭīlya) and to what extent it was conducive to influence the initial conception of the Tibetan model remains to be clarified.

The outer cardinals of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone (see App. IV for further details) were physically marked by four mountains which encompass the epicentric lHa-sa (C): these were situated in the areas of Lower sTod-lung (W), Nyang-bran/Dog-sde (N), Ba-lam (E) and Grib (S):



This centre-periphery model basically was cosmogonic in nature, and with its orientations and horizons may well have had rudimentary precedents in the history of Tibetan society and civilization (Allen 1978). It fundamentally reflects a notion of cosmos, a local microcosmic paradigm or perspective which was considered complete as a mimicry or as a representation of the outer cosmos as a whole. It largely resembles the concept of a celestial archetype, of archaic ontology and the symbolism of the center as formulated by Eliade.[94] The full "cosmic" intactness originally intended to indicate some sort of universal harmony or idealized equilibrium by creating an empowered site, a "sacred zone" or *terra sacra* in and around the Jo-bo *sanctum*.[95] As a demarcation between the sanctified and civilized vs. a less civilized or a savagery world, the process and its cult eventually turned profane (hostile) space into sacred (auspicious) space. This exactly was the empowering and transformational process that the landscape of lHa-sa was seen to undergo and as an imagery for the introduction of Buddhism unto Tibetan soil, the *srin mo* depiction underwent major changes.

[94] Cf. the detailed discussion and parallels in M. Eliade, *Cosmos and History*: *The Myth of the Eternal Return*. The origin of the mandalic concept paradigmatically applied to concepts behind state formation and polity theories rests with Kauṭīlya's (1th cent. A.D.) *Arthaśāstra* (Book 6, part of Book 7) wherefrom concepts of the strategic space of a ruler (*rāja-maṇḍala*) evolved. Cf. the translation by R.P. Kangle 1972: 314f.; L.N. Rangarajan 1987: 116f.

[95] Somewhat along the lines of the process taking place in China. "Before territory could be inhabited, it had to be sacralized, that is cosmicized. Its consecration signified its "reality" and, therefore, sanctioned its habitation; but its establishment as an imitation of a celestial archetype required its delimitation and orientation as a sacred territory within the continuum of profane space." Cf. Wheatley *op. cit.* 417. This could be effected only in relation to a fixed point. See also the classic study by Arthur Wright, The Cosmology of the Chinese City (in W.G. Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China*; Stanford Univ. Press, 1977: 33–73). Similarly, a process thus can be observed in China, where Ch'an masters were engrossed in enshrining relics and in erecting receptacles in order to fix chthonic influences and create sacred spaces; cf. e.g. B. Faure 1987: 355.

In lHa-sa itself, a number of concentric quadripartite structures later developed, all attempting to circumscribe the Jo-khang as an *axis mundi*. In the larger perspective, as elsewhere formulated by Tambiah (*op. cit*. 110–111), numerous samples could be cited to the effect that this center-periphery scheme served as an ideal model and as a point of departure for state or nation building, being conducive to linking and conjoining a spatial relationship with a distinctive conception for social and political relations. In its Tibetan adaptation, the scheme proved useful in smoothing the transitional process that gradually turned lHa-sa into the political and cultural center of the country. And it was the same centripetal forces surrounding this unrivalled mythic and ceremonial center that eventually turned the *sanctum* into a matrix for nuclear urbanism. It was only natural that the settlement of other shrines around Jo-khang in lHa-sa, aside from the *sde bzhi* communities, congregated here in the course of time, contributing to the development of the site through the synergetic process of synoecism. Incidentally, by way of extension, once the center developed, the peripheral polities or satellites that evolved around the lHa-sa zone themselves emulated similar models, with their own center and outer satellite zones.

The site of lHa-sa down through history has been characterized by various epithets. Its centripetal role and the implications of its cosmological model to represent the totality paved the way for the creation of such euphemizations. The metonyms reflect the religious and geo-political idealization that characterized the site down through history and hence contributed to its development into a key national site. Some were ideological and strictly Buddhist in concept such as the idea of lHa-sa as a spiritual focal point in form of a Tibetan Vajrāsana or (Bod kyi) rDo-rje-gdan,[96] the equation with the cultural center of Buddhist India where the Buddhas of the Fortunate Age are considered to gather or the concept that lHa-ldan lHa-sa is considered a Dharmacakra or Chos-'khor – on a par, to be true, with bSam-yas and Khra-'brug – a holy pilgrim site wherefrom the Wheel of the Teaching [of Buddha] revolved and was disseminated. At least from the time of Bla-ma Zhang (so in Zhang's writings and e.g. in his biography of Dvags-po sgom-tshul), but arguably even earlier, the Ra-sa *vihāra sanctum* was addressed *bstan pa'i gzhi mo lHa sa'i mthil*, i.e. the heart of lHa-sa was considered the "Fundament of the Teaching" (*bstan pa'i gzhi mo*)[97] or *Sangs rgyas*

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[96] It was Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang which was considered the quintessential Tibetan Vajrāsana; cf. e.g. *lHa ldan dkar chag* 33; *DL9* [B] 710. Still, a number of local Tibetan establishments and centers in Tibet down through time were euphemized as rDo-rje-gdan (the Adamantine Seat of the Buddhist world), such as Gong-dkar rDo-rje-gdan (erected by Thu-ston Kun-dga' rnam-rgyal, 1432–96), rTa-nag rDo-rje-gdan (est. by Pha-rgod Kun-dga' bzang-po, great-grandfather of the 2nd Dalai Lama) and as equation we find it associated with Rva-lung, the main seat of the 'Brug-pa but also the Sa-skya main seat (cf. e.g, *Seng ge rgyal po rnam thar* 314.5–315.3; *Mus chen rnam thar* 452.3) as well as with the main-temple of sTag-lung, and even Byang bDe-chen Yangs-pa-can of the Zhva-dmar hierarchs. In sum, all ambitious main seats in Tibet almost routinely associated themselves with the prestigious Vajrāsana seat.

rDo-rje gling-pa from a late 14th-cent. perspective portraits the celebrated lHa-sa site in full: | *chos 'khor lha sa rdo rje gdan* || *śākya thub sku tshab jo bo rin chen bzhugs* || *u rgyan ngo bo bla ma zhang gi gnas* || *mdo dang sngags kyi rgya mtsho lta bu gzhi* | Cf. his *Thar pa'i rgyun lam* 252.2–4). Noteworthy here is the use of the then still-valid (late 14th cent.) designation of lHa-sa as pilgrimage site of Bla-ma Zhang.

[97] The lHa-sa 'Phrul-snang invariably is lauded as *Bod kyi gtsug lag khang thams cad kyi gzhi mo/ma*, i.e. the quintessential or archetypical *vihāra* in Tibet; cf. e.g. *Dvags po sgom pa'i rnam thar* in Zhang's *ZhK III* (KA) 72b1–3, *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 26a6. To be true, the epithet *bstan pa'i gzhi ma* was or is also a common-place epithet; so e.g. used for other imperial temples, like bSam-yas (cf. e.g. *Zhva gtsug lag khang bstod pa* 9b2–3) and even Tshal Gung-thang (cf. *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 70a6). lHa-sa's cosmocentric status was also, as already remarked, highlighted in telling epithets like *Bod kyi ma ga ta*; *Bod yul sa'i lte ba rdo rje gdan chos 'khor dpal gyi lHa sa*; cf. again *sTag lung chos 'byung I* [A] 1516.

kyi bstan pa thams cad kyi ma mo, in later dGa'-ldan *gzhung* texts Ra-sa is similarly denoted *Bod gangs can gyi lte ba* or cosmocentrically the Chos-'khor lHa-sa'i *sa'i gnad*, later even as lHa-ldan *rgyal khab*, now in order to convey its state-like status.[98] In the same circles, older toponymic characterizations developed further.[99] lHa-sa is similarly denoted the "life-pole" or *yaṣṭi* of Tibet (just like Yer-pa is the life-pole of lHa-sa in cultic interdependence), which appears to bespeak that lHa-sa, similar to the indispensability of a *yaṣṭi* in the construction of a religious sanctuary or receptacle, was considered a *sine qua non* for the country's bare survival, a *raison d'être* within a larger Tibetan cultural context. Concurring with this end yet strictly more political in concept is therefore the euphemism or metonym that bespeaks lHa-sa/Ra-sa as constituting "the root and branches (*rtsa lag*) of benefit and happiness (*phan bde*) in Tibet,"[100] in other words the very reason and fundament for happiness and prosperity in the country. The latter concepts may in fact boast old roots in Tibet too, as they were already conceived in the 12th century at the very latest, yet they should here not be regarded as mere standard clichés and formulae of eulogy. Elevated as a center and symbol of national heritage and as a source whence prosperity can be sought, the latter concept in the 16th century became the starting point for a protracted rivalry for ultimate supremacy between competing sectarian factions and ideologies, the antagonists foremost being represented by the dGe-lugs-pa vs. in turn the Karma-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa backed by their local lay rulers, a rivalry that eventually translated into a prolonged conflict over the control and sovereignty of the site (*pars pro toto* of the whole of Tibet). The ensuing supraregional feuds in the 17th century would find their temporary culmination in the theocratic rule of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang government (see below), but also in this case it was a rise as a hegemony born from and secured through the intervention and participation of foreign powers, the curse of Tibetan politics.

2.2 Divine Foresight:
Providence and Prophecies of Guru Rinpoche and Pre-emptive Strategies

In connection with the formulation and description of the erection of the *sanctum*, the question of its perpetuation and survival was addressed from the very outset. In the early *phyi dar* period, when the mythic-ideological basis and its interpretative foundation behind the introductory

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In fact, that Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang represented the lHa-sa site in the narrowest sense may also be deduced from the circumstance that even well into the 1950's, Ra-mo-che was even considered to be situated outside of lHa-sa proper.

[98] Cf. e.g. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 294.

[99] Combining both the Ra-sa *sanctum* and dMar-po-ri: *gangs ri dpal dang ldan pa'i phreng bas 'khor mo yug tu dkrigs pa'i yul khams kun gyi mchog rab dam par gyur pa skyid shod nor 'dzin gyi lte ba lha ldan sprul pa'i gtsug lag khang dang 'phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug gi pho brang dmar po ri*; cf. e.g .*'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 95.

[100] The "root and branches" imply the totality of an entity. Cf. e.g. *DL2* 551–553, 618. An old epithet of lHa-sa, *bstan pa'i rtsa lag* is e.g. documented in the 14th-cent. Zhang biography *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 548.6. Later as concept used by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa and Thang-stong rgyal-po among others. It was reapplied to include other imperial royal temples such as dBu-ru Ka-tshal and Khra-'brug; cf. '*Bri gung gdan rabs III* 200.

To be true, it may also be taken in a very general sense since the phrase is also (at least at some later point) applied to other key sanctuaries, the Nepalese Bya-rung kha-shor or Bodhnath too was called *bstan 'gro'i phan bde'i rtsa lag*; cf. *Mi dbang rtogs brjod* 257b2–3. Ultimately, the epithet in actual fact is an attribution to the two precious Jo-bo statues in lHa-sa; cf. e.g. *Phan bde'i rtsa lag Jo śākya rnams kyi brtan bzhugs kyi cho ga* (Vol. BA of his *gSung 'bum*). The phrase later found usage in the epithets and metonym of religious figures, such as rNgog *lo tsā ba* being known as *Gangs ljongs phan bde rtsa lag*.

phase of Buddhism in Tibet and its main protagonists was being laid, the elemental hazards and contingencies facing the key Buddhist sanctuaries, bSam-yas (fire) and lHa-sa (water) (*me chu'i gnod*) respectively were also formulated and communicated in written – mostly prophetic – format for the first time. The envisaged hazards were deemed to depict serious or worst-case menaces to the virgin status or intactness of this local cosmic model. These imaginative visions surely were meant as strong reminders to future generations that the act of "a national birth" was tormented and hence staged to generate a sense of immediacy and urgency that required prompt action. However imperfect and however much the watery threats or the "disaster scenario" were depicted to be almost preordained and in some texts had been employed to convey signs of social, religious or military upheaval (see below) – so cherished in Tibetan prophetic or *gter ma* literature – this evidently was not always the case. It certainly not only was perceived as some envisaged symbolic hazards, but was grounded in most real and concrete cases, based upon former incidents of flooding and cataclysms that carried the blame for the destruction of land, crops, property and human lives in the past. The destruction following in the wake of flooding never became apocalyptic in lHa-sa or Tibet, but was devastating enough to ruin the life and property of entire communities. In their literary representations, the diluvial threats had been addressed variously in the two major "mythographic" and narrative collections related to the two grand temple complexes of Ra-sa and bSam-yas[101] and in this capacity they were intimately linked up with the life and activities of King Srong-btsan sgam-po and of Khri-srong lde-btsan, the respective founders of the temples as detailed in the idealized biographical or testamentary collections such as *Ka khol ma*, *Maṇi bka' 'bum* as well as in *Padma bka' thang* and *Thang yig chen mo* related to the life of Padmasambhava (cf. TBH Sørensen 9f.). More than anything, the comprehensive Treasury literature in this and succeeding period greatly contributed to the legitimation of the mythic depiction of the Tibetan kings as *dharmarāja* or pious Buddhist royal rulers and heros.[102] The mentioning of the hazards and their pre-emptive measures initially embedded in a prophetic format alone served as a prerequisite for their ensuing implementation.

In the overly legendary retelling, the rationale behind and the necessity of the site's perpetuity *ad infinitum* as well as the modalities behind temporal protection of the two former royal sanctuaries thus became ritually sanctioned and predictably anticipated, most evidently in form of *vaticinium ex eventu* executed by the latter-mentioned protagonists. The *modus operandi* of such foretellings – almost as a providential design – mostly assumed a self-staging form, an ancient technique – and forthwith a literary motif – known from many cultures employed in the narrative recounting of past histories. On the one side, the writings contained manuals on how to protect the sanctuaries from water (i.e. deluge), fire or sand and, on the other side, provided details on the provident concealment of ample material provisions or "treasuries" that served as a sort of future endowment

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[101] Other imperial-time temples assumed similar symbolic roles; so Zhva'i lha-khang, built by the monk-minister Myang-ban Ting-'dzin bzang-po (in the early 9th cent.), was considered a *chu rags* (here understood as a sort of bulwark, against the flooding of lHa-sa and bSam-yas); prophetically, it was maintained that if the temple decayed – *pars pro toto* – Tibet would decay, and conversely, if it was restored, Tibet would prosper; this, more than anything, motivated Klong-chen himself to conduct renovation work at Zhva'i lha-khang in 1349 A.D., cf. e.g. *Klong chen rnam thar* 116–18, 187–88. For the geomantic lay-out of Zhva'i lha-khang, the rationale behind the ideology, the function and national import of the temple as well as its artistic inventory and major renovations; cf. Kun-mkhyen Ngag gi dbang-po, *Zhva gtsug lag khang bstod pa* 10a1f.

[102] See here the essay by G. Dreyfus 1994.

considered necessary in order to refurbish, repair or expand the sites at any point of need in the future. The ultimate objective clearly was the protection of the sanctuary for all eternity and hence secure the survival of the sacred Buddhist doctrine in the country, by fatefully interlinking both objectives. The last incentive clearly was the *primum movens* behind the endeavours.

The theme deserves an entire study of its own, and here only the major lines of this dramatic and fascinating story can be addressed. Perusing a large number of biographies, diaries and memories or pilgrim travelogues written by the Tibetan themselves (innumerable saints conducted, almost obligatorily, the so-called *lha sa'i jo skor,* also in short *jo mjal*), a richly facetted depiction can be drawn as to the way water – the *sanctum*'s formidable and undermining foe – determined the lives of the people in and around lHa-sa. A number of the aspects, certainly not all, shall be addressed in the following. The building of stone dikes or dams to protect the narrow area of lHa-sa = Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and Ra-mo-che from floods and deluge that stemmed from sKyid-chu, or from the tributaries Dog-bde'i phu-chu[103] (and further downstream from sTod-lung phu-chu) eventually turned into an institution, in fact it assumed the nature of a "ritual agenda" or a "ritual project," the importance of which was on a par with the later (from the 1240 A.D. and henceforth) nationally important and widely applied apotropaic rituals of "averting or expelling the Mongols / Border armies" (*hor bzlog,* [*mtha'*] *dmag bzlog*).[104] Both were considered prime perils facing Tibet and

[103] Down through centuries, Dog-sde and Nyang-bran (cf. Part I: fns. 416, 417) valley or corridor constituted the entrance to lHa-sa from the north through 'Phan-po sgo-la. The area formerly had been forested with often gigantic juniper trees (i.e. relict juniper forests reminiscent of a primeval forest, today only stray samples remain), but most trees have long fallen victim to the increased erosion and sedimentation, aggravated by the incessant need for firewood. This again contributed to intensify the process of erosion and hence flooding. Cf. the observances of P. Aufschnaiter in Brauen 1988: 84–85, 91–92; Bräuning *et al*. 2005. Beyond lHa-sa, especially mNyes-thang and Rva-stod and the opposite Bye-nub *xiang* regularly were areas hit by natural disasters.

[104] For a brief survey of the rationale and history behind this ritual, see Sog-bzlog, *Sog bzlog bgyis tshul lo rgyus* 217.3ff. The latter, whose cognomen or soubriquet – *nomen est omen* – is "Expeller of the Mongols," usually lists three major Mongol incursions: 1240 A.D., 1280 and 1290 A.D. (albeit the last two generally are considered to count as one prolonged invasion). The devastating destructions and ravages following in the trail of a Mongol invasion, especially the 1240 incident left a lasting impression with the Tibetans, accounting for the permanent fear of future Mongol insurgencies, wherefore these "expulsion rituals" were permanently on the agenda of most subsequent *gter ston*, and in particular were employed whenever renewed threats of such Mongol (*sog*, *hor*) intrusions into Tibet were deemed imminent, particularly from the 14th century onwards (but already in the wake of the 1240 event, Ko-brag-pa arguably shortly after conducted such rites; cf. Stearns 2000: 196; and later the same century by Gu-ru Chos kyi dBang-phyug too) or were used purely as a deterrent. The 1240 episode had prompted the collective political *deditio* on the side of the Tibetans.

In Sog-bzlog's view, the emergence of Mongol raids were logically and consciously interlinked with different disaster scenarios for Tibet, such as lHa-sa being threatened by water. The entire gamut of involved *gter ston* in Tibet in fact should be concerned with such deterring rituals; so e.g. rDo-rje gling-pa reports his exclusive visit to lHa-sa in the late 14th cent. invited by the then undisputed ruler of dBus *mi dbang* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, as well as by the Gong-dkar *rdzong dpon* and the local sNe'u-pa ruler of lHa-sa in order to conduct a *rgya'i dmag bzlog*; see his *rGya'i dmag zlog par lha sar byon skabs gsungs* 313.1–320.5, 421.3–423.6 in *rDo rje gling pa rnam thar I*; *mChog ldan mgon po rnam thar* 410f.

Similar mirific feats were conducted by *gter ston* mChog-ldan mgon-po (and no doubt by a host of other masters) in lHa-sa; cf. *Nor bu'i rdo shal* 258.

The history of the origin and the gradual deployment of *hor bzlog* rituals in Tibet, however, deserves a full-fledged inquiry based upon a host of sources. In fact, the roots behind the protection from foreign (not necessarily Mongol) military incursions may well pre-date the 13th century, since *zab gter dmag bzlog* cycles are also ascribed to Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer.

their executions were deemed vital for securing the prosperity, happiness and survival of Tibet. The present essay shall restrict itself to the descriptions embedded in literary and historical sources, but further hydrological data and palaeoclimatological investigations of the entire area would allow us a more precise picture of the actual extent of water's impact on nature and society (see e.g. the studies by Bräuning 2002; Kaiser 2004).

dPa'-bo, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 48b3–5, 149b7ff. (= 450f.),[105] summing up the aforementioned *gter ma* narratives, has retained an informative description that delineates – both mythic-historically as well as, so it seems, matter-of-factly – the elemental threats to lHa-sa. Aside from delivering a wholly Buddhist, somewhat cosmo- or eschatological explanation behind the hazards, the threats of fire and water being due to low merit of the people (during a degenerate era) as the standard formula reads, dPa'-bo provides details as to how the *gtsug lag khang* had been erected along the bank of the gTsang-po river (i.e. sKyid-chu), wherefore the people of posterity as pre-emptive means were urged to construct embankments. The water of the river (*gtsang chab*) – potentially or by nature harmful – was considered the cause for the destruction of the temple, below which fiendish-oriented or malicious Nāgarāja had taken up abode.[106] These were ultimately considered the perpetrators of such diluvial catastrophes, their genetrix. By propitiating and cajoling the hypogeal *genius loci*, by erecting Buddhist sanctuaries to affront them, by building dikes, altering or damming up parts of the river to prevent shore erosion, etc., the local deities and creatures would eventually be barred from causing any inundation. Crucial for our appreciation of the underlying cult and myth around the erection of the *sanctum* is the question why the edifice was erected in the middle of a lake. True, its location seems to remain faithful to the legend's original concept of the miraculous emergence of a *caitya* from amid a lake; yet the Nepalese Svayambhū *caitya* model itself was not erected on the valley-floor, but upon a hill-top in the Kathmandu valley (out of safe reach of any potential flooding). The reason for the establishment of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang on the valley floor in lHa-sa must be sought elsewhere. It may reflect ignorance on the side of the Tibetans of the potential dangers facing the shallow and marshy area where the *sanctum* was erected; but given the regular occurrence of flooding in the area, this seems improbable. The only logical conclusion seems to suggest that the *sanctum* was built precisely and deliberately upon the most vulnerable locale – perpetually susceptible to flooding – which was considered the gateway or entrance to the subterranean worlds of the Nāga.[107] It was precisely here – in fact only here – that the potentially destructive forces could be kept at bay, ultimately propitiated or tamed, in its very heart, the locus and meeting-point between the human and non-human world, where their collaboration and goodwill was requested. Considering flooding episodes haunting lHa-sa regularly, their pacification and propitiation appears to have been a sheer never-ending task.

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[105] For ref. and a tentative translation, see e.g. TBH Sørensen 310, 327–28.

[106] The original nature of or rationale behind their purported maliciousness, however, is seldom addressed. It can be noted that the watery supply of sKyid-chu in the main are said to derive from subterranean and phreatic sources; cf. Brauen (ed.) 1988*:* 91.

[107] A lake in Dog-bde district due north of lHa-sa is called I-mtsho or E-mtsho, situated north of mKhar-rdo ri-khrod (a *chu mig* and a *chu tshan* or thermal source are also found there). It was commonly considered to be subterraneously connected with an ocean directly linked to the assumed waters below the lHa-sa site. It was perpetually feared that the lake overflowed and flooded lHa-sa town. The 8th Dalai Lama e.g. here had a number of chapels erected (prior to this point the 5th Dalai Lama yearly arranged prayer services along its banks) and during monsoon in the summertime, they were occupied by monks who propitiated the telluric and protective rDzong-btsan and rDo-rje g.yu-sgron in order to avert flooding; cf. e.g. *sPang rgyan me tog* 1994.3: 13–14; rDo-phan ed. 1995: 236–38.

Attempting to identify the original or earliest source for the prophetic descriptions, dPa'-bo, and the 5th Dalai Lama (*DL5 gSan yig III* 75b4–5), respectively cite and refer to a lHo-brag *mKho thing gi gter ma*, a dossier traced or extracted by Bla-ma mNga'-bdag chen-po, i.e. obviously Myang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer[108] (in tandem with treasury-texts discovered by Grub-thob dNgos-grub) in this temple from underneath a statue of Amitābha, the topic of which was a versified exposition delineating – prophetically – the condition and circumstances behind envisaged flood or *Hochwasser* contingencies and destruction of the lHa-sa and bSam-yas temples respectively (*lha sa bsam yas gnyis kyi 'jig rkyen*) and the practical means of its aversion (*bzlog thabs*) in connection with prophecies allegedly once articulated by Padmasambhava. The very same tradition and theme later was taken over by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa and Zhig-po gling-pa (see below). It is commonly purported that Padmasambhava initially had concealed – *gter ma*-wise – such instructive manuals for the benefit of future generations (cf. e.g. *Nor bu'i do shal* 59.5–61.4). The apotropaic means to avoid natural threats were, similar to the divinatory probe offered by Kong-jo in order to suppress the terrestrial foes of Tibet, the erection of various Buddhist emblems and sanctuaries, but, as said, also the extensive and on-going (re-)building of dikes. In the words of one of Srong-btsan sgam-po's future prophecies concerning the temple addressed to his descendants and to posterity in general, it is specifically said that central to the survival of the holy lHa-sa *sanctum* was its preservation, the responsibility of future generations entailed the building of embankment on the outside and the renovation of its statues inside the temple (*phyi'i rags dang nang gi zhig gsos*).

The struggle between natural chaos and mankind's attempt to counteract or redress this imbalance is also prevalent in Tibet. The history of mankind is replete with stories of the clash between man and nature, between man-made constructions of settlements, cities and edifices and the unpredictable forces of nature. A fight with no clear winners, and far more often than not nature had the upper hand. Flooding and deluge (or to use here the original Latin term *diluvium*; although this term today carries another specific geological meaning), just like drought, being deemed one of the curses of civilization, also in Tibet, home to a majestic and gigantic nature, the unbridled destructive forces of nature along Tibet's numerous water-ways usually were devastating. Leaving aside for a moment the ideologically conceived and ritually embedded rationale or logic behind this story, the more dire background must here be addressed. Throughout its entire inhabited history, the core part of lHa-sa (and in fact large stretches of shallow land along the sKyid-chu river) were visited well-nigh annually by a similar scenario: Especially during the seventh to the ninth month with its occasional torrents of seasonal monsoon precipitation, the area would witness a *Sintflut* (*shva 'od*)-like flooding overflowing from the monsoon-fed sKyid-chu river which encroached on large parts of the inhabited lHa-sa township. The sKyid-chu river and the physiography of lHa-sa both to the west and to the east display a so-called braided river system that had been deeply embedded and carved into quaternary sediment (dating from the last Ice Age). Like any other "overgrown" and alluvial fan river-system, when excessive precipitation (*drag char*) occurs, it inevitably floods and this usually in an uncontrollable way so that especially erratic monsoon would drench swathes

[108] Another tradition links this text to Gu-ru Chos-dbang (1212–1270/73 A.D.), himself considered a prominent earthy manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, who underneath this statue unearthed the deplorably non-extant *bSam yas lha sa rags pa'i bka' chems* (but see fn. 145 below) along with other relevant Mahākāruṇikā cult texts (such as the important *Gab pa mngon 'byung* cycle) of obvious rDzogs-chen creed or provenance, which had been kept in a rhinoceros-hide box; cf. *Gu ru Chos dbang rnam thar* 14a6–b1 = 27.6–28.1. For Chos-dbang and his ambitious agenda for disseminating the divinity cult, see Phillips 2004. In the same temple in lHo-brag, bZhod-ston and Nyang-ral discovered other texts, cf. Blondeau 1984: 90–107. The same or a similar treasury text was discovered and transmitted by Zhig-po gling-pa; see below.

of land in the surrounding areas. To some extent, however, such flooding processes were and are quite normal. Adding to this scenario, historically speaking erosion and landslides contributed to denude the protecting soil cover in the montane area and terrain, common phenomena too that occasionally had been the result of prior tectonic activities. In other areas, the massive volumes of mud and gravel contributed to dam up the river and tributaries.

The Tibetan Plateau – usually characterized as a semi-arid temperate monsoon climate positioned in subtropical latitudes – makes out the largest part of the highest mass elevation on earth (average *ca*. 4.500 m a.s.l.). On account of the monsoonal regime, the positive thermal anomaly prevailing there and the vertical circulation of air masses carry abundant vapour from the Indian Continent during summer, where the air drawn onto the plateau not least through its many trans-section valleys leads to considerable south-west (i.e. Indian summer monsoon) and south-east (i.e. East Asian monsoon) disturbances with irregular and massive precipitations.[109] The narrower lHa-sa valley floor along both sides of the heavily degraded sKyid-chu river and catchment that stretches from Chu-shur in the south-west up until Mal-gro in the north-east is situated at an average altitude of about 3,500 m a.s.l., whereas its northern tributary valleys reach up until about 5,900 m a.s.l. Statistics show a rainfall or precipitable water in the region with an annual 450mm, of which, however, over 90% falls precisely in the monsoon period between May-September. In addition to the melting of glacier water from the northern valleys and its tributaries, the amount of water usually causes great havoc. It often took a heavy toll on mankind, land and property. The physical problems were aggravated by progressive erosion and desertification since the widely braided sKyid-chu river constantly changes its course. It often encroached on the fields along the usually narrow valley floors with extensive cultivation, with arable land, polders, clad with paddy fields and terraces – the mainstay of agriculture – situated between the riverbed and the hillside and silted it up with riverine sediments. The narrow hillside above the inhabited stretch of land between these and the river often were deeply gullied because of a raised riverbed when the occasional rainstorms carry floodwater laden with debris and deposits, sand and silt.

The Tibetan highlands are now widely treelees with alpine desert, alpine steppe and pastures and semi-desertic shrubland. The strength of the regional and seasonally changing winds are bringing about topoclimatic modifications (in an area marked by strong spring and winter drought) in the valley and the burden of sand from the river-bed which they expose can be inferred from the sand dunes and bars which are usually banked up high against many hillsides. When flooding was on the rise the entire valley often was flooded throughout its entire width. It meant a progressive loss of cultivable area (only possible on upslope terraces) and of soil fertility due to degradation in the surrounding hills (Liu Yanhua 1988; Thomas and Shenbin 2002; and Osmaston in G. Clarke ed. 1998: 123, 130–31, 141). The lHa-sa basin area and wetlands had evidently been almost entirely deforested since ancient times. Formerly, no doubt, various juniper species (*juniperus tibetanus* and *juniperus convallium*) were endemic to most districts of Central Tibet and woodland abounded.[110] Of note, the sKyid-shod area holds a large number of sites with the element -lcang or

[109] Cf. Murakami 1987. The aberrations in form of the too-little-too-much water syndrome in fact is a common feature of semi-arid and desert climate; cf. K.S. Valdiya, *Dynamic Himalaya* (Orient Longman, Hyderabad 1998) 22. The Tibet-Himalaya orogenesis, i.e. the birth of the Roof of the World plateau may be due to a longish interaction: the collusion of the Indian with Eurasian tectonic plates and the occurrence of monsoon; cf. Hodges 1998, 2001.

[110] A turf profile taken for pollen analysis in the lHa-sa swamps in 1994 seems to indicate that the main deforestation may be quite old in the lHa-sa basinland. The decrease may have started with the foundation of the first large recorded

"willow groves" and -sbyar or "poplar-groves" in their name suggesting the prevalence of larger and scattered willow and poplar groves, artificially cultivated, in a number of places. Along the richly braided or alluvial sKyid-chu river – which annually was ice-free, never particularly deep and its nearest flat riverbed land hence seasonally under water – wetlands were distributed and the changing river and not least the floods formed lakes and marches in between sand bars. Recently, it was only through concerted human activity that such areas were reclaimed as cultivated land and as residential settlement area. The major – in fact the most permanent – problem with seasonal flooding for the local agricultural population (mainly producing barley and wheat) was and is the temporal shift between the vegetative period often characterized by evaporation and climatic drought and the period of precipitation during summer monsoon. However, agriculture being rain-dependent, improved irrigation technique therefore was permanently required.

As the monsoon period was setting in, the alarm "lHa-sa under water!" surely resounded through the tracts with distressing regularity, in fact with such frequency that the inhabitants of the central sKyid-chu and lHa-sa area gradually must have generated quite hydrophobic sentiments. Water was considered a mixed blessing, a godsend boon or blessing as much as a curse. The many-headed "hydras" of inundation kept causing havoc and was a perennial source of anguish. The trials and tribulations visiting the local population and the mortal harvest from such insurgencies was occasionally aggrevated by its antithesis, the drought – recurring with similar frequency and required the incessant execution of ablution rituals – which destroyed the harvest and produced famine (*mu ge*), equally craving a high death toll, in fact only surpassed by the regular occurrence of plague or the outbreak of epidemics, not least unpredictable bouts of small-pox (*sku 'brum*) – the human vector remained the one stable denominator in paring down the population down through history. For lHa-sa, water nevertheless would continue to remain the single main foe and more than once, it was the dramatic and unpredictable shift between emergencies of drought and flood that caused much havoc and distress.[111] Numerous times the entire vulnerable central urban part of

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settlement in the 7th cent. but may also reach as far back as Neolitic times. Today, zero juniper pollen. Cf. Schlütz 1999: 91–96; Miehe and Zhang 2000: 242–43. Whatever may have survived of juniper forests or virgin relic forests in the areas up until the 1970's were generally eliminated in the ensuing years, when for example the sTod-lung valley up until Yangs-pa-can but also other areas of sKyid-shod was a major resource of firewood. Cf. Clarke 1997: 20. The need for wood and the need for restituting the forests in Tibet were early on the political agenda of local rulers, so in the 14th century, cf. e.g. *Rlangs* 372. The 9th Tshal ruler sMon-lam rdo-rje in the same century cultivated – doubtlessly also in an attempt to erect a retentive soaking wall or barrier against the ever-occurring flooding – the plantation of willow groves throughout the sKyid-shod and g.Yor-po districts under his jurisdiction; cf. *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 23a4. These textual witnesses suggest that reforestation measures were prevalent throughout the different regional polities and supported by their rulers.

The attempts proved successful, from the 14th cent. onwards, lHa-sa was "green," in a belt of lush wooden groves (*ljon shing bzang pos 'khor*; e.g. *DL2*).

[111] The dilemma that often faced lHa-sa (and surely also other sites in Tibet along its battered waterways), with climatic aberration and with the shift vagaries of nature – i.e. hydrological extremes emblematic of the lHa-sa climate – between too little and too much precipitation, may be illustrated by the events in 1809 and again 1810 A.D. during the early years of the 9th Dalai Lama (about whom it is said that he, incidentally, had special bonds to Bla-ma Zhang, little wonder when we recall that the latter was considered a manifestation of the former; cf. *DL9* [A] 37a1–3, [B] 643.18–20, 661.8–10, 667.1–5). In the fifth month of that year rain had been absent for a long time and not least the farmers, as so often the case, were suffering badly from its dearth. The High Hierarch found the sufferings unbearable and prophesied that the following day it would pour down the whole night which indeed also happened. The two ambans were profoundly grateful, it is reported, for this true wonder and expressed their gratitude. However, the precipitation, once setting in, now would not stop (probably because, as usually was the case, the dried-out soil was incapable of containing

lHa-sa including its holy *sanctum*, itself raised on marshy land, submerged in water (see below) and were only passable in coracles. The nuclear township's and mainly the Jo-bo shrine's bare survival ensured that preventive precautions remained a stable component on the ritual and later the political agenda for local rulers and religious teachers alike, and eventually compelled them to join hands in fighting the catastrophe.

The history of lHa-sa *is* the history of water, the site and the element being inextricably or rather fatally interlinked with one another, because this life-giving and life-destroying element both defined and shaped its history. Significantly yet paradoxically, it had been the fresh-water reservior waters of sKyid-chu that had allowed the rise of riparian settlements and communities along its banks, and the waterways in Tibet as elsewhere often became the lifevein of society. Conversely, it was water and not least its destructive forces that decisively kept a curb on the development of the site into a larger urban center. The phenomenon water surfaces in innumerable ways in the relevant literature, right from the concept that the original lHa-sa landscape was shaped in connection with the now celebrated cultic story of the erection of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang upon a drained lake that concealed the subterranean realm of the *nāga*s (*klu yul*), a myth to a certain part modelled upon foreign concepts. In connection with the envisaged perpetuation of the site in the wake of its erection, during four different flooding incidents visiting the surrounding lHa-sa landscape – or "floodscape" – the area was in its configurative lay of the land depicted to undergo gradual "aquatic" stages (so vividly delineated e.g. in *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*) in its terrestrial transformation. The flood caused havoc with the resultant braided or meander-rich and alluvium-shaped delta and shallow basinland of lHa-sa was prophetically seen to resemble, by analogy, different configurative forms such as a pisciform or ichthyoid (*nya 'dra*) shape, over a batrachoid to a simiad shape.[112] These topographical configurations vividly reflect the ever-changing forms that the lHa-sa basinland no doubt took down through history. Flooding as natural phenomenon, as we shall see, was to remain a continuously unfolding drama of quite epic dimensions.

2.3 Royal Legacies:
The Avalokiteśvara Cult and the Invention of Ancestral and Spiritual Genealogies

It is here meaningful to briefly return to the fundamental questions pertinent to the religious milieu in which both the *sūtra*-exoteric and the *tantra*-esoteric corpora of cycles and teachings behind these origin tales were born and forcefully transmitted: The myths and stories that traditionally and

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the huge amount of rain), and before long sKyid-chu expanded beyond all former bounds. It was feared that the lHa-sa *sanctum* could be damaged by water, and the ambans dared not remain in their residence (i.e. their Yamen located close to sKyid-chu) and sought shelter in Potala. Again, it was the High Hierarch who intervened, assuring them that no harm was threatening the lHa-sa *sanctum*, and before long the water indeed abated. Again the ambans won undivided faith in the wisdom and foresightedness of the young Dalai Lama; cf. *DL9* [A] 101a6, 110b4–11b2 [B] 683.28–685.5.

An almost identical intervention by the 10th Dalai Lama is reported for the fifth month of 1824 when the same scenario was staged in lHa-sa with an overflowing sKyid-chu and with the populace perplexed what to do out of hydrophobic fears (*chus 'jigs pas nyen pas ci bya gtol med kyi gnas su gyur*). Again, the High Hierarch's assurance that no perils were threatening lHa-sa (i.e. Ra-sa), alongside the enactment of appropriate rituals to the protective deities and to *Triratna* eventually brought the water to recede; cf. *DL10* 155.15–156.1. In both cases, incidentally, the Dalai Lamas were in their minority.

[112] Aside from the last animal, the other were all aquatic animals known from pre-Buddhist mythologic schemes in Tibet, wherefore we shall argue that the ape was confounded for a gecko.

ideally were ascribed to the founding king Srong-btsan sgam-po and his main sanctuary in lHa-sa, in other words the latter's legendary Vita narratives which were to become part and parcel of the crucial transmission of the Great Compassionate One and its paramount cult in Tibet, or more precisely of its underlying ideology and its popularization as a national icon, the all-dominant Patron Deity and Saint of Tibet. It was in the pioneering and vibrant milieu around the increasingly numerous bKa'-gdams-pa seats, established and associated with its main founding figures, the spiritual patriarchs Atiśa and 'Brom-ston that the tales surrounding the origin of the sanctuary evidently should be primarily embedded. It was in the early post-imperial part of the Renaissance Period, that a significant part of the transmission of their influential core teachings and cycles was disseminated by the latter and their circles of disciples.

It is commonly argued that two major sets of "testamentary" materials – compositionally consisting of a motley blend of devotional, esoteric, and narrative-biographical components, namely the two fundamental sources at our disposal, the 11th-century *bKa' chems Ka khol ma* and the 12th-century *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* (cf. CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 147–48) – constituted the popular [re]sources for the dissemination and gradual evolution of the divinity cult into a national deity saint and with them correlative topics were addressed such as the theogonic and cosmogonic associations of the founding king. Before we enter a brief discussion on this testamentary literature dedicated to the founding king of the Tibetan empire and its narrative and mythic legends, it is important to look at another instructive corpora of literary sources, equally important for our understanding of the genesis, development and propagation of the cult in Tibet: The seminal *bKa' gdams glegs bam* anthology, an early 14th century compilation, which equally consists of an anthologization of teachings, narrative dialogues and an amalgam of biographical materials, most of which with oral roots in the late 11th and early 12th-century bKa'-gdams-pa circles. The literary corpus had been transmitted and eventually collected, first at sTabs-ka monastery in Mal-gro, but eventually received its final compilation or editorial format in about 1302 at sNar-thang, the mother seat for the subsequent spread of its teaching and associated authoritative curricula.[113] Reading the anthology more closely, it is obvious that the post-imperial beginnings of the Avalokiteśvara cult (notwithstanding that its roots and cultic impetus well may go back to a late imperial era milieu in the 9th cent.), as well as its meditational techniques focussing on this deity, was deeply linked to Atiśa and the incipient bKa'-gdams-pa milieu.

It was the portrayal of the Indian patriarch and, relevant in this connection, not least the depiction of his principal student, the Tibetan-born 'Brom-ston who in this anthology was limned not only as a genuine embodiment of Avalokiteśvara but also as the unique promoter *par excellence* of its cult. It is in fact the "ultimate deification" of the latter which the anthology is all about: The Tibetan patriarch being depicted as a cultural hero and as a divine soul – a worthy inheritor and legitimate successor of Atiśa – staged to embody in his person the entire legacy of Buddhism as it was transmitted through Atiśa from India to Tibet. The anthology's literary corpus thus can be seen as a specific literary reworked attempt at instantiating an envisaged indigenization

[113] The 'Brom clan, ruling lords *inter alia* in the Klung-shod area, wielded great political and spiritual power, not least at sTabs-ka monastery. 'Brom gZhon-nu blo-gros (b. 1271) proved instrumental, from 1285 A.D., in compiling most of the teaching legacy of the 'Brom patriarch, not least the pivotal *Glegs bam rin po che*; cf. *bKa' gdams chos 'byung I* [B] 528f. See the pertinent discussion and analysis in A. Sims Miller 2004, drawing in part on Ehrhard 2002.

For the Avalokiteśvara cult in the 10th century on the threshold of the Renaissance Period, see Van Schaik 2006.

of Buddhism on[to] Tibetan soil. Perusing the anthology's entire second volume *Bu chos* or "Son Teachings" of 'Brom-ston (in contrast to and in direct continuation of the first volume that contains the biographical *Pha chos* or the "Father Teachings" of Atiśa), which contains twenty pre-existences stories of 'Brom-ston – clearly all early 12th-cent. Tibetan fabrications or ill-veiled adaptations modelled upon the authoritative Indian *jātaka* genre – the many didactic stories invariably, forcefully and resourcefully equipped the Tibetan bKa'-gdams-pa patriarch with a princely or royal background. Depicted as an Indian prince or king in a multitude of former existences, his perceived Indian royal roots and pedigrees are linked with a Tibetan ditto, thereby ensuring Tibet's continuous spiritual and royal interlinkage with India. Signally, the anthology repeatedly purports that it was 'Brom-ston, in his pre-existential garbs as Indian prince, who willingly and purposefully promised to manifest himself in due course as king of Tibet with the aim, as an embodiment of Avalokiteśvara, to disseminate Buddhism in Tibet and thereby to safeguard land and people. To this end, the legendary rebirth stories thus tell the tale how he re-embodied himself – whether staged as a national mission or as if governed by fate – as the founding monarch of Tibet, namely as Srong-btsan sgam-po. It continues to recount how he in due course and most opportunely embodied a row of other renowned imperial-era *dharmarāja* of Tibet. The need in leading bKa'-gdams-pa circles to legitimize the patriarch on a grand scale clearly was imperative. The tenor of the anthology is amply suffused with the "royalization" or "royal legitimation" of 'Brom-ston's very person, depicted as a worthy inheritor of the founding monarch. The strategy was crowned with success when the mythic legacy and legitimation of the Tibetan patriarch was adopted by the Potala court in the 17th century.





9a, ***b***. *Atiśa (9a) and 'Brom-ston rGyal ba'i 'byung-gnas*
Details of murals in the Maṇi lha-khang of Ba-lam in Upper sKyid-shod. Photo: Ted Katsargiris 2001

bKa' chems Ka khol ma

gTer ma. Discovery-cum-compilation in its core form *ca*. 1050 A.D. on the instigation or agency of Atiśa and within bKa'-gdams-pa circles (i.e. *jo bo rje'i gter ma Ka khol ma*)
Contents: Mythic hagiography ascribed to King Srong-btsan sgam-po. Bereft of esoteric material. Cosmogony based upon adaptation of Indic-Buddhist systems.

Flood protection and dike building for the lHa-sa *sanctum* endorsed:

Transmission holders: bKa'-gdams-pa circles

chos sku: sNang-ba mtha'-yas / Amitābha
↓
longs spyod sku: sPyan-ras-gzigs / Avalokiteśvara
↓
sprul sku: Srong-btsan sgam-po / Gu-ru Rin-po-che
↓
Jo-bo-rje Atiśa (982–1054) [*cum* 'Brom-ston?]
↓
Bang-ston Shes-rab rin-chen (~ Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan)
↓
sTod-lungs-pa Rin-chen snying-po (1032–1116)
↓
spyan snga ba Tshul-khrims-'bar (1038–1103)
↓
sNe'u-zur-pa Ye-shes-'bar (1042–1118)
↓
'Bri-gung-pa [*sic* = lHa 'Bri-sgang-pa]
↓ (*ca*. 1100–1190)
rGya-ma-pa [*alias*? dBon-ston Rin-po-che]
↓ (1138–1210)
Rva-sgreng-pa
↓
dKon-mchog bzang-po
↓
rDo-rje tshul-khrims [*alias* Gu-ru-ba?]
(1154–1221)
↓
[Anonymous Compiler]

rGyal po'i bka' 'bum / Maṇi bka' 'bum

gTer ma. Discovery-cum-compilation *ca*. 1175 A.D. by a triumvirate of rNying-ma-pa treasure-finders.
Contents: Mythic hagiography and Avalokiteśvara-related teaching materials ascribed to King Srong-btsan sgam-po. Three corpora: *sūtra*, *sādhana* and *upadeśa*. The teaching material strongly doctrinal and esoteric. The cosmogony exclusively Tibetan in origin. Flood protection and dike building for the lHa-sa *sanctum chu bzlog* rituals and precepts endorsed, transmitted and in part actively executed by the textual lineage-holders below.
Transmission-holders: rNying-ma-pa/rDzogs-chen circles
↓
chos sku: sNang-ba mtha'-yas / Amitābha
↓
longs spyod sku: Avalokiteśvara
↓
sprul sku: Srong-btsan sgam-po/ Gu-ru Rin-po-che
↓
Khri-srong lde'u-btsan
↓
Myang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1136–1204) *cum gter ston* Śākya bzang-po & *grub thob* dNgos-grub
↓
La-stod-pa Mi-bskyod rdo-rje
↓
rJe-btsun Śākya bzang-po
↓
lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum (*fl. ca.* 1183-1261?)
↓
lCam-mo Ye-shes-mchog
↓
grub thob Chu-sgom-pa
↓
mTha'-bzhi Bya-bral-ba (*fl. ca*. 1280–1310)
↓
mKhas-pa bSod-nams seng-ge
↓
Bla-ma bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan
↓
lHa-sa'i *chu rags pa* Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan
↓
Nor-bu bzang-po
↓
bSod-nams 'od-zer
↓
dPal-ldan bzang-po (1402–1473)
↓
Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan
↓
gNyug-la *chos rje* Ngag-dbang grags-pa (1458–
↓ 1515)
chos rje mKhas-pa'i dbang-po, etc.



***10**. Myang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer: Treasury King, visionary mystic and mastermind of the lHa-sa Preservation Project*
Photo: Oliver Hoare and Serindia Publications



***11**. Two late 12th-century trail-blazers in the transmission of an esoteric Avalokiteśvara Cult Revival in Tibet: Myang-ral and grub thob dNgos-grub*
Frontispieces

It is important to retain some measure of chronology before our eyes in assessing the development of the cult also in connection with the site: After the erection of the *sanctum* in the mid-7th century, we shall anticipate that centuries passed – in fact first well into the late 10th and, more likely, early 11th century, at some point in time in the wake of the long civil war as the *sanctum* was in ruin, the hapless victim of sheer endless conflicts, that again the question of the site's origin, its alleged founder and its history received renewed attention, in the first place, so much seems clear, through Atiśa and his circle of influential disciples. The compilation and the bKa'-gdams-pa-internal transmission of the *bKa' chems Ka khol ma* (see above) – in its core doubtless an 11th-cent. literary product – was an outcome of this endeavour.

A century later, in the latter part of the 12th century, other circles of actors for the promotion and ideological fixation of the Avalokiteśvara and Padmasambhava cult had entered the scene. On more than one score, the new esoteric actors obviously should borrow much of the strategies that had been successfully implemented by the bKa'-gdams-pa in disseminating and personalizing the Avalokiteśvara cult. It should include religious ascetics and spiritual masters who proved quite obsessed with the cult which they attempted to transmit or to embody; one may indeed speak about a sort of Guru-mania and fixation on Avalokiteśvara, often of quite personal or obsessive

dimensions, an obsession – almost on the verge of impersonation – that should grasp most of the followers and disciples of these pioneers too, not least the coming generations of Treasure-revealers, but also political and religious hierarchs such as leading 'Bri-gung-pa and Karma-pa hierarchs, and most notably crowned by the excentric Fifth Dalai Lama, who equally entertained an obsessive proclivity, spiritually, personally as much as politically for the triad Avalokiteśvara, Srong-btsan sgam-po and Padmasambhava. It was in the selfsame circles that a pronounced esoterization of the founding figures took form. The deeper incentive behind this 12th-cent. undertaking or agenda is still not entirely clear and readily told, but must be seen in connection with the spiritual and eventually literary legacy related to Guru Rinpoche, at a point when the mythical hagiographies surrounding his person were being compiled and transmitted for the first time, initially by the mid-12th-century pioneering lHa-btsun sngon-mo (himself of noble or royal-imperial birth; cf. TBH Sørensen 443) and by Myang-ral himself. Another fillip doubtless centered on the issue of ancestry for the emergent treasure-finders – i.e. the attempt to reconstruct an unbroken lineage purposefully invented for reasons of legitimation, spiritually and much as personally, etc.[114] The rNying-ma-pa felt themselves as rightful and orthodox upholders of doctrines, teaching cycles and legacies associated with Guru Rin-po-che and his celebrated, albeit historically shadowry, role in imperial Tibet. In this process, it in the first place was the rNying-ma-pa who strongly contributed to the popularization of the latter's cult in Tibet.

The 11–12th centuries had seen a period of great upheavels and changes in Tibet, when a new society slowly rose from the ashes of the imperial period and its chaotic and warring aftermath. Issues focussing on cultural values acquired new content or were redefined. In the religious sphere, competing lineages claimed to uniquely transmit and uphold the word and teaching of Buddha or they vied for pre-eminence and survival on the issue of validization of their transmitted teachings and cycles. Old, hermeneutically well-documented and authoritative teachings of indisputable Indian origin that usually were transmitted and blue-printed through an Indian *paṇḍit* and a Tibetan *lotsāva* now increasingly competed with teaching systems of more uncertain, dubious or even apocryphal origin, at least so dubbed by the latter purists. Verification of an Indian origin being the hallmark of authenticity, this yardstick was applied to almost all transmitted teachings, religious cycles and practises circulating in Tibet. Spiritual authority, just like political authority, had until then been transmitted in linear succession (within lineages of master and pupil and within clan families), but now increasingly gave preference to a new articulation of instantiating Buddhist identity and authority. A re-evaluation of the very nature of authenticity itself and the very access to authority was seriously to challenge old patterns. Innumerable esoteric, not least tantric but also exoteric cycles in the first two post-imperial centuries were brought to Tibet and translated into Tibetan. Disputes and ingrained polemics over this heated topic and over normative standards marred Tibetan discourses on authenticity and hermeneutics. Also the transmission of the Avalokiteśvara teachings emerged in the midst of this heated discourse. The Treasury-revealers, in order to tinge their cycles and teachings with the hue of authenticity, too had rooted their revelations or revealed teachings in the period of the Yar-lung dynasty, as if this glorious period by itself constituted a point of reference and a blue-print for legitimation and authenticity.

In accordance with the religious or mythic interpretation of the causes behind the flooding, the 11–12th-century genesis behind this origin myth and behind the concept and implementation of

[114] See e.g.TBH Sørensen, *passim*; Phillips 2004: 131f., 388f.

such ritual manuals and practical measures therefore appear to have initially been born in bKa'-gdams-pa circles before the transmission was expanded or further enriched by esoteric, but also folk-religious elements and transmissions handed down by leading members in rNying-ma and rDzogs-chen *gter ston* circles (see e.g. *Gu bkra chos 'byung*, *passim*), in the latter case in the milieu grouped around the central figure Myang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1136–1204 A.D.), Gu-ru Chos-dbang and their lineages. It should be noted that they too to a large extent drew upon the narrative and doctrinal matters contained and transmitted in the *Ka khol ma* cycle, as may be gathered from an appreciable number of thematic correspondences between the texts.

It nevertheless was in the assertive bKa'-gdams-pa milieu that the first documented or recorded post-imperial attempts were made to valorize a royal and political link between this milieu and the cult around Srong-btsan sgam-po. The one who invited Atiśa to lHa-sa and to Ra-sa *sanctum* (which eventually led to the famously celebrated discovery (*cum* compilation?) of three Srong-btsan sgam-po-centered testaments, not least the *Ka khol ma*) was a local ruler and a scion of the selfsame former founding monarch, in other words, a direct descendant of the old Yar-lung kings (here issuing from the line of Yum-brtan), namely Bodhirāja ("king" of bSam-yas in the mid-11th cent.) who clearly took a strong ancestral and personal interest in perpetuating the repute and cultural prestige linked to these historic places in Central Tibet – in other words to evoke memories of yore, and evidently to establish an ancestral genealogy that linked his person and lineage and the site directly to the king's lineage. It was Bodhirāja who – as a ruling "royal prelate" (*lha btsun*) similar to his remote relatives on the Gu-ge throne who combined or merged religious and political authority – in 1047 "by royal order" (*bka' lung*) had requested Atiśa to translate into Tibetan the *Pañcaskandha-prakaraṇa*, among other texts. The "command" or authority of a secular ruler would commonly remain weightier compared to any religious command. It cannot come as a surprise that almost all the initial holders of the *Ka khol ma* transmission after Atiśa stemmed from the bKa'-gdams-pa and the Indian master's milieu. Signally, within the same circles, an entire transmission line, i.e. that of the core precept line (*gdams ngag pa*) stemmed from a royal Yar-lung line, upheld by scions claiming descent from the former kings (the transmission line was appropriately called the *yar lung chos rgyal brgyud pa* or *jo bo brgyud pa*). They all were of royal descent (*lha*) – being remote scions of King Srong-btsan sgam-po and Khri-srong lde'u-btsan and clearly were both socially, politically and eventually spiritually committed to their imperial legacy. It was a line born from the teaching circles stemming from Atiśa (who incidentally was considered/considered himself a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, yet the former is generally considered the inspirator or mentor, rather than the actual inventor behind the *Ka khol ma* discovery) and bKa'-gdams-pa.[115] It

[115] For a discussion of prevailing rNying-ma elements (if indeed there are any, this is still not conclusively clarified) in *Ka khol ma*, see now also Davidson 2003: 77–78. The inclusion of topics like water-control and water-abating rites (*chu bzlog*) in order to ensure the perpetuation of the lHa-sa *sanctum* as part of the narrative tradition and the Avalokiteśvara-cult itself is quite old, and allegedly may go back to the late dynastic period, perhaps back to the period around Srong-btsan sgam-po). Its inclusion in the *Ka khol ma* narrative would suggest that the theme was part of the oldest stratum of the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang foundation-legend and the testamentary literature as contained in a possible *Urfassung* of the *Ka khol ma* text widely known and articulated in the mid-11th cent.; it nevertheless appears that the actual implementation, endorsement or spread of *chu bzlog* ritual manuals and precepts – as indicated in our text – prominently originated with Myang-ral roughly one hundred years later; yet the mentioning of such practical precepts in *Ka khol ma* itself, if anything, provides evidence of the interpolated nature of the *Ka khol ma* that was notoriously manipulated and redacted down through time when being copied from hand to hand. The three currently extant versions of this ancient *gter ma*

was a narrative and visionary tradition that in the 13th century was kept alive in sNar-thang. It may come as no surprise that the first printed version of *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* should be manufactured under the auspices of the Mang-yul Gung-thang royal house (remote yet proud scions of Yar-lung kings, as it is stipulated in the sources), no doubt for the same reason that motivated other direct scions of royal Yar-lungs house to share the unrivalled cultural and spiritual prestige wielded and dearly treasured by this legacy.

It is again worth reiterating to what extent the entire concept was embedded within or was conducive to the implementation of the overall Avalokiteśvara or Great Compassionate One cult, proportionally gaining significance with the dissemination of this cult. The implementation of such early set(s) of rituals – of which we deplorably know little in terms of their actual execution as well as in terms of its social implications – ultimately was considered to be merit-accumulating means of worshipping or rendering service to the deity and to the lHa-sa seat. Unclear in this initial phase is what kind of relation, if any, that prevailed between Myang-ral and his circle of companions and Bla-ma Zhang, the ruler of the lHa-sa site in the period in question. Aside from Myang-ral, it was his principal pupil and his own son, *chos rje* Nam-mkha'-dpal who, as we shall see, commonly is registered as the first dike-builder or *chu rags pa* (cf. e.g. *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 650.1–10, 976.13–14) in Tibet. It is not entirely clear whether Myang-ral and his line entertained any political ambitions for the site, aside from their well-founded and -documented ideological interest in its cultic history.

The overall cognitive project with the origin of the lake/ocean story of lHa-sa was conceived and formulated at some point in the 11th century. It drew its inspiration from older prevalent archaic materials related to deluge myths known in Tibet, but also was modelled upon foreign, similarly legendary materials (such as the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*), and involve questions as to how and why the site was born in a watery ambience, raised upon a dried-up lake, in tandem with the overall

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(? – this may also be queried, since the text lacks all the marks of a treasury-text except its status of being initially *gter ma*-wise "unearthed") all seem to date from a later period and thus invariably represent later interpolated versions.

The ancestral interests nourished among the disciple circles grouped around Atiśa would explain why the cult of the royal cosmogony and its testamentary-biographical tenor was transmitted in this milieu (cf. TBH Sørensen 14; Sørensen 1999: 179; CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 2000: 148). This crucial point is ignored by Davidson (2003, so also Davidson 2006). In discussing the origin of the *Ka khol ma*, he remarks (*op. cit.* 78–79) that the attempt to link one of the bKa'-gdams-pa transmitter sNe'u-zur-pa to the 'Bri-gung founder is uncompelling – true, but oversees that it, as remarked, evidently is a traditional scribal corruption for the bKa'-gdams-pa master lHa 'Bri-sgang-pa (pupil of sNe'u-zur-pa) who, signally and tellingly, too stemmed from the royal line of the former kings. In other words, he too was a remote royal scion, directly related by blood to Srong-btsan sgam-po. He too was harvesting cultural prestige from the ancestral capital invested in this descent. There are more than cogent reason to assume that the spiritual quest and ideological interest among these scions (whose families and noble houses often provided affluent patronage to the self-same bKa'-gdams-pa settlements and thus contributed greatly to bKa'-gdams-pa's undeniable proselytic success and political power in these early post-imperial centuries) attached to leading bKa'-gdams-pa circles but here merged with personal ancestral interest. It cannot wonder therefore that also the next *Ka khol ma* transmission-holder, namely rGya-ma-pa (= rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang-pa *alias* dBon-ston rin-po-che himself boasted ancestral roots or pedigree, namely stemming from the old dGyer clan which was intimately linked to Srong-btsan sgam-po and himself served as teacher to scions of the royal Jo-bo line; see TBH Sørensen 475–77; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: Introduction), born in the rGya-ma area of Mal-gro, the birthplace of Srong-btsan sgam-po.

The unique combination of spiritual genealogy working hand in glove with personal ancestral quests is documented in numerous cases among clan-based masters such as Chag, Mar-pa, gNyos, Shud-pu, rGya, Rva etc.

configuration of the surrounding territory, etc. and it may in part have been prompted by the necessity felt at that point to provide a viable aetiological explanation of the rationale behind the regularly occurring deluge scenario that wreaked havoc on land and people. In other words, it shall here be contended that a large part of the origin myth and the accompanying water stories surrounding the central shrine was re[tro]actively invented and developed in this sacred environmental setting and can only credibly be assessed on this particular background. The incentive spurring those individuals who actively invented, circulated or transmitted the mythically embedded precepts including the deluge scenario thus was a basic need to provide a viable and plausible account of the recurring watery disasters that kept on haunting lHa-sa, as well as a convincing account for the need of its remedial-preventative strategies. In the end, such stories and narratives catered for the basic needs of local rulers and communities in handling catastrophes. It may be concluded that whereas the impetus, rather than the formative beginnings of the origins of the cult and legacy behind the lHa-sa shrine was born in bKa'-gdams-pa circles, the credit for the widespread popularization and for the practical engineering of protective means in safeguarding the lHa-sa site must be ascribed to the inventive rNying-ma-pa.

2.4 Taming the Nāga:
The Construction of the lHa-sa Embankment or Water Dikes (*chu rags*)

When we now turn our attention to the crucial issue concerning the practical protection of the site, we soon trace some vague references to early attempts to counter natural disasters allegedly initiated during the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po and to avert nature's tyranny. To him is ascribed, although historically still undocumented, a *sa khung*, "earth pit" or "earth cave" evidently considered a recluse site, dug into the ground in the upper part of the sKyid-chu bank of lHa-sa purportedly in order to "avert flooding from sKyid-chu." Assuming it was dug out after the initial erection of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, it must be regarded as the earliest recorded attempt to safeguard the sacred environment surrounding the *sanctum*, yet it may also be a later fabrication. Much later, as the shore line of sKyid-chu altered, the site accomodated a small nunnery, renamed [bTsun-dgon] mTshams-khung or "the Recluse-Pit [Nunnery]."[116] Beyond this, reliable references from this early

[116] This hermitage-pit (or "earth pit," *sa phug*) (see Fig. 12) once was situated along the bank of sKyid-chu, now after its territorial reclamation, it is part of the south-east Rab-gsal Gling-skor district of Bar-skor (see e.g. Larsen 2000: 88). The cave-pit itself is a 7th-century installation (rather than assuming that it might stem from the 12th cent. if not actually set up during the time of Ku-cor). In former times, to the east of the mTshams-khung seat, the so-called Rab-gsal [? > Rags-ze or Dike Point] bTsan-khang of the Lower Dikes and to the west the so-called Rags-rgyab Dur-khrod (both also called Rags-kha stod/smad; cf. Chab-spel 1982; Chos-'phel 2004c: 32–33; *Lhasa Interviews* 2 (reprint Tsering Gyalbo 2005: 421) calls it 'O-pa-gling) cemetery were located.

It is reported that before 1959, one still could come across some Butterfly (i.e. the species *Buddleias;* Tib. *sbar len*) bushes, remnants of a once-deserted dike barrier. Today, due to the circumstance that the ground level of the surrounding area had risen considerably, the old banks have been reclaimed and become part of the Gling-skor lho-lam urban area. Formerly, the pit-cave site once accomodated a cubit-large statue of the monarch, known as Nga-'dra-ma or "My Resemblance" (lost in the 1960's?; now replaced by another modern statue of the king, cf. Fig. 12), set up as a substitute for the absent monarch to ensure his continous protective presence.

Ku-cor *rtogs ldan* (1386–1445 A.D.), a pupil of bTsong-kha-pa, erected a small temple which eventually turned into a nunnery (*btsun dgon, a ni*). For this story and other anecdotes behind its erection, see Byams-pa dbang-mo 1986; Bya-rigs-pa 2003. Ku-cor allegedly also received 'Bri-gung teaching cycles; cf. *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 395.

At the beginning of the 20th cent., Pha-bong-kha bDe-chen snying-po, and the 90th dGa'-ldan throne-holder along

period are otherwise paltry. Aside from such activities – historically shadowy since his status as a Buddhist monarch largely appears to be a later construct – ascribed to the founding figure of the Tibetan dynasty, we are inadequately equipped with information as to any concrete measure taken in the dynastic period in the narrow lHa-sa area to protect against flooding that mercilessly visited the area at regular intervals. It must be reiterated that up until at least the 14th century, lHa-sa barely comprised of more than the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and the Ra-mo-che *vihāra* (with the bZhi-sde and the adjacent rMe-ru sites), its "sister" temple as well as a few hamlets around the central edifices. In other words, there was no barrier in the form of protecting houses or walls between the two vulnerable temples and the shore-line of sKyid-chu with its many ever-shifting meanders.





***13**. Ku-cor rtogs-ldan. Founder of the 15th cent. mTshams-khung-dgon seat and a noted chu rags pa*
Modern Statue kept in mTshams-khung
Photo: PKS 2005



***12a**, **b**. The Srong-btsan sgam-po cave erected upon the 7th century subterranean retreat cave (sa khung, mtshams khung) in lHa-sa ascribed to the king. Today located in a Ani-dgon-pa erected upon the site. The first recorded attempt to control the waters of sKyid-chu*
Photos: PKS 2005

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with others restored the site (a statue of the former commemorating his service is kept there today). Before 1959, it accommodated *ca*. 127 nuns, but recently these figures have been reduced dramatically. The site's protrectress is dPal-ldan lha-mo or Dur-khrod lha-mo. Cf. A. Alexander 2005: Chap. 7; *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 18–21.

Following the hectic phase with the domination of the gNyos clan and their brief rule in lHa-sa, the ensuing peace-settlement among the four communities in the area, the renovation of the site etc., it appears that the lHa-sa sde-bzhi mediator and Jo-khang renovator himself, i.e. Dvags-po sgom-tshul, was the first (post-dynastic) dike builder in lHa-sa (or the first known from the sources). One source (*sGam po khri rabs* 24a6f.) briefly notes that he erected a (lHa-sa) *chu rags* construction called *chu rags dkar po nyi shar*, an event registered for the year 1169 A.D. The chronologcally next *chu rags pa* recorded in the sources was *'gro mgon* Nam-mkha'-dpal[117] (*ca.* 1181/2–1244 A.D.), the entrepreneurial master in the footsteps of his famous father Myang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer,[118] who is reported to have initiated the construction of water dikes against the recurring floods on a more systematic scale and certainly in a spectacular way, evidently for the first time in the late 12th century in order to control the hydra-like *nāga* inhabiting the site.

At that point lHa-sa was, however, firmly under Zhang's formal jurisdiction. It is thus all the more surprising to find no mention of Bla-ma Zhang in his biography. If for no other reason, it may suggest to us a prevailing loose hegemonic structure in the implementation of larger ritual projects in the lHa-sa area, where the lHa-sa sde-bzhi communities still played a major, perhaps a decisive role. In the biography of Nam-mkha'-dpal called *Yid bzhin nor bu'i phreng ba* or *Rosary of Wish-granting Jewels*,[119] we are informed that he too was considered, in retrospect, a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara and of Padma dBang-chen (i.e. Guru Rinpoche). The assumed or borrowed identities of his, we shall see, proved vital for the outcome of his endeavours. It is reported that he initially had a vision of this deity in which he was prophesied to protect Ra-sa from any watery menace by building dikes (*rnam thar* A: 6a1–10a4; B: 6a1–10b6). Set on his divine mission, the story

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[117] Son of Myang-ral and his wife Jo-'bum-ma. According to his biography (*Nam mkha' dpal rnam thar* [Text A] 2b1, 4a4, 33a1–2, 34a3–4; [Text B] 2b2–3, 4a6, partial also cited in sMra-bo-lcog 1994: 29f.; *Myang ral rnam thar* 136.7–143.7) the dates of Nam-mkha'-dpal in his biography are somewhat contradictory: born in a *spre'u* year (1164, 1176, 1188 A.D.?) would not seem to dovetail seamlessly with the information that he was twenty-three when the father died (1192 or better 1204 A.D.); age 56 or 63 (*sic*) *drug cu phyed dang drug*, *drug cu dang drug phyed*) in a *shing pho spre'u* or 1224? or 1245 (*recte*: *shing sbrul*), he passed away. If, on the other hand, we assume that the only reliable information is that he was twenty-three when his father died (1192 or, more likely, 1204), it would suggest that he was born 1170/1171 or 1182/3 and that he passed away 1232, resp. 1244 (Phillips 2004 suggests 1171–1237). In sum, as a preliminary working hypothesis, we therefore shall opt for 1181/2–1244 A.D. In his biography (10b4–5) a gNyos is referred to, arguably identical with lHa-nang-pa gZi-brjid-dpal (1164–1224); Nam-mkha'-dpal was alive and active when the Kashmiri Śākyaśrībhadra (1140's–1225) visited Tibet (*ab* 1204) and it is recorded that he erected sanctuaries and statues of his father; cf. Jackson 1996: 85; Phillips 2004: 147f. for a detailed discussion of Nam-mkha'-dpal. Anyway, although his dates are not conclusively clarified, his active *flourit* must be situated to the early 1200's. Nam-mkha'-dpal's skull is reported 1670 A.D. where it is listed as a consecratory object; cf. *DL5 II* 97a5.

The second son of Myang-ral was called Nam-mkha' 'od-zer (other sources speak of one La-stod-pa Mi-bskyod rdo-rje; but this refers to sMan-lung-pa, one of his favourite pupils).

Prior to the 12th century, similar activities in lHa-sa were attested to (e.g. in the chronologically unreliable *Rva lo rnam thar* 263), but such reports merely document the same tradition. Outside of lHa-sa, such as in Dol-mda' and other places embankments and dikes against the turbulent gTsang-po river are attested to; in Dol-mda', the disciple of Atiśa, A-myes Byang-chub assisted Jo-bo in erecting an embankment, possibly already in mid-11th century, later to be known as lHa-rje-rags; cf. e.g. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 684.15–17; *Deb sngon* (*BA* Roerich 256); Eimer 1979: 73a1–2 (*Yongs grags* 163).

[118] We have no documentation that Nyang-ral himself was involved in the physical construction of dikes in lHa-sa.

[119] The diction of the versified biography is slightly corrupt and archaic (anyway a diction bespeaking authenticity), both concerns the language and in question of the rendition of toponyms.

goes that Gung-thang gNyan-chen thang-lha[120] manifested himself in front of him, and requested him to render service to the two lHa-sa Jo-bo Brother Statues. This was followed by a dream in which he found himself in the presence of the deity who urged him not only to safeguard the lHa-sa site threatened by the waters of the [subterranean] ocean, but also to motivate the local *lha 'dre* – masters of the site and of the natural elements – to assist him in constructing the embankments. Tradition holds that Nam-mkha'-dpal and his team managed to bond-slave, i.e. to propitiate the local territorial lHa-srin spirits and then succeeded – most miraculously – in bringing large amounts of stones (see below) from Nyang-lung-yul and from dBu-stod to the bank of sKyi-chu.[121]

His biography – paraphrased below – vividly recounts his activities as a thaumaturge and how the process of erecting embankments consisted of two stages, first an abortive attempt followed by a more successful one (akin to the erection of 'Phrul-snang that had also followed through trial and error). The initial attempt was initiated by transporting to the river-bank stones (*rgyab rdo*, i.e. foundation stones) for the dikes by way of three hundred skin coracles,[122] whereupon the barricade walls were erected, being stuffed with various articles, and spanning two fathoms in diameter; this was followed by another wall made from sod (*la ma*), equally two fathoms in diameter. In between trunks two fathoms wide were set up, stuffed and solidified with pulverized stone-dust. Behind and between the sod-made walls, a massive mound of small pebbles (*gram gseg*) was made. The entire embankment finally measured eight fathoms [at the top] and over ten fathoms in diameter at the base (*kha zheng rmang zheng*) respectively. The embankment in fact was large enough to allow [on its top] eight horsemen to gallop upwards and downwards [in each direction at the same time] abreast.[123] At its most narrow place the dike or embankment measured "the range of an arrow-shot by an athlete." However, at one point when the dike-building was about to be continued – during the summer monsoon rains – so the biography recounts, the sKyid-chu river expanded again whereby the embankment was overflowed. However, through blessings, prayers and *gtor ma* offerings, Nam-mkha'-dpal succeeded in diverting the course of the water. Since however the season was growing late [i.e. no time was found to complete the dike], the remaining embankment ultimately was carried away by water.

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[120] gNyen-chen thang-lha is the leading territorial or telluric god of northern Central Tibet, who among others occupied a seat at sKyid-shod dMar-po-ri (also present in the protective mountains of the "lHa-sa Mandala") and at bSam-yas Has-po-ri; cf. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 89; *dBa' bzhed* 64, 66; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 205f. The god constitutes the central indigenous or ancestral protector god in the lHa-sa Maṇḍala. The somewhat unusual form Gung-thang gNyen-chen Thang-lha indeed shall allow us to speculate that the embankment was constructed after *bla ma* Zhang had his hegemony and polity of Tshal and Gung-thang, i.e. *post* 1187 and possibly after 1193, yet prior to the demise of Zhig-po bdud-rtsi (d. 1199) whom he allegedly met. Further, it would suggest that Gung-thang [gNyen-chen] thang-lha was thus named after the foundation of the Central Gung-thang Temple, and the protector deity became its key reference point and spiritual fulcrum.

[121] The same transportation of stone by lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum from the areas of Zhang (= Zhang-sdebs, east of lHa-sa), Nyang, Dvags and Mal-gro; cf. *DL5 IV* 112b2–113b2 (tr. Z. Ahmad 1999: 192).

[122] The stone quarry in the vicinity of lHa-sa was used to procure stones and other building materials; cf. *GT* 40b; Part I: fn. 522. For an illustration of the process of quarrying and transporting stones in coracles during the erection of Potala Palace in the 17th cent.; cf. the Potala murals reprod. in Lading ed. 2000: 109–115; Liu 1989: 190–191.

[123] The idea of eight horsemen may make out either a measurement or indeed may be a mythic phrase that alludes to the rTa-bdag brgyad retinue of rNam-thos-sras; this protector or *lokapāla* of the northern direction usually served as the model or prototype for the external protection of a center; cf. e.g. the founding myth of Khotan (Brough 1948).



***14**. 'Gro-mgon Nam-mkha'-dpal*
Statue kept in the sMra-bo-lcog Temple of lHo-kha

After this failure, the lHa-sa inhabitants again requested him the following year to erect an embankment to which he gave his consent. The biography reports how he subsequently went to 'Bri-gung with his retinue and where he met *chos rje* Rin-chen Zhig-po bdud-rtsi (*sic*), i.e. Rin-chen[-dpal = 'Jig-rten mgon-po (1143–1217*) and*] Zhig-po bdud-rtsi (1149–99 A.D.)[124] and subsequently Ras/Rin-chen tshogs (*sic*),[125] from whom he received teachings. Nam-mkha'-dpal made a second attempt to erect an embankment. The *chos rje* expressed his gratitude to Nam-mkha'-dpal [and to one Chos-stengs-pa = ? mGar Chos-sdings-pa gZhon-nu rdo-rje (1180–1240 A.D.), another key disciple of the 'Bri-gung founder] for the service rendered to lHa-sa hitherto. He requested for merit-dedication and transference for the part of the dike already erected and was asked to generate his mind towards the erection of the remaining part of the embankment. At that point, *mnga' bdag* requested to become a renunciate [in the presence of the 'Bri-gung-pa founder?]. Still, the ['Bri-gung] *chos rje* stated that becoming a monk was not necessary because of the great benefit already being done by him and instead [he remained a layman] and instead urged him to fulfil these commitments.

Following the winter season, he again arrived in lHa-sa and after a detour to sKar-chung gong-ma, he levelled the ground [along the embankment]. He subsequently conducted religious practices and delivered empowerment of Hayagrīva and Mahākāruṇikā. He subsequently went to the monastery of sTag-lung-thang, where *chos rje* Bla-ma (= sTag-lung thang-pa?) also was requested for merit-dedication for the part of the dike already erected and asked to generate his mind towards the erection of the remaining part of the embankment.[126]

On the way back to lHa-sa, he made extensive offerings to the Ṣaḍakṣarī.[127] In order to initiate the

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[124] We read here two names: The founding figure of 'Bri-gung *and Pha rgan* Zhig-po bdud-rtsi was regarded a pupil of the former; *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 92, 106.

If our assumption is correct, it would suggest a strong influence and involvement during this period of the 'Bri-gung-pa in the narrow lHa-sa area – clearly simultaneous with the Tshal-pa. Notable is the possible involvement of Chos-sding-pa of the mGar clan, an ascetic and associate of lHa-nang-pa (1164–1224 A.D.) of the gNyos clan (see above), both leading pupils of the 'Bri-gung founder. Cf. also App. I above.

[125] Both readings in his biography seem corrupt: Text B merely has Ras-chen Tshogs-pa (*sic*) of 'Bri-gung, a gathering of "Great Cotton-clad Ones or Retreants." If, however, Rin-chen [phun-?]tshogs (1509–1557 A.D.) is referred to, this anachronism would indicate that the biography of Nam-mkha'-dpal had been reworked in the 16th cent. at the earliest; this, however, is not likely. As we shall see in the ensuing section, the 'Bri-gung throne-holder 'Bri-gung Rin-chen phun-tshogs in fact was active in promoting the building of dikes and in participating in the flood control of lHa-sa.

[126] This would appear to indicate that Nam-mkha'-dpal thereby received political support from the sTag-lung and the 'Bri-gung rulers for his endeavour.

[127] This may refer to the specific form of Avalokiteśvara (cf. Willson and Brauen no. 102). A better reading however may be that it refers to the inscription of the six-syllable mantra at G[y]e-re Yar-'phrang, opposite dGa'-ldan, on the right



***15**. Wooden boats and skin coracles transporting stones and rafters along the sKyid-chu similar to Nam-mkha'-dpal's endeavour*
Photo: The building of Potala. Mural in the Bar-khyams Gallery of the Potala (Painted in sMan-thang style 1645–48)

construction of the embankment erected up to Yer-mda' towards the east, one So-ston[128] requested his helpers to beg for grass and firewood and [in the opposite direction?] in order to ensure that it reached until 'Bring and Dan-'bag (i.e. Dar-'bag; cf. Part I: fn. 574)[129] towards the west, they solicited donations and finally were capable of amassing immeasurable amounts of grass, wood, meat and butter, etc. Therewith they were able to fill a whole storehouse with barley-corn collected to serve as remuneration for the dike's erection. Touching the embankment [with his hands], a great merit [in the form of a miracle] happened: again, with the help of about three hundred skin coracles the supportive stones were transported, borne by the boats and brought in place along the bank, but this came to a halt when the stones were used. Nam-mkha'-dpal therefore went into retreat for three days, made supplications and prayers to his *bla ma* and *yi dam* and after three days a prophecy heralding the coming availability of stones occurred. The 12 *brtan ma* goddesses proffered a grand treasury in the form of stones: The Sha-med gangs-dkar[-ma], Kong-btsun De-mo;[130] gTam-lha with nine Brothers (*spun dgu*; *var. spun bdun*),[131] rGyal-mtshan (corrupt for 'O-lde gung-rgyal?) with three Brothers (*spun gsum*) and the *lha srin* of gNyan-chen thang-lha as well as those from Kong-po, Dvags-po, E and dMyal districts all gathered in a spectacular way both day and night to assist in the mammoth construction work. Binding the local *lha 'dre* by oath, the latter obeyed and the stones now arrived without hindrance onto the bank in an orderly manner just like a shepherd is capable with his slingshot (*'ur rdo*) "to chase and keep together a flock of sheep on a meadow."[132] The stone blocks were thus able to move all by themselves. Ordinary people,

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bank of the sKyid-chu, presently within 'Brom-stod district of sTag-rtse county (in 'Brom-stod, at 29°44'N 91°25'E). It was the mythic site where the celebrated six-syllable *mantra*-formula miraculously emerged on a rock during the rule of Srong-btsan sgam-po; cf. TBH Sørensen: 160, 163; *HSLG, op.cit.; lHa sa'i dgon tho* 107–08. It was considered King Srong-btsan sgam-po's *thugs gter*. Cf. also Part I, fn. 416.

[128] One So-ston (here possibly irrelevant) was a leading monk adhering to rGyal lHa-khang (in 'Phan-yul) in the first part of the 13th century. He died during the infamous Mongol attack in 1240 A.D.; cf. e.g. *Sog bzlog bgyis tshul lo rgyus* 217.5; *BA* Roerich 91.

[129] Dan-'phag = Dan-'bag. 'Bring refers to the 'Bring settlements in the area of the estuary of sTod-lung-chu such as Brang Ra-mo-che and dGa'-ba-gdong (the latter erected in the 1240's).

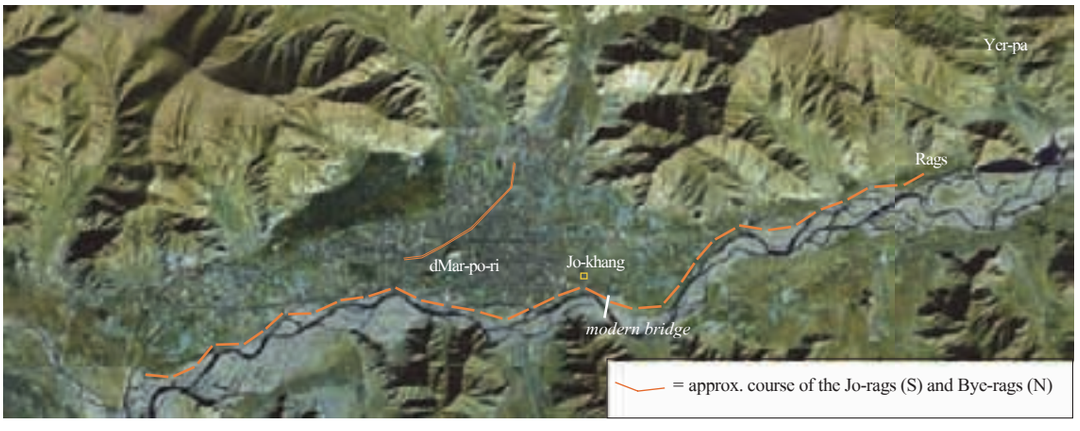
[130] Most of the names are corrupt. Two of the *brTan ma bcu gnyis*; cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 181f. It should be noted that the twelve br/sTan-ma are found in numerous contexts in the lHa-sa Valley (cf. App. IV below). Kong-btsun De-mo is similarly registered as a protrectress of the Gung-thang *vihāra*, alongside with 'Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma.

[131] Var. *spun bdun*. gTam-lha *spun dgu* refers to the representative god of [lHo-brag] gTam-shul and his retinue of acolytes, the ancestral site of the Myang clan. Incidentally, gTam-shul had been one of the six centres of the 10th century *kheng log* rebellion evidently in connection with the dynastic Myang clan. Cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 432.20.

[132] In other words to amass a heap of stones in one place. This concept found its way into the idiomatic and narrative

due to bad *karman*, were not able to see this true wonder. However, one shepherd vested with pure vision and busy herding his flock of sheep, proved able to see directly how the stones arrived all by themselves. Wondering whether it was a display of self-illusion, he kept on beholding the wonder. In fact, the shepherd saw how three yogis were capable of moving the stones [through sheer magic force]. Doubting whether it was a bad omen, [out of embarrassment and fear] he felt unable to tell others of his sight. He finally reported a part of the story to a female *dānapati*, who declared that the scenario showed an ascetic constructing water dikes in lHa-sa, an ascetic who was a manifestation of Padma dBang-chen. After this assurance his doubts vanished.

The stone blocks now arrived unhindered, so the biography recounts, due to magical faculties at the bank of sKyid-chu. Still, Nam-mkha'-dpal being motivated by his father Myang-ral – they may be regarded as the Li Bing and his son Er Lang of Tibet – urged his pupils and patrons to undergo hardship and launch their coracles. Like the former attempt, the stones were transported in place by the boats. A huge square boulder was then created that resembled a dice. It was so huge that no-one could move it. Nam-mkha'-dpal therefore entered into contemplation in order to generate magic force, whereby the huge stone arrived all by itself at the other end of the river. The fundament for the embankment thus was laid. With their hands and feet the mud was trampled evenly. Eventually the embankment was completed, and people gathered to request from Nam-mkha'-dpal teachings and precepts. His fame as thaumaturge spread in all directions. The dike in length(?) amounted to the distance of two arrow shoots and the height as much as a horseman could hold high his spear. In terms of its diameter, it was broad enough to allow eight horsemen to gallop up and down [simultaneously]. It remained a wonder how it had been raised. The embankment was foreseen to last for many years.



Map. 4. Reconstruction of the sKyid-chu Dike erected by Nam-mkha'-dpal in the late 12th century
Photo: Google Earth 2006

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language as an be documented in proverbs like "one hundred birds can be scared away with one single slingshot; one hundred sheep can be chased [i.e. kept] together by one [single] shepherd (*bya brgya 'ur rdo gcig gis 'drog* / *lug brgya lug rdzi gcig 'ded*); cf. Cüppers & Sørensen 1998, no. 6308. Sling-hurling shepherds also occur in oral narratives concerning the transportation of so-called "long stones" (*rdo ring*) from Zhal district (opposite Yer-mda'). Their faculty of hurling slings employed behind the strongly symbolic imagery of lifting up, transporting or moving large stone-blocks over long distances (such as from Zhang [= Zhal?], Nyang and Mal-gro) for the erection of dikes ultimately goes back to the fabled exploits, mirabilia or thaumaturgic activities ascribed to lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum (see below); cf. *DL5 IV* [= Ahmad 192]. Cf. somewhat differently, Gyurme Dorje 1991: 758.





***16a**, **b**. The photos display sections of the Bye-rags or Sand Dunes of lHa-sa in the northern section of lHa-sa, a naturally created embankment which ran from the spur of Mt. Glang-ri running south of Se-ra dgon-pa until it reached Brag-ri in the west*
Photo: H. Harrer, *Meine Tibet Bilder*

From this paraphrase, it is signal to note that Nam-mkha'-dpal too was repeatedly pleaded by the lHa-sa sde-bzhi or the four local Jo-khang custodian communities (= the entire lHa-sa population) to undertake the construction work. However, this reference shall lend the entire story some credibility, and suggest to us that it was constructed prior to or in the initial years of Zhang's local rule. A pertinent question arises: is the description of the dimension and the extent of the embankment realistic? The initial problem is that the above vague description as to its dimension does not allow us to properly assess the problem. The question is therefore not easy to answer. The long stretch of shallow and marshy land along the vulnerable northern bank of sKyid-chu river where dikes were to be erected, i.e. from Yer-mda' north of lHa-sa until well below Dan-'bag (see also Part I, fn. 574) south of lHa-sa roughly encompasses the river-land wherefrom the sKyid-chu flood occasionally mutated into a watery Hydra monster of inundation unleashing onto the inhabited lHa-sa township. Many toponyms in the narrow sKyid-shod area, along sKyid-chu riverland carry the hydronymic element *-rags* in their toponyms, evidence of the import of dike-building and urban settlement in this connection.[133] Assuming that the embankment or mound was raised along the entire stretch of land

[133] It remains a desideratum to survey the geographical and archival material of the entire area in order to write the history of flooding in Tibet in general. Cf. Zhou Wei 1990: 106–19. In our present essay, further dGa'-ldan *gzhung* material on flooding disasters (that usually were recorded in written dossiers known as *Chus khyer chag sgo deb*) could not be taken into consideration. Still, some of the data used by Zhou were taken from such comparative data on National Hazards publ. in 1987 (see *Rang 'byung gnod 'tshe* Vol. 1; another vol. on earth-quake was published 2003 in lHa-sa).



***17**. The Area of rKyang-thang-sgang and Dan-'bag below present-day 'Bras-spungs and gNas-chung due west of lHa-sa, common flooding and ponding areas when sKyid-chu overflowed or excessive rain fell*
Photo: Charles Bell 1920. Courtesy Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford)

– from Yer-mda' until at least Dan-'bag probably well over 20 kilometers – and deeming its breadth and size, it would overstretch credibility to assume that such a long wall could be raised, perhaps even section-wise. The full length along the long river-bank would appear to be quite implausible, whereas smaller sections are more credible, such as the distance of two arrow-shots. But shorter sections indeed may have offered less or no efficient protection against flooding. Notwithstanding this, it is altogether not infeasible that by joint efforts comprising a very large number of the local population over a long period it is possible to erect sections of a protective mounded wall, of whatever length and form. Other independent clues are provided by Rva-lo whose biography reports the consecration of water dikes in lHa-sa (*Rva lo rnam thar* 263), but it remains inconclusive when this was conducted by him since the chronology in the biography is notoriously unreliable and his activities may well reflect episodes to be situated in the 12th century.

In chronological order, the next prominent figure notably associated with water protection appears to have been an elder teacher and companion of Nam-mkha'-dpal, *chos rje* Zhig-po bdud-rtsi (1149–1199 A.D.),[134] who himself is reported to have repaired the banks four times. We do not, however,

[134] Also metathetical bDud-rtsi zhig-po; born in gZad as son of Sangs-rgyas Dvags-chung, the latter was invited by the patrons of gZad where he was offered several monasteries (lHa-gdong, 'Ug-skad, a.o.). Zhig-po had many pupils. He himself was a pupil of Bla-ma Zhang; cf. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 565.5; Cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 205.15–20; *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 280.17–283.15; bDud-'joms's *History* (*The Nyingma School* 653–58). See also *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1770–71, App. V, Table 5: fn. 11. Different stories prevail as to his passing: He passed away while repairing the stone-dikes a fourth time; another version states that he passed away in rGya-ra Gang/Gad-logs monastery of gSang-phu (his remains allegedly being carried by the water of sKyid-chu to the nearby Thang-skya monstery of gZad).



18. *Floods at lHa-sa*
Photo:
Henry Hayden 1904

have detailed reports about his embankment activities nor do we have any safe chronological frame. It is, however, usually reported that he later manifested himself as lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum, wherefore some of the activities ascribed to him are credited the next figure.

lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum,[135] the next and probably the most prominent dike-builder in this pioneering period, certainly belonged to the first consignment of *chu rags pa*. As an ascetic-*cum*-physician, he surfaces in a number of different contexts throughout the 12th century, but most probably was an early 13th-cent. ascetic. He was associated with the dissemination of the physical as well as the written legacy behind the Avalokiteśvara cult (himself considered a physical manifestation of the deity) such as the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* devoting himself, just like his mentor Myang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer, to extensive repair-works of the lHa-sa embankment. His flood control politics or water-abating programs and, behind this, his promotion of the paramount Cult of the Great Compassionate One and its foremost edifice in lHa-sa ensured that he was included in the official list of pre-existences

[135] It is deplorable that we so far cannot avail ourselves of a detailed biography or a testament of him. The chronological data concerning him seem somewhat contradictory, too. He (or a namesake) was registered as patron to lHa-rje sGam-po-pa (i.e. prior to 1153 A.D.). Inexplicable dates have moreover been proposed for him (1123–1182 A.D.?) so – more than doubtfully – according to *Ming mdzod* 1848 (confounded here with the dates of lHa-rje Zla-ba 'od-zer?) and only the date of his birth would appear to dovetail with his patronage of sGam-po-pa. But this dating appears to be quite spurious when we consider that his root-teacher is listed as *chos rje* Lo-ras (1187–1250 A.D.) and that he was also registered as pupil of Sang-rgyas-'bum (who held the see of Yang-dgon between 1214–1219/1231 A.D.). A later *flourit* than that proposed is altogether more plausible, since the above vacillation as to his actual dates is also addressed in the tradition. We should finally take into account that the tradition speaks of an earlier and later dGe-ba-'bum, seen in the light of the assertion that Zhig-po bdud-rtsi later should have manifested himself as dGe-ba-'bum. It would suggest that the rough dates *ca*. 1200–1250 A.D. for his life are more appropriate, although these dates are nowhere corroborated. Zur-chen confirms that at the point when dGe-ba-'bum rendered service to Ra-sa, Zur-chen had manifested himself as Sangs-rgyas-'bum (accounting for the *sprul sku* line of the latter, see *GT* 45a). It may not surprise that in the transmission-line of the *Srong btsan sgam po bka' 'bum* (i.e. the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*), we find aside from dGe-ba-'bum and *lcam* Ye-shes-mchog, also one *grub thob* Chu-sgom-pa and later Chu-rags-pa dBus-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (e.g. *DL5 gSan yig II* 152b3–6; *III* 75b6–77b). It carries evidence of the close bonds between the transmission of these texts (where the building of the water dikes is endorsed) and people actually executing these as part of their ritual agenda.

Sources on lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum: *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 359.3–368.3; *BA* (Roerich 1006); *lHa ldan dkar chag*, *passim; DL4* 45a4–5; *DL5 IV* [= Ahmad 190–92]; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 67a4–5; *Sog bzlog bgyis tshul gyi lo rgyus* 229–230; *Zur chen rnam thar* 14.2–5; further, see also *Shakabpa Guide* 18, 56; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 235–6, 2149, 2168; *HSLG* Vol. 6: 94–96; *Nang rig* 272; Byams-pa phrin-las 2000: 169–70; R. Prats 1982: 31–32.



***19**. Pioneer Dike Builder or chu rags pa of lHa-sa: lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum*
Modern memorial statue installed in the Byams-pa mched-bzhi Chapel in Jo-khang (PKS 2004)



***20**. Dike Builder of lHa-sa: Zhig-po bDud-rtsi.*
Modern memorial Icon installed on the Ground Floor of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang (PKS 2004)

which in retrospect was sanctified by the 5th Dalai Lama.[136] This circumstance, more than anything else, carries witness of the inestimable import attached to water-regulation in the battle for the lHa-sa heritage and particularly to the significance of dGe-ba-'bum in this struggle, because precisely in dGe-ba-'bum, unlike anyone else, the entire local legacy seems invested. The emanational link to Myang-ral, to dGe-ba-'bum as well as the one to Bla-ma Zhang, however, had initiated with the 3rd Dalai Lama, verily in a grand genealogical plan conceived by the Great Fifth. All three figures adroitly were regarded as prominent former reincarnations of the Dalai Lama. Long before the Great Fifth, however, it was the 'Bri-gung-pa master Rin-chen phun-tshogs who, by adopting dGe-ba-'bum's protective scheme, entertained genuine sympathies both for the mythic and the pioneering role accorded to dGe-ba-'bum and for the legacy of Srong-btsan sgam-po in general, doubtlessly in the former's attempt to position himself and his sect in the struggle for supremacy in lHa-sa.[137] There can be little room for doubt that it was the same 'Bri-gung master who – evidently here basing himself upon a prevailing, older Tshal Gung-thang tradition in this respect – "invented" the subsequent commemmorative cult around lHa-rje and it was his interest in the legacy of lHa-rje

[136] It proved politically important for the 5th Dalai Lama and Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, at the point when the spiritual lineage of the former was forged, to include in the latter's list of pre-existences in the *pre*-dGe-lugs times persons and saints who had won a name by rendering service to the lHa-sa *sanctum* or otherwise had perpetuated the local cult of sPyan-ras-gzigs; in this respect their sectarian background carried little importance. We here find persons originally adhering to the Sa-skya, rNying-ma and bKa'-brgyud-pa. Cf. 5th Dalai Lama, *'Khrungs rabs* 9a1–4 = 593.1–4 (vol. Ba) of his *gSung 'bum*; *DL5 IV* (= Ahmad 1999: 190–92); *DL5 I* 6a4; *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 634.12–14; further, Sørensen 2005b.

[137] Different transmission lines of the *gter ma* exist. The 'Bri-gung-pa – not least *chos rgyal* Rin-chen phun-tshogs, but also other masters there received the *rGyal po bka' 'bum* (i.e. *Ma ṇi bka 'bum* cycle) which became immensely popular at 'Bri-gung; cf. the 15th throne-holder Kun-dga' rin-chen and 'Bri-gung *rig 'dzin* Chos kyi grags-pa (*alias* dBur-smyon; 1595–1659) in his *bKa' 'bum* (ed. Dehra Dun 1999) Vol. 7: 403–39. For the legacy of Rin-chen phun-tshogs, see below.

that more than anything else prompted the Great Fifth to place a claim on this pioneering ascetic and thaumaturge and his service to the *sanctum* by including or ennobling him into his own line of former rebirths. A statue of lHa-rje has been kept in the Byams-pa mched-bzhi'i lha khang (*alias* the Rva-ma rgya-mo lha-khang; cf. Fig. 19) in Jo-khang[138] to commemorate his great and lasting service to lHa-sa. And sKu-'bum-thang – one of the lHa-sa'i thang-bzhi or "four plains" – was named after the reliquary sKu-'bum gshong-ba'i mchod-rten, purportedly erected by him (other sources suggest Rva *lotsāba*) and his consort *lcam* Ye-shes-mchog to redress the imbalance of water in his terrestrial repair or restitution (*bcos*) and topomantic profile of lHa-sa. It is reported that he passed away in near-by Nyang-bran. Like Nam-mkha'-dpal, the dike-building measures of dGe-ba-'bum routinely were accompanied by feats of wonder-working: Like in case of his predecessor, to him also is ascribed the *siddhi*-like faculty of lifting and hurling large amounts of stones a great distance to the bank of sKyid-chu by using a nomad's sling-shot – evidently a cherished depiction for the "miraculous" transportation of large quanta of material from one place to another. It can be assumed that dGe-ba-'bum performed such measures under the auspices of his teacher and mentor, the Tshal Yang-dgon throne-holder Sangs-rgyas-'bum.[139] The *gdung* or bodily remains of this thaumaturge reportedly was immured in one of the stone dikes.[140] It was possibly also in this period (or slightly

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[138] The statue is clearly a modern replica. The 5th Dalai Lama speaks of an old statue blessed by dGe-ba-'bum himself. See also Taring 1st Floor no. 97; *Shakabpa Guide* 56: The red ossuary of dGe-ba-'bum.

[139] From medieval time the so-called Jo-rags or Jo-[bo'i] rags-[kha], i.e. the Jo-bo [Statue] Dike (erected by Myang-ral, his son and dGe-ba-'bum) is still called accordingly in lHa-sa today. It stretched along the bank of sKyid-chu in the sKu-'bum-thang area (due west of 'Khrung-lha), esp. along the northern but also southern bank at the foot of Bum-pa-ri at lHa-gdong Shan-kha (ferry-station; present-day the largest bridge in lHa-sa located there called Ku-ru zam-pa / zam-chen). It carries witness of a centuries-long initiative – crucial for the survival of lHa-sa city, the core of which was spread across a water-logged, marshy area (cf. Sinding Larsen and Larsen 2001: 22).

Another bulwark was the so-called naturally created Sand Dike or rather Sand-dune Dike (*bye rags*) which consisted of raised heaps of sand and silting that had originated from sedimentation and natural terrain landsliding (*sa rud*) when the Dog-ste phu-chu overflowed or expanded. The northernly located Bye-rags started at the spur of Mt. Glang-ri (or Bye-ma chu-'go; located at: 29°45'N 91°03'E), ran south of Se-ra dgon-pa and then proceeded parallel to and towards sKyid-chu behind dMar-po-ri (the area there is still today called Bye-rags) running at the height of Brag-ri in the west, until it was united with sKyid-chu. Cf. sMin-skyid 1991; Richardson 1993: 49; *HSLG ibd.*; *DKTshDz* 1491–92. For a photo of the Bye-rags (= Jherag in *Sketch Map of Lhasa*; Z.J. Taring), see Fig. 20. The Bye-rags sand dunes bordering the diversion channel are registered on many Lhasa maps where it is seen running behind Potala. The Bye-rags was destroyed in 1975 and plastered. For details, cf. fn. 267 below.

Formerly, two additional dike stretches in lHa-sa were the southerly (*lho*) Thog-brtsegs-rags located at Phyag-mdzod gling-ka along sKyid-chu (due south of Jo-khang; see Taring Map) and the westernly (*nub*) located Chos-rgyal-rags close to rGya-mtsho-smad of sTod-lung (opposite Ra-ma-sgang); cf. *Bod kyi dmangs srol gces btus* 583–84. In fact, one speaks *in toto* of Four Great Dikes of lHa-sa. For a rapport on the overflowing (*chu shor*) of the lHa-sa Bye-rags in 1841 and again in the 1880's, see *Rang 'byung gnod 'tshe* Vol. 1: 40, 49–51, 105–06.

[140] sKu-'bum-thang (presently located within the lHa-sa area: 29°38'N 91°09'E; cf. also Part I: fns. 52, 663), a plain along and above the northern sKyid-chu bank due east of lHa-sa (south of the present Karma dgon-gsar area), is already mentioned by Rva-lo: he once miraculously created a *sku 'bum* (or *khri 'bum*; hence its name). It is here said that it was erected in the upper part (*stod*) of lHa-sa, and considering that at that point lHa-sa largely consisted of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and Ra-mo-che and that the sKyid-chu bank was located further north compared to its present position, this may not be quite amiss (cf. *Rva lo rnam thar* 325–27). The site was visited by Thang-stong rgyal-po. The "Caitya Plain" later surfaced e.g. as cherished governmental camp site, along with other camp sites in the narrow lHa-sa area such as Dan-'bag and Klu-sdings, so e.g. during the 18th-cent. Dzungar war; cf. Petech 1972: 45 and from a host of diaries. It is also regarded as the westernmost part of 'O-rgyal-thang.

later under the 9th Tshal-pa *khri dpon*, see below) that sections of the so-called Bye-rags or Sand Dike of lHa-sa come into being, rather conceived of as a water diversion canal, constructed in the northern part of lHa-sa, a naturally created embankment which ran from the spur of Mt. Glang-ri running south of Se-ra dgon-pa and passing dMar-po-ri, before it emptied in sKyid-chu in the west.

Prior to the reign of the Tshal-pa throne-holder Sangs-rgyas-'bum – who patronized the activities of *lha rje* dGe-ba-'bum and who himself conducted similar operations – it was the same Tshal-pa rulers who right from the beginning in the 1170's gradually took over the control of the lHa-sa area with the support of the lHa-sa sde-bzhi. They were responsible for (overseeing) the practical and ritual implementation associated with the weary maintenance of the *chu rags*. At least during the lengthy spell *ca*. 1200–1410 A.D., the overall and systematic maintenance and rebuilding of the dikes remained, for all we know, firmly in the hands of the Tshal-pa assisted by the stewards or sacristans of the Jo-bo shrine. It was a period in Tibet's history, where new power constellations emerged, the shift away from the central sKyid-shod area gradually took place, from 1250 and onwards, the 'Bri-gung-pa and Sa-skya-pa (after the latter had become regional Kings or *Statthalter* of Tibet lasting until the 1350's), were on collusion course, and after the 1290 temporary weakening of the latter, it was now the slow rise of the Phag-gru hegemony, seated in Upper Yar-lung and in 'On, and later ruling houses in the gTsang province, who should become the main political players in medieval Tibet, at least until the numerous religious establishments of dGe-lugs-pa in the lHa-sa valley and with them the emergence of local, increasingly independent hegemonies that brought the political fate of lHa-sa on the political agenda.

2.5 The Tshal-pa Rulers: lHa-sa's First Grand Architects

The construction and ensuing maintenance of lHa-sa dikes indeed marked a definite caesura in the gradual development of the area into a urban center and a entrepôt. It was under the strong and overly generous patronage extended by the succeeding Mongol emperors that the late 13th and 14th -century rulers of lHa-sa, the Tshal-pa administrators and myriarchs (*dpon chen*, *khri dpon*) enacted a number of initiatives that must be regarded as the first attempts to expand the sacred nucleus of lHa-sa, perhaps even to be recognized as the first faltering attempt to design a first grid-plan lay-out (in conscious mimicry of the imperial Dadu capital?) for the place and thus laid the founding stone for its expansion into a larger site. The able Tshal-pa administrators – in particular the 7th and the 9th *dpon sa* of Tshal – dGa'-bde-dpal (1254–1310 A.D.) and sMon-lam rdo-rje (1284–1346/47) of the mGar clan carried out a number of expansions of the centre's core part. Both lHa-sa rulers had visited the Yüan capital during lengthy stays and must have been inspired by the grand and impressive urban plans among their Eastern patrons.[141] Not impertinent perhaps, Dadu and later

During the later part of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang reign, during summer monsoon a *rags gnyer pa* or "Dike inspector" of sNang-rtse-shag *las khungs* resided in sKu-'bum-thang (sKu-'bum lHa-sdings) to monitor the flooding potentials. The erection of dikes in these areas down through history often proved a Sisyphean task, since not least the low-lying area due west and east of dMar-po-ri, as confirmed on many 20th-cent. photos, every year was overflowed, mostly creating a ponding structure.

[141] A number of important studies are available on the history and development of Shangdu ("Supreme Capital," the later "summer residence") at Kaiping Fu (at present-day Dolon Nor), and Dadu ("Great Capital;" the imperial "winter residence" in Daxing dist. of Hebei province). Dadu was a walled city within a walled city again within a walled city,

the very site of Beijing town – and in particular its origin myth – during Yüan and Ming were in some legends often described as a "Bitter Sea of the Youzhou Dist." (*kuhai youzhou*) – an abyss of bitterness – underneath of which a vicious Dragon supposedly was residing, the Chinese pendant to the Indo-Tibetan *nāga* – somewhat parallel to the older lHa-sa origin story.

In lHa-sa much of the refurbishment of Jo-khang and the Bar-skor quarters goes back to their initiatives. Among his many activities, sMon-lam rdo-rje had extensive repairs and rebuildings of the embankments executed in order to prevent flooding in the area (cf. *Gung thang dkar chag* 35bf.; *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 18b3–4f.). Although only a few original memorial or imperial Tshal edicts hitherto have survived (cf. App. III), contemporary sources do allow us a relative precise picture of his endeavours. In addition to the annual maintenance of existing dikes, he put an end to launching boats on the river during summertime – a risky affair evidently, and solidified the dike for almost two miles, by expanding or extending the length of the dikes. It swallowed huge costs and hence took place only after he received extensive donations and financial help from the Yüan emperor Renzong (*alias* Buyantu; 1311–20), so in 1319 where the accompanying memorial and rescript (*'ja' sa*) specifically stipulated the necessity to repair the lHa-sa *chu rags* (*ibid.* 13a4), in other words an obligation to protect Qubilai's Gung-thang temple as well as the lHa-sa sites, imposed upon the Tshal-pa administration. It is also reported that sMon-lam rdo-rje succeeded in diverting the course (*chu bsgyur*) of the many rivers and rivulets that during monsoon and during melting season commonly emptied tons of water over and beyond the lowland embankments creating flash floods that thus threatened the lHa-sa township from the north, such as the waters of Nyang-bran Dog-sde phu-chu. He reportedly managed to divert its flow south-eastwards – this perhaps may be considered the beginning of the later sand dike diversion barrier. It is also reported that he was successful in diverting and in training torrential waters flowing through the Sri and Zhal area that threatened to flood Tshal Gung-thang, in this case by diverting them northwards (*ibid*. 23a3–5). As another protective measure, he planted willow groves (*lcang ma 'debs*) on a grand scale all over sKyid-shod and g.Yor-po areas (evidently within the existing Tshal-pa *mi sde* areas) – in order to decelerate (or indeed compensate for) the rampant deforestation.

2.5.1 Imperial Mongol Ancestor Cult in Gung-thang

Most notable was the Tshal-pa rulers' erection of a number of memorial or ancestral temple chambers set up within the Gung-thang precinct and enshrining genealogical altar or ancestor tablet(s) equipped either with statuary or painted portrait(s) of the emperor Qubilai (*Se chen sku 'dra'i pho brang*). As temple hall – later including additional emperor chambers for the succeeding rulers like in Dadu – it served the worship and the commemoration of their patrons on the Dragon Throne. This or these edifice(s) are now no more extant and we have little or no information as to their actual size and form, yet as model a similar edifice in China clearly served: The *yingtang* or "Portrait [i.e. Shadow] Hall" – each emperor usually had his personal or private *yingtang*. In 1263, Qubilai had ordered the construction of an ancestor temple (Taimiao) in Dadu

in other words with a unique triply-walled compound complex. The outer perimeter or "grand city" (*dacheng*) enclosed a second wall and enclosure accommodating the "imperial city" (*huangcheng*). Finally, innermost was located the core "palace city" (*gongcheng*). Dadu had been built between 1272 and 1283 A.D. on the order of Qubilai Qan and following plans drawn by the master architect Liu Bingzhong (1216–1274) and by Yeheidie'er. Dadu was destroyed by Ming troops in 1396. For details, see Nancy Steinhardt 1983, 1999; Hok-lam Chan 1967, 1990.

and its eight chambers each housed a tablet of his forbears and ancestors, accommodating (like later in Gung-thang) life-like (painted, silk-woven or sculptured) portraits and statues of former Mongol rulers. A huge portrait of Qubilai was set up in the Wan'an temple of the Baita or White Pagode in Beijing. At Dadu, the annual imperial ancestor cult was foremost dedicated to the three Chinese ancestral emperors (of which the Mongol steppe rulers felt themselves genealogically and legitimately linked) and a genealogical ancestor worship was conducted in both the Taimiao and later Zongmiao Temples. The Mongol Qans already from the time of Činggis had titulated or canonized themselves as paragon Huangdi or "august emperors" in mimicry of previous dynasties. The Mongols, as new rulers of China, adopted Chinese state cults and court ceremonies, in particular, the ancestor cult and offerings to Heaven and Earth. In contrast to Chinese ancestral worship, however, the Mongols preferred to worship life-like portrait statues or idols, whereas the Chinese more abstractly – or depersonalized, anonymously – worshipped the tablet which commonly just contained the ancestor's ritual name.[142] Later, similar to the Manchu or Qing rulers, the Mongol emperors gradually became both Chinese emperors, [Mongol] Qans and Buddhist incarnates.[143] The Mongols clearly cherished a more personalized relation to their ancestors. In the Ancestor Temple or Taimiao in Dadu, the tablets had been set up in eight chambers, each occupied by Činggis Qan and his immediate successors and parents, and reflecting the original "Eight White Yurts" (*naiman caγan gur*). How much or little of this found its way to Central Tibet?

We are informed that at Gung-thang a row of ceremonies and sacrifices was conducted, being directed towards the living or the deceased imperial forebear possibly on a regular basis, so arguably to commemorate the birthday of Qubilai, reported e.g. for the 23.09.1323 (see *ibid.* 14b3–15a2 and for details Part I: fn. 479; Part II, App. I: Chap. 1.2). The personal(ized) Qubilai cult (later also including paintings ([*b*]*ri mo*) of other Mongol emperors, such as Gegen, etc.) clearly underscores the often repeated statement that Gung-thang – at least sp persistently proclaimed and upheld by the Tshal-pa – indeed was Qubilai's private temple (*sgos kyi lha khang*) and by extension collectively also including the two lHa-sa temples (Ra-sa and Ra-mo-che). The cult, more than our available sources currently allow us to assess, must have held a prominent place at Gung-thang, and explain a good part of the respect and awe accorded this seat and polity by contemporary Tibetans.

sMon-lam rdo-rje's biography allows us to better understand why the Tshal-pa rulers had fared well in managing the areas under their jurisdiction and in convincing the imperial court that the Tshal Gung-thang temple constituted "the private temple" as a local bastion of the paragon ruler, Qubilai, a circumstance that obviously released a regular flow of donations and financial aid serving to cover the running expenditures to maintain, refurbish and repair not only the key temples of Ra-sa and Ra-mo-che, but also Gung-thang itself. We know that the *raison d'être* for Gung-thang's erection originally had been to render service (*zhabs tog*) to the lHa-sa sanctuaries. As may be gathered from the above, it may be queried whether the Tshal-pa rulers attempted to reconstruct lHa-sa and Tshal Gung-thang into a kind of miniature imperial Dadu, without, however, being able – even remotely – to imitate the grand lay-out metropolis of its eastern rulers. What is certain, the massive support from Qubilai Qan and his successors on the throne and in particular the scions of the former paragon ruler contributed to pave the way for the expansion and protection of lHa-sa

[142] Cf. H. Franke 1978: 30–31; J. Becquet and L. Hambis *Jean de Plan Carpin, Histoire de Mongols*. Paris 1965: 37; Ratchevsky 1974: 424–25.

[143] Cf. e.g. E. Rawski 1998: 200, 208f.; Farquhar 1978; P. Berger 2003.

area. The Tshal-pa clearly remained, aside from the paramount Sa-skya-pa, the most loyal allies of the Mongols in Central Tibet during this period.

2.6 In the Service of Jo-bo Śākyamuni: Merit-building from Environmental Repair, Borrowed Identities and the Dialectics of Prophecies

In the same epoch, a number of individual religious authorities, all clearly avid for the symbolism of the narrow lHa-sa area, reportedly was active: documented are the activities of Guru Chos-dbang (1212–1270),[144] personally devoted to the dissemination of the Avalokiteśvara cult. Similarly, active were Sangs-rgyas gling-pa and rDo-rje gling-pa with their extraction of *gter ma*, and transmission of practical manuals and "treasury-registers" (*kha byang*) related to the lHa-sa site.[145] Thang-stong rgyal-po (1385–1464) – with his spiritual crusade – also carried through the

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[144] Equipped with a long pre-existence record, and signally pupil of Nam-mkha'-dpal, he in particular must be regarded as one of the first Tibetan equipped with a *skyes rabs*; cf. *Gu ru chos dbang rnam thar*; see also Phillips 2004 for the immense important role of this Treasure-recoverer in disseminating the Avalokiteśvara cult.

[145] To Gu-ru Chos-dbang and in particular to rDo-rje gling-pa (in the latter's informative *Lung bstan spyi ba rgya mtsho* 1b1–53a5) as well as to gTer-ston Chos-rgyal Sangs-rgyas gling-pa such visions and prophecies were ascribed. To the latter were attributed the deplorably still non-extant opusculum *bSam yas lha sa* [*chu*?] *rags pa'i bka' chems*, but also the still-extant *Pho brang Ra sa dang bsam yas gso tshul me chu bye ma'i bzlog thabs dus rtags lung bstan a mre ta'i che brjod.*

Sangs-rgyas gling-pa was an enormously prolific *gter ston*, after Myang-ral no doubt the most significant master in the promotion of the lHa-sa site and of the cult centered around the founding king Srong-btsan sgam-po; he spent three years in retreat in lHa-sa, incessantly occupied with visions of Avalokiteśvara and Guru Rinpoche. The 5th Dalai Lama refers to the transmission of a number of (currently non-extant) text cycles, related to the protection and restoration of the holy sanctuary of lHa-sa and other dynastic temples. At bSam-yas (notably during the ideological heyday of *da situ* Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan and at a point when the Avalokiteśvara and Srong-btsan sgam-po-cult promoting *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* was being compiled), Sangs-rgyas gling-pa in the years 1367–68 "detected" additional treasuries and cycles related to the founding king and his testaments such as the famous cycle *Yid bzhin nor bu*.

Cognate territory-remedial texts or codices, similarly preserved in testamentary format, were extracted by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa from below a Vairocana (not Amitābha; cf. above fn. 108) statue in lHo-brag mKho-mthing lha-khang, texts still largely non-extant. Still, the detected items can be listed under the heading:

bsTan pa'i gzhi ma gtsug lag khang gso thabs which *inter alia* included:

- *'byung po'i stobs nyams pas mtha' 'dul gyi gtsug lag khang rnams 'jig tshul*
- *gtsug lag khang phyi bsod nams kyi rten nang gso kyi rten 'brel lkog gyur gtsug lag khang zhig pa gso ba'i thabs mjug tu sgrub pa sla zhing mna' dbul bya tshul kyi bka' chems*

Cf. *DL5 gSan yig II* 380b3–381a2; *Sangs rgyas gling pa'i gter 'byung* 67. See also the longevity and perpetuity ritual text to the lHa-sa sanctuaries [Jo-bo *mched gnyis* / *rnam gnyis* = Phan-bde'i rtsa-lag *rnam gnyis*], detected by the same *gTer ston* and reproduced by the 5th Dalai Lama in his *Phan bde'i rtsa lag rnam gnyis brtan bzhugs cho ga mi 'gyur g.yung drung* (Vol. BA of the latter's coll. Works). See also *Gu ru Chos dbang rnam thar* 27.6–7; *g.Yag sde chos 'byung* 449–50; and TBH Sørensen 327–30, 587–88.

In line with most of the treasure findings made by the present *gter ston*, reports prevail that they were neither welcomed nor supported in all corners. Particularly revealing are the case with the findings of pertinent Srong-btsan sgam-po-related Mahākāruṇikā and Tārā cycles (*skor*) unearthed by rDo-rje gling-pa at the close of the 14th cent. (*ca.* 1378/90 A.D.?) in lHa-sa (clearly in mimicry of Atiśa's discovery of *Ka khol ma*; in rDo-rje gling-pa's case below a foliage-ornamented capital pillar (*shing lo can*) in Jo-khang), a discovery that included a thumb-sized statue of the Great Compassionate One, reportedly a *thugs dam* icon belonging to Srong-btsan sgam-po. Signally, rDo-rje gling-pa's treasure

erection of nature-containing statues and sanctuaries at crucial terrestrial sites (*sa gnad me btsa'i lha khang*) throughout Tibet. Carrying reminiscence of and arguably emulating the "supine demoness" scheme, it was later taken up and expanded by the 5th Dalai Lama (see below). Similar to other *gter ston*, a row of revelatory fillips was born from Thang-stong's vision of Guru Rinpoche. Aside from his famous iron-bridges, it was the extensive building of statues and shrines that were implemented with a view to provide, so it is maintained, the foundation for happiness in Tibet ensured through his extensive "protective agenda." It thus aimed at ensuring the perpetuation of Buddhism there and to avert any invasion from border-armies.[146] He was active in lHa-sa too, where he occasionally displayed his magic flood abating faculties (*Thang stong rnam thar I* 314; *II* 423–24; *III* 380–82),[147] arguably around 1450's. Conspicuous and somewhat idiosyncratic is the tradition of the pacification of the *chu bdag* (Skt. **jaleśvara*, *apāṃpati*) Varuṇa that was propitiated by him.[148] Varuṇa – like Mitra originally Vedic deities connected with rain-making[149] introduced into the Tibetan pantheon from India – is also known as Nāgarājā Varuṇa (or Ba-ru rgyal-ba).

During the same period, we have only vague rapports of concerted flood control measures in the nascent dGe-lugs circles. Such activities surely must have played a major role and we shall surmise that the origin of the dGe-lugs interest already rested with bTsong-kha-pa, who after inaugurating the financially burdensome and hugely patronized *sMon lam* festival (in 1409 A.D. for telling details and its actual extent, cf. *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 295–339) must have been strongly burdened by the responsibility for the preservation and protection of Jo-khang and hence lHa-sa.

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hunt was conducted quite stealthily or clandestinely, when the local sacristans in the evening were fast asleep to avoid arousing suspicion. The impression left behind by this report suggests that, without being regarded as a *persona non grata* in lHa-sa, he clearly was operating on "forbidden territory." It also suggests that at this early point – i.e. prior to the domination of dGe-lugs-pa at the Jo-khang seat – the site's prestigious legacy associated with the cultural hero Srong-btsan sgam-po already constituted crucial political issues. We have sound reason to believe that a number of *gter ston* was active in the ensuing period in lHa-sa and was involved in its heritage therefore represented competing factions pursuing rival political agendas. The beginning of the *gter ston* engagement – as we have seen – had been born in the milieu of *gter ston* Myang-ral and his successors; cf. *rDo rje gling pa rnam thar II* 106–08.

[146] Cf. *Thang stong rnam thar I* 88–90, 99–102, 112, 124–5, 190, etc.; *gTer ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus* 125b1 (= 540.1).

[147] Some of the lHa-sa *chu rags* appear to have been characterized as or were called dKar-po 'dzum-ldan and dKar-po rab-brtan. Cf. also the aforementioned name of sGom-tshul's dike: *chu rags dkar po nyi shar*.

[148] See *Thang stong rnam thar I* 125–27, 155, 314, etc.

[149] For the many identities and functions of Varuṇa in Indian post-vedic literature and lore, see H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* and e.g. von Simson 1997: 12f. Sojourning in the ocean (*sāgarālaya*) under his sway, he is regarded as the lord of all rivers, their protector and genetrix. He is in Buddhist literature depicted as a Nāga-king, so in *Lalitavistara* and as such one of the eight great kings. Also Indra or Parjanya are listed as dispenser of rain. In a Buddhist context, Varuṇa usually occupies the western position of the ten directional guardians (Willson and Brauen 337). Among the dGe-lugs-pa, the Varuṇa cult is found in connection with rituals dealing with episodes with too little or too much water. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 310, 467, 476–77. To bTsong-kha-pa are ascribed texts dealing with water and the Varuṇa cult; cf. *Tohoku Catalogue* nos. 5361–62. A toponym Va-ru-tshal is even registered where Thang-stong erected a bKra-shis sgo-mangs *caitya*; cf. *Kun dga' dpal 'byor rnam thar* 472.5–6. The role, function and imagery of Varuṇa in a Tibetan cultural context and its mythic lore deserve a separate study.

Extensive ablution rites associated with bTsong-kha-pa that comprise water or rain rituals abound, not least based upon the celebrated *dMigs brtse ma* prayer cycle, a teaching cycle richly commented upon in dGe-lugs circles. They in particular came into use when the dreaded late spring draught (*sos than che*) was looming large, or the need for spring rain (*sos char*) was imminent in order to ensure a good harvest.

But aside from him, it appear that it was primarily the dGe-lugs master rGyud-chen Kun-dga' don-grub (1419–86 A.D.) to whom some measures of water-control or flood training is ascribed,[150] albeit details about his measures are absent.

Similar measures served as starting point for the advent of later generations of *gter ston*, but also of lay ritual specialists (or indeed high hierarchs), in fact of a flurry of peregrinating masters and saintly entrepreneurs that in the same and coming centuries became associated with the legacy and implementation of such ritual commitments and pre-emptive measures. Recent research has explored into the fascinating ritual and cultic functions of the "treasury-revealers" in Tibet. Their role in reshaping and redressing the cultural and religious landscape, in the symbolic rumination of the latter and in transmitting and perpetuating recondite teachings and cults, and in their terrestrial sanctification through their "re- or decoding" of prophetically garbed signs and portents related to territory and space – e.g. in form of opening and sealing Hidden Lands (*sbas yul*) foreseen to serve as refuge in degenerate times (cf. e.g. Ehrhard 1997; Childs 1999), in establishing and upholding monastic establishments for the teachings – not least throughout the rugged, remote or isolated Himalayan borderlands – it all contributed to ensure the survival and diversification of otherwise lost religious traditions nurtured outside the established monastic institutions with their main-stream or orthodox canon and curricula.

In the overall agenda of the inventive and assertive gTer-ston, which aside from any esoteric message often turned out to be politically motivated charters that embodied entire schemata of prophecies ranking from politically sensitive foretelling of social decay, of incidents of religious degenerations, of ominous intruding border-armies (invariably Mongol; horrified and spurred by the initial 1240 A.D. invasion) or again of natural disasters, we shall here only deal with the latter. The lay specialists with the execution of their mirabilia simply did no more than to cater to the basic needs of religious institutions and lay communities such as, *in casu*, to the sacristans of Jo-khang, their lHa-sa sde-bzhi benefactors or to any local ruler and patron of lHa-sa, to whom they offered or accommodated their ritual service, often preceeded by or following their grim presage concerning any imminent catastrophe. The tradition, as we have seen, even led to the establishment of the institution of more permanent dike caretakers or *chu rags pa* (in one case a mid-13th-century Ra-sa *chu lhad pa* (~ Ra-sa *chu las pa*) Darma rgyal-mtshan; see e.g. *DL5 Thob yig I* 51a4–5) has been listed, which may have represented specialists exclusively or at least periodically committed

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[150] The elusive disciple of Tsong-kha-pa, Ku-cor *rtogs ldan* (i.e. Sangs-rgyas dpal-bzang; 1386–1445 A.D., see Fig. 13 above)* was one of first masters ever to deal with water-control, such as the one conducted in 1409 where he initiated some flood control rituals. The relevant text, it appears, purports that Ku-cor went into retreat at Rags-kha of lHa-sa. This *may* refer to the embankment (*rags*) of lHa-sa (supported by oral tradition and by an entry by Ngag-dbang Chos kyi rgyal-po in the 1520's where he visited the lHa-sa rDo-rags-kha; cf. his biography 552.4; *JCh* 129b3), but may also – perhaps more feasibly – refer to the hermitage of Ra[gs]-kha (cf. Part I: fn. 517; i.e. Rags-kha Chu-skor of Glang-ru). See also Yeh 2005.

Most spectacular among the traditional dGe-lugs-pa conducting flood regulating activities was rJe Shes-rab seng-ge's disciple rGyud-chen Kun-dga' don-grub (see Fig. 21). Due to his allegedly magical faculties, he reportedly was successful in averting flooding in lHa-sa. As a token of gratitude, it is recorded that he received the Ra-mo-che temple in which he subsequently erected the rGyud-stod grva-tshang; see Tucci and Heissig 1970: 129.

* Cf. e.g. *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* 305.3–5. He wrote a biography of Tsong-kha-pa – deplorably non-extant. For a brief biography of Ku-cor (in particular his miraculous feats), father to the first rGyal-ba (or Chab-mdo) 'Phags-pa-lha incarnation bDe-chen rdo-rje (1439–1487 A.D.) as well as for details on the Ku-cor clan of lHo-smad; cf. *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung II* 3ff. The 4th Karma-pa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje was born into the Ku-cor clan.

to this task and the commitment indeed was seen as immensely meritorious and rewarding. They may either be seen as a sort of professional "nature conservationists" or as "weather forecasters" (producing what today is called "precipcasts") of yore that rendered disaster emergency although the measures taken often proved remedial rather than actually preventive. Such ascetic specialists – who almost uniformly took recourse to teachings and precepts that had the format of such telling prophecies and instructions – were crusading places and courting people in perpetual search for patronage in return for their ritual service. In some cases, their own ritual and political ends, possibly also personal agenda was scrupulously advanced.

Such endeavours were conducive to ensuring cultural and social prestige. The set or repertoire of teachings or the mantic prescriptions they transmitted or handed down often were an idiosyncratic stock or even a canon of Guru Rinpoche or Padmasambhava-related esoteric teachings and precepts that the master once – with foresight it is told to ensure an inner coherence to the mission – had delivered to Khri-srong lde'u-btsan and his court, or it was made up of a set of prophecy-based teachings once delivered by Srong-btsan sgam-po to his successors and descendants. Set in a royal ambience, the central texts, as we have seen, therefore were a stock of rediscovered texts (and sacred objects) that were transmitted and perpetuated within a vibrant spiritual *dgongs gter* and *sa gter* tradition born from meditative visions (*dag snang*) in which divine or spiritual messages purportedly were transmitted and hence authenticated its inspired revealer. These transmitters, whether with rNying-ma-pa or Bon-po denominations throughout their entire history had remained in a state of fruitful cross-polination in terms of teachings and precepts. As noted earlier, some of the basic "testamentary" narratives related to Srong-btsan sgam-po and the link to Avalokiteśvara had been born and transmitted from the 11th century in bKa'-gdams-pa circles. It soon inspired rNying-ma-pa ascetics to take up the glove, being spurred by the same topic and by its prestigious cultic and esoteric contents, to further the royal cult through prophecies and precepts, either being divinely inspired, or born from revelations and visitations or said to have been disclosed in such rediscovered scrolls, – anyhow they reflected a wide range of apotropaic, mantic or supplicative precepts against watery or natural menaces or physical or mental hindrances of all sorts. Important for our present purposes, and as suggested by the charters employed, to assess the ambience in which the rituals was set: A sort of pact with the local telluric or terrestrial powers was sought, an agreement to be achieved through rites of beseeching propitiation, of ablution and prayers. The operative agenda and those transmitting these precepts closely resembled a guild or, so it seems, a peregrinating fraternity (or cartel) of active gTer-ston, a select group articulating their (group) identity through these charters.



***21**. Kun-dga' don-grub. The founder of the rGyud-stod grva-tshang and prominent dGe-lugs-pa dike builder and thaumaturge*
Photo: Modern memorial statue installed in Ra-mo-che (PKS 2004)

A particular kind of prophecies usually consisted of *ex eventu* foretellings regarding specific persons considered manifestations of former saints and hierarchs. It was linked up with the crucial issue

related to the question of authority and authenticity. This issue had been at the root of the conflict from the very beginning, now became increasingly polemic or open to criticism the more this kind of transmission won still larger audiences or were (mis-)used in a political context. The prophecies within their own fold were categorized as *'khrul med lung* or as "infallible authority," – in an attempt to tinge them with the rewarding hue of upholding unerring scriptural authority (*āgama*) as codified and known from Buddhist hermeneutics – especially those prophecies issued by the earlier treasure-revealers (who were anyway considered to be closer to the source of inspiration and hence held greater prestige), whereas the infallibility or authority of later prophecies often by their antagonists was targeted for being self-fabricated (*rang bzo*) and overly apocryphal, in a period where the number of both prophets and prophecies issued had inflated dramatically.

The topic prophecy and its valorization as authoritative source is a lingering issue in the overly defensive writings dealing with the hermeneutics of treasure sources. Operating in a hazy climate of authenticity or numinous legitimacy that very often was entwined with or relativized by questions of fraudulence[151] in terms of their purported precepts, central to many of the [self-]proclaimed specialists were, aside from the crucial question of authorization, the perennial question of patronage. Lacking support either from a lay ruler, from a local community or settlement seriously hampered or altogether curtailed their activities. Samples documenting the impact and political ends of a treasure-revealer's activities are legion, and some will be detailed more below, but the telling case of authoritative and self-conscious gTer-ston or *sprul sku* bZang-po grags-pa and rGod-ldem (1337–1409) and their prophetic and religious service to underpin and legitimate the Mang-yul Gung-thang royal house (scions of the Yar-lung house) in return for patronage demonstrate beyond doubt the often political (ab)use and self-staged instrumentalization of such activities.[152] rGod-ldem himself, to be true, proudly claimed descent from an imperial-time line too, a circumstance that will explain a good part of his prediliction for Tibet's glorious past. This lingering interest for the founding period of old Tibet, its prestigious past and legacy and its spiritual heritage not least among leading rNying-ma-pa *gter ston* may also have a simple explanation: Many invariably were descended from age-old clans or families that in the late 10th and early 11th century derived much of their cultural prestige from the exclusive transmission of distinct esoteric cycles, like members of the gNyos (as we have seen), or the gNubs, Myang and the Shud-pu clans, to mention a few (see e.g. *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 321f. – a source that often reads like a "blue book" of visionary Treasure-revealers and their prominent clan affiliation). Powerful Clans, aristocratic families and their lineages, often populated remote border areas where they became ardent supporters of mostly arcane and recondite teachings. Their seats often were relegated to the periphery of the political centres.

[151] Cf. G. Childs 1999: 149–152; K.-H. Everding 2000: 481f. See also the outspoken, but late discussion in Mi-pham's *gTer ston brtag pa Chu dvangs nor bu*, "Examination of the Treasure-Revealer: The Water-cleansing Jewel" more generally on this point (cf. Doctor 2005, but also Martin 2001c). On the nature of prophecies and their dynamic power, see the informative essay by R. Lerner, *The Cedar of Lebanon*. For the problematic legitimation of *gter ma* and its strategies, see e.g. Gyatso 1993.

[152] For a survey of the relevant material related to bZang-po grags-pa; cf. e.g. *DL5 gSan yig II* 382b1–85a5; *gTer ston lo rgyus* 118b3–119a4. The Mang-yul Gung-thang rulers in particular entertained strong bonds with and accommodated a number of *gter ston*.

The vivid allusion to royal ancestral roots may be exemplified from the biography of *rJe btsun ma* Chos kyi sgron-ma (1422–1455 A.D.), daughter of the Mang-yul Gung-thang ruling house (and hence ultimately of the erstwhile Yar-lung house), at one point the (auto-)biography poignantly refers to the site of 'U-shang-rdo erected by her *yab mes* Khri Ral-pa-can; see *Chos sgron rnam thar* 138a4–6.

However, it were specific prophecies and rhetorics – often appropriately labelled *dus rtags lung bstan*, "foretellings concerning signs/events in time" (or *snga ltas lung bstan* or "early warning prophecies" evidently capable of operating both progressively and regressively) – that would fuel countless conflicts as dreadful and contentious political weapon; anyway, they all displayed a eerie taste for disaster epics and apocalyptic scenarios. Working either ways, the prophetic literature indeed contains a goldmine of comments and information on contemporary politics – however difficult it occasionally may be to decipher these properly. We are allowed a glimpse of their activities in their biographies, from their dairies or we may find witness of their pre-destined missions in a veritable flurry of personal prophecies (evidently self-issued and self-staged or – as it would appear – self-fulfilling) that circulated in time and place, foretellings heralding their coming, or foretold and contextualized their mission and finally forged – true to the nature of such prognostications or forecasts – close congenial-spiritual or incarnational links (often *ad hoc* linked up with their assumed or selective identities that remained essential tools of legitimacy) to the former trail-blazers, to the divine source of the cult, to the original founder and master of the cult or to the institution in question, whether it be Avalokiteśvara, Padmasambhava, Srong-btsan sgam-po, or most living manifestations like Myang-ral or Bla-ma Zhang.

In fact, the dialectics and the dynamics of such strictly [self-]promotional prophecies ensured that the *gter ston* remained true masters of borrowing identities, assumed and tailored to their specific needs and missions. Reading such biographical sketches, not rarely seems to reflect a tenacious inclination for a complacent *Selbstinszenierung*, an act which, however, did not generate any apparent *crise d'identité* – indeed they absorbed and incorporated their functional or operational *aliases* with some élan, and imbued their self-recognition with great immediacy. No doubt, their borrowed identities – if only in some cases conceived of as the arrogation of a personal destiny – were widely accepted in the milieus they were born into or operated within. It was cases of impersonations – rarely a question of conscious impostors albeit this may also have been the case – that culturally and spiritually was wholly legitimate and indeed badly needed in order to meet the socio-religious requirements to link or bridge the past with the present. In a sense, it carried reminiscence of the performance of a drama or a theatrical play, where an actor must enact a role matching the plot. Nonetheless, the format of such teachings revealingly was designated "testaments," evidently a signal allusion to the original format that had been ascribed to the founding figures Srong-btsan sgam-po and to Guru Rinpoche, but also a format that was pregnant with concepts or literary modes purporting patrimony, inheritance and legacy. A key to a better understanding of this phenomenon clearly rests with the question of unbroken spiritual legitimacy and the aforementioned impersonation process. In the end, they were crucial for the local or regional success in their terrestrial crusade, spatial renovation, or in their appropriate environmental "remediation" that almost inevitably followed in the wake of their own disaster foretellings, anyhow it was critical for their ability to forge a spiritual link between the relevant cult and / or the specific site and the teachings they purported to transmit, in fact the idiosyncratic nature behind the spiritual bond most often remained the single most important prerequisite for their mission to ensure ample local patronage.

We do not here intend – even remotely – to offer a prosopography of the leading figures involved in this important ritual charter – the topic is too complex and the figures too many. Yet it is worthwhile to enumerate briefly the most prominent ones, in other words those who were actively involved or who occasionally issued prophecies heralding such activities in the first place related

to lHa-sa. Among the main actors, aside from the founders or initiators already mentioned above, we find ritualists and visionary prophets or presagers like Sangs-rgyas gling-pa (1340–1396 A.D.), rDo-rje gling-pa (1346–1405 A.D.), but also Ratna gling-pa (1403–1478 A.D.), Padma gling-pa (1450–1521 A.D.) and his *thugs sras* Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan; furthermore, *byang gter* cycle transmitters mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen and his brother Rig-'dzin Legs-ldan rdo-rje, as well as mChog-ldan mgon-po (1497–1531/43 A.D.) and not least Zhig-po gling-pa (1524–1583 A.D.). Close congenial and spiritual bonds prevailed between these treasure-revealers. Finally, Yol-mo *gter ston* Śākya bzang-po[153] and gZhan-phan mtha'-yas should be mentioned in order to list the most prominent individuals that either discovered, transmitted, invented, wrote, or made – not seldom socio-political – prophecies or implemented similar instructive *chu bzlog* manuals to avert flooding.[154] We thus seem to have general information on the names of at least the most notable ritual specialists in this respect, yet it often remains all but opaque how the actual ritual processes, their proper *modus operandi* actually were executed, in other words how and in what form the different rituals were carried out, as well as any information on their actual time-tables.

mChog-ldan mgon-po[155] (taking up the lead left behind by his teacher Padma gling-pa who similarly had a plethora of thematically cognate prophecies issued – see his *Ma 'ongs Lung bstan kun gsal me long*) is recorded to have executed different activities in lHa-sa for the protection of Jo-khang and its pivotal Jo-bo Śākya statue. His biography routinely, almost dutifully addresses, similar to his contemporary *gter ston* colleagues, the prevailing hazards that threatened the central Jo-bo image from being carried away by water or flood (*chus khyer, chus gdan 'dren, chu yis nyen*). It was mChog-ldan who – as the first one recorded? – based upon or accompanied by a prophecy issued by rDo-rje gling-pa (no wonder when we recall that mChog-ldan mgon-po was considered a physical manifestation of the latter; *gTam zhing lo rgyus* 4) intended to erect an octogonal, three-storied shrine (*gtsug lag khang zur brgyad thog gsum*) in lHa-sa to be pinnacled by a *bdud 'dul mchod rten* – upon a "tortoise-resembling" hill (*spo to*) located between (*sic*) Ra-mo-che and Ra-sa (*vihāra*).[156]

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[153] Cf. *Nor bu'i do shal* 251; *gTing skyes dgon khrungs rabs* 2a3–4a5. In particular, he was renown for his discovery at bSam-yas of the Tibetan narrative adaptation of the Bodhnāth legend in Kathmandu and a scroll manual on its renovation quite similar, incidentally, to the discovery of the lHa-sa *ditto* by his contemporary colleague Zhig-po gling-pa.

[154] rGyal-sras gZhan-phan mtha'-yas 'od-zer (*alias* rGyal-sras Rig-pa'i rdo-rje) too was famous for transmitting precepts and *lung byang* or authoritative certificates to protect bSam-yas from fire and lHa-sa from water; cf. *rDzogs chen chos 'byung II* 94b1–95b1; *Nor bu'i do shal* 259.

Precepts how to divert or even revert the current of rivers and floods (*chu bsgyur, shva 'od zlog*) abound. For samples found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* collection, cf. e.g. C. Klaus 1985: 44, 47; 148f.

[155] He belonged to the influential rGya clan. The year 1531 as the *'das lo* (in lieu of 1543) of mChog-ldan mgon-po according to Ehrhard 2002b: 36. His – untimely – passing may have been far from natural, possibly an outcome of his "political prophecies and rituals." mChog-ldan mgon-po, as preceptor to the Gung-thang Mang-yul king Nyi-zla grags-pa, was famous as efficient *hor bzlog pa*, repeatedly prophesied by Padma gling-pa, cf. *Thugs sras rnam thar* Chap. 10–11. Known as the *sprul sku* of mChog-grub-gling, the life and legacy – especially in present-day Bhutan – of mChog-ldan mgon-po deserves a separate study.

Also to Padma gling-pa's *thugs sras* Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan (1499–1587) is ascribed such rituals of deterrence, as reported in his biography.

[156] We shall assume that "this hill" neither was artificially erected nor naturally created, but far more a mythically conceived or a spiritually visualized construct. Prior to the foray of mChog-ldan mgon-po, and vexed by sundry threats of natural disasters, a somewhat similar edifice was in the mind of the famous Klong-chen Dri-med 'od-zer, when he, evidently in the mid-14th cent., in lHa-sa similarly intended – vainly as it turned out – to erect an apotropaic *ma ṇi khang*

However, such prophetic charters often interacted with or were conditioned on the prior participation and sanctioning from local protectors or telluric Nāga-kings etc. such as Brahmā and Takṣaka (lords of the site who at any point could reclaim or reappropriate the sanctuary if rituals were inappropriately executed or wreak havoc – flooding – if provoked the slightest), the successful propitiatory outcome of which resulted in the bestowal of precious objects – such as jewels denoted "earth's essence" (**kṣitigarbha*, **bhūmigarbha*) in the shape of a light-emitting *caitya* (a play on and direct allusion to the original light-emitting *caitya* in the lHa-sa origin myth) – as an outer sign of a successfully implemented ritual. This also proved necessary for the erection of a specifically designed protective temple intended to control or revert the course of the river in times of watery perils.[157] This protective edifice alone was predicted to protect lHa-sa for a period of up to 180

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bu; cf. *Klong chen rnam thar* 121. Later at bSam-yas, Thang-stong rgyal-po in a similar fashion erected a small edifice for its protection.

[157] Cf. e.g. *mChog ldan mgon po rnam thar* 31.6–32.1; 295.2, 403.5–406.6; *Nor bu'i do shal* 59.4–60.5; 255.8f.

The involvement of the local telluric or subterranean "aquatic powers" (Nāga-kings and protectors) in the successful implementation of kindred rituals has been addressed above. The impetus for erecting a "flood averting" chapel sanctuary goes back to the prolific and visionary Sangs-rgyas gling-pa, who was instrumental not only in issuing a chain of prophecies, incl. such that concerned the erection of a receptacle, but also actively promoted many written and prophetic cycles related to Srong-btsan sgam-po as contained in the latter's "testamentary" literature (*rgyal po'i bka' 'bum*); cf. the numerous (in part still non-extant) cycles transmitted through Sangs-rgyas gling-pa to the 5th Dalai Lama; cf. *DL5 gSan yig III* 260a5–265b4; *Sangs rgyas gling pa'i gter 'byung* 67–68; gTer-bdag gling-pa's *gSan yig* 206b5–6 (and *rNying ma'i gsung 'bum dkar chag* 206):

Related to the protection and perpetuity of lHa-sa (and also bSam-yas to be protected from fire and sand) through what may be termed "the Jo-bo Survival Charters" we find both prophetic (e.g. "early sign = warning" prophecies), apotropaic and water-abating flood ritual texts such as

- *lHa sa chu dang bsam yas me dang bye mas 'jig tshul*; *de'i gnyen por Klu 'Jog pos phul ba'i rin po che'i chu shel bSam yas kyi srog shing*;
- *Tshangs pas phul ba'i rin po che sa'i snying po lha sa'i chu bzlog don du hal* [= *has*] *po rir sbas pa*;*
- *gTsug lag khang gnyis 'jig pa'i snga ltas lung bstan*;
- *Chu bzlog lha khang rtsig tshul*;*
- *Chu bzlog dang jo bo'i brtan bzhugs gnas brtan gyi gsol 'debs*; etc.

Most of these still largely non-extant cycles (and we can expect the prior circulation of many more) which thus go back to revelatory visions of Sangs-rgyas gling-pa, the 5th Dalai Lama reports, were in his time already utmost rare but should witness a revival with the latter. It easily explains his principal interest and fascination with this master and with his spiritual-ritual legacy, being intimately linked up with the *terra sacra* of lHa-sa. Cf. also gTer-bdag gling-pa's *gSan yig* 217b4f., 221b1–2.

Ironically, both the 4th and the 5th Karma-pa, the former being Sangs-rgyas gling-pa's pupil, took a keen interest in the teachings and writings of this *gter ston* and so also of his more political prophecies and cycles. Generations later, Zhig-po gling-pa – not surprisingly considered a rebirth of Sangs-rgyas gling-pa – also included among his foremost pupils the 5th Zhva-dmar-pa dKon-mchog yan-lag (*alias* dKon-mchog-'bangs)** and other leading hierarchs. Cf. Kong-sprul, *gTer ston lo rgyus* 84b1–3. Future research may answer the question to what extent these cycles wielded any influence or played any political role behind the claim of the Karma-pa that lHa-sa was to be managed by them – yet it evidently proved to be the case.

* This evidently refers to the same tradition which Zhig-po gling-pa took recourse to, when he erected the rDo-rje lha-khang.

** Not without irony, the name dKon-mchog-'bangs alludes to a famous bKa'-gdams-pa narrative tradition (initially spread in sNar-thang circles; contained in *bKa' gdams glegs bam;* vol. *Bu chos*). It is a celebrated 'Brom-ston *Rebirth Stories* (adapted from an Indian *Jātaka*), namely the life of an Indian Dharmarāja or prince dKon-mchog-'bangs who in this wholly Tibetan legend prophesied that he would be reborn as Srong-btsan sgam-po, and then as 'Brom-ston. It not least was this *Rebirth Sto-*

years. But as things turned out, it should not be him, but his pupil Zhig-po gling-pa who several years later succeeded in erecting the temple.

2.7 Disputed Legacies and Political Conflict: Flood Control and Natural Disaster Management as Instrument and Cause of Sectarian Rivalry

While lHa-sa as *terra sacra* thus remained at the edge of chaos and faced disaster almost on a regular basis, most of the ritual specialists, themselves almost exclusively with professed rNying-ma-pa links, would enact the ritual agenda without – initially at least – regard to their sectarian moorings, the reason being that they in the first place were conducted by wandering ascetics who appear to have proffered their service to any supportive patron or ruler. Still, the dominant rNying-ma orientation cannot come as a surprise: The vast majority of esoteric precepts and cycles that promoted or endorsed the ritual protection of the Jo-khang site were seriously queried in respect to scriptural and spiritual authenticity and historicity, being in most non-rNying-ma-pa corners regarded as apocryphal, fraudulent or fabricated, at best dubious and inconclusive. Yet, it is not without a modicum of irony, that it was the "esoteric monopoly" in terms of Padmasambhava-related esoteric precepts, cycles and prophecies concering lHa-sa and its protection born and forcefully held in rNying-ma circles that eventually forced the dGe-lugs-pa front to embrace and take these up. This is most evident from the comprehensive study curricula (*gsan yig*) of the eclectic 5th Dalai Lama and to a large extent account for the circumstance that the mentor or mastermind of the lHa-sa dike project, Myang-ral, later was accepted as a "pre-existence" or previous embodiment of the 5th Dalai Lama.

The dire consequences with regularly occurring doom-like prospects that foresaw alien invasions and natural disasters in Central Tibet – real or fictitious, *mtha' dmag bzlog* and *chu bzlog* rituals therefore were both high in demand and for the ritual specialists executing them no doubt not only prestigious but also inordinately lucrative, an added reason why they remained permanently in demand or in stock, ready to be conjured up or enacted, as it would seem, at any appropriate occasion. Sangs-rgyas gling-pa (as indeed his contemporary rDo-rje gling-pa) with links both to the 'Bri-gung-pa and later to the Karma-pa hierarchs proved quite active and "mediating" in this field – his major *gter* discoveries took place during the crucial years of 1364–71, at a time when Phag-mo-gru-pa was about reorganizing the political landscape in Central Tibet. Sangs-rgyas gling-pa too had equipped himself with a proper spiritual background by resetting himself (for his purposes conveniently) in a proper historical frame – he was considered a manifestation of Mu-rub btsan-po, the son of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan. Already in the late 1350's, in connection with visits to lHa-sa, he also cultivated various visions of Avalokiteśvara. It had followed other visions that instilled in him that lHa-sa truly was his district (*nga'i yul yin*) [i.e. his *buddhakṣetra*], so once while sojourning on the summit of dMar-po-ri, he visually had encounters with the eleven-headed deity; cf. *Sangs rgyas gling pa'i gter 'byung* 12–13. Beyond doubt, such visions in the first place marked out spiritual encounters and inner experiences of an ascetic – but did such revelations also carry political implications? That the individual *gter ston* more often than not were entering a difficult territory and were anything but welcome within the premises of Jo-khang, we

ries anthology that the dGe-lugs court in the 17th cent. took up when they formed a legitimizing succession lineage behind the Dalai Lama institution. An observation which suggests that the 16th-cent. conflict delineated above influenced the 17th-cent. ruling Potala court. Cf. Per K. Sørensen 2005b and 2005c.

can conclude from the experiences of rDo-rje gling-pa that similar episodes must have been met with by his contemporary treasure-revealers. It can be concluded that the treasure-finder's errand invited conflict and hence was of a political nature.

Still, their pragmatically conceived *chu bzlog* rituals, not least, were executed in response to the perpetual need for such services, and the rituals themselves may not always have carried political overtones. Yet, to be in a position to execute such rituals of deterrence, a bond to the pioneering figures was required and the large amount of *bzlog thabs* ritual charters that circulated as appropriate *remedium* appears in the first place to have served one purpose mainly: to cater for the steady demand for them. In fact, the ritual task of protecting a site was deemed to be of such vital (regional or national, but also economic) importance that their execution easily transcended sectarian differentiation. The non-partisan role or the eclectic attitude of such ritualists appears [akin to their conciliatory role in mediating in the numerous warring conflicts] – often the final arbiter to solve a stalemate, to have remained so at least until the mid-16th century. In the following years, however, flood control programs and natural disaster scenarios appear to have become increasingly instrumentalized to serve political or hegemonic ends. The geo-political importance of lHa-sa and of its surrounding heartland around the narrow sKyid-chu basin land that was dotted with major religious establishments now intertwined with the hegemonic struggle between the petty ruling houses in Central Tibet throughout the 15th century.

Allowing a brief glance back on the preceding period, it can be adduced that there were many players in the frequent feuds and petty rivalries behind this struggle for hegemony in the narrow lHa-sa area – too many to be listed here – throughout this spell, yet the main political or secular actors in the initial post-Tshal hegemonic period (i.e. after *ca*. 1350 and fully after 1415–20 A.D.) were the Phag-mo-gru-pa governorship of sNe'u/sNel-pa with their *rdzong* or administrative seat close to lHa-sa.[158] Another Phag-gru governorship was the Brag-dkar-pa – an equally strong lay benefactor ruling over the area around present-day 'Brom-stod, sTag-rtse district and Mal-gro, a ruling house which had married into and thus at some point was allied with the sNel-pa and which already in the 1460's had reconfirmed a patron-client relationship with the dGe-lugs-pa, yet already in the 1530–40's at the latest the line died out and was absorbed by the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa. The sNel-pa themselves were intimately committed to the dGe-lugs-pa, from the time of Tsong-kha-pa, and they remained the rulers of lHa-sa (and stout patrons of Tshal Yang-dgon incidentally) in the period *ca*. 1420–1480 after which their star slowly dwindled too. It in fact was the professed dual patronage commitment of the sNel-pa both to the dGe-lugs-pa and the Karma-pa that led to a major conflict (see below).

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[158] Cf. Table V.12.1. The sNel-pa were strong benefactors of most monasteries in and around the narrow lHa-sa area. In 1437, a severe famine visited Central Tibet and the sNel-pa rulers (headed by *nang so* Grags-dbang and his wife sKal-bzang) served as caring patrons to ensure the famine was overcome; cf. *Thang stong rnam thar I* 191–97.

A few years later, a major tragedy occurred when skin boats launched by the sNel-pa to cross sKyid-chu capsized, the perpetrator, so it was argued, obviously being caused by the gNyan mKhar-nag (= sNye'i mKhar-nag at mKhar-nag in sNye-/ mNyes-thang; a local *klu* water demon) whereby many people died.* Cf. *ib.* 207–10. The adjacent lake mKhar-nag-mtsho on the mKhar-nag-thang was its abode. For the mKhar-nag *klu*, see also App. IV. Or read gNyan Kha-gnag?

* Another legend, however, chronicles how the perpetrator is linked to the story of the site at Rags-smad bTsang-khang in lHa-sa, where later? the Great Fifth in order to prevent flooding here had the residence ("Black Fort" or mKhar-nag) erected, allegedly a residence of a local *gzhi bdag*, the demonic "Boatsman" (gNyan-pa), hence called gNyan mKhar-nag. He and his two acolytes (*gtso 'khor gsum*) regularly had to be propitiated in order to prevent them from causing the flooding of sKyid-chu and, as we have seen, causing the capzising of boats (cf. Tsering Gyalbo 2005: 422). Further research may clarify to what extent the institution of the Fifth Dalai Lama is an elaboration of the former tradition once situated in sNye-thang.

The emerging dGe-lugs-pa order founded by Tsong-kha-pa with its three major establishments in the vicinity of lHa-sa and with the inauguration, annual enactment and executive control of the grand *sMon lam* Festival would wield substantial spiritual and increasingly political influence in the area. The genius and repute of Tsong-kha-pa had enabled him to garner support among a very large number of communities around lHa-sa who all felt committed to his grand project in turning lHa-sa into the spiritual center of the country (as detailed in his biography, too). His three most influential and affluent benefactors included the mightiest ruler in Tibet at that point, the Phag-mo-gru ruler *mi dbang* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan at sNe'u-gdong and the latter's sKyid-shod dependencies, the sNe'u-pa and of Brag-dkar-pa governors. They became zestful and liberal patrons behind the running restoration and refurbishment of the two Jo-bo Sanctuaries at this crucial point and behind the financial burdensome annual *sMon lam* ceremonies. Tsong-kha-pa's equally patronized, strategic network of dependencies and colleges that he and his followers had spun in and around the lHa-sa area and around the main dGe-lugs seats were conducive to strengthen the overall dGe-lugs position and presence in the area. It can safely be assumed that the sacristans or *dkon gnyer* of Ra-sa gTsug-lag-khang entertained strong Yellow Hat sympathies throughout this period too. Most of the funding enterprises related to lHa-sa that took place in the mid-15th century were undertaken by the local house of the sNe'u-pa (Table V. 12.1).



***22a**. gTer-ston Sangs-rgyas gling-pa (1340–1396): Master visionary and political prophet concerning lHa-sa and its legacy*
Photo: *Zangchuan fojiao jintong* 2000



***22b**. gTer-ston rDo-rje gling-pa (1346–1405)*
Detail of a *thangka* in Bhutan (Bum-thang)

Following the founder's demise in 1419 who in the first place had concentrated the expansion of his order in the dBus districts, it was the ongoing venture into new, often hostile territory in gTsang that increased tension – so in 1447, when a close student of bTsong-kha-pa, the intrepid dGe-'dun-grub-pa (the later 1st Dalai Lama) established bKra-shis lhun-po in gZhis-kha-rtse. It was the starting signal for a competition between the Karma-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa, a conflict that found its termination over two hundred years later in the mid-17th century only. The establishment of the seat in gZhis-kha-rtse provoked renewed interest on the side of the Karma-pa for lHa-sa.

The ’Bras-spungs *chos rje* (*alias* the 2nd Dalai Lama *in spe*)[159] even went to the extent of asserting that the protection and maintenance of the central Ra-sa ’Phrul-snang *sanctum* – proverbially euphemized as the “fundament of happiness and benefit of Tibet and of its populace” – exclusively was due to the grace and kindness of Tsong-kha-pa and his pious followers, due to the fact that the latter must be held responsible for the institution of the *sMon lam chen mo* Festival and for having set up other permanent liturgical endowments in the temple. The statements seem to provide his justification for their privileged, if not exclusive, access to and maintenance of the *sanctum*. There was good reason for the high incarnate to reiterate this partisan stance in the light of the view taken by their opponents (see below) and his description in the biography must therefore be seen in the context that the temple and the *sMon lam* Festival for a period of *ca*. twenty years (1498/1500–

[159] Cf. *DL2* 551–55, 618. Episodes describing the hazardous and risky affairs when attempting to cross a monsoon-fed sKyid-chu river are often reported in the literature. One spectacular episode happened when the ’Bras-spungs *chos rje* (i.e. the 2nd Dalai Lama) in 1539 A.D. was on his way back to ’Bras-spungs after having been invited by the dGa’-ldan sKyid-shod-pa rulers to their fortress of bDe-chen-rtse. His party was forced to cross the river, and as it was mid-summer, this year too the sKyid-chu river had expanded dramatically. Even along the shore the waves were perilously high. The supreme hierarch, sensing the danger, for a moment remained absorbed in a contemplative state on love and compassion. The first of the two boats that were to be launched simultaneously in order to carry the hierarch and his party safe to the other bank was filled with his servants and pack-horses. Suddenly, hardly carried away from the shore a rope’s length, half of the first boat submerged into the river without reason and it started taking in more and more water. At the point that the boat was almost completely underwater and capsizing. Everybody in the boat and along the shore started wailing loudly: “Precious All-knowing Father pray protect us!” In the same moment dGe-’dun rgya-mtsho sunk into a state of contemplation in which he visualized “the Maṇḍalas of the elements of water and wind.” [As if by wonder] the boat again suddenly emerged halfway above water, and rocking gently it reached safety at the riverbank. The high hierarch said: “My! Some luck we had! This time let us cross the river by binding the two boats together and have them pulled safely to the other shore!” His command was followed and having reached the other shore safely everybody was certain that the high hierarch indeed was the manifestion of Avalokiteśvara in person (cf. *DL2* 608). A similar feat earlier was yielded by lHa-rje dGe-ba-’bum; cf. *DL5 IV* (= Ahmad 1999: 192).

A few years prior to this episode, around 1516 or shortly after, the 23rd Sa-skya Khri-chen Kun-dga’ bsod-nams grags-pa rgyal-mtshan – also known as Sa-skya *lo tsā ba* (1485–1533) on his way to Jo-khang sailed the unruly sKyid-chu river too – and he experienced how the boat started to sink. The dangeous situation was first in control after he had made intense prayers to and visions of his master, the 8th Ngor-mkhan Sangs-rgyas rin-chen (1450–1525 A.D.) whereupon, so he reports, a raven suddenly appeared and – as a “guardian angel” – settled upon the boat’s horse-head and being thus guided, the boat reached safety along the shore; cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 400.

Another phenomenon of trite occurrence encountered while crossing the waterways was seasickness (*chu nad*), contracted when the waters were choppy; so Tāranātha e.g. recounts how such sufferings set in in 1585 (a mistake for 1583?) when sailing upon the gTsang-po river. During the same journey, he also reports how the area between Ra-sa and Ra-mo-che had been entirely overflowed and meandered by sKyid-chu, all the circumambulation circuits in lHa-sa were soaked in water and could only be negotiated in a coracle and just as a dike had been erected, it immediately was washed away, causing frustation and annoyance to the people. Cf. *Tāranātha rnam thar* 31a6–b3, 33a2–5.

Roads barely negotiable and unfordable rivers hardly passable (*chu las thar dka’*) are experiences met with by any traveling Tibetan, and with the increase in traffic and transportation, the use of boats and coracles increased too (considered more convenient than travelling by foot, on horse or in sedan-chairs especially when floods had inundated the trails along the river), even to a dramatic extent: numerous hierarchs and visiting guests took recourse to this convenient means of transportation, not a risk-free enterprise as we have seen. By the 17th cent., we have reports of both *gzhung ko* boats as well as *sger gru* or private boats regularly launched, not least between the navigable and oft-frequented water-route linking lHa-sa with Chu-shur (on the way to and fro gTsang). Important hierarchs with large travel parties often were under way, and gauging their size of such parties, it required up to sixty *ko ba* or small boats to carry a party to the other side; cf. e.g. *DL6* 340.

1518 A.D.) was conducted, not by the usual 'Bras-spungs monks who had been in charge since 1416, but by monks from gSang-phu and from the local Karma-pa monastery of Sa-nag[-ma] during Rin-spungs-pa's brief hegemonic intermezzo in dBus.

Absolute or full control over the lHa-sa sanctuary and its nearest environs, however, was exercised neither by one order nor by one ruling house. We find, both within lHa-sa itself and in its closest vicinity numerous establishments, hermitages and shrines during the same spell that were either erected, maintained or associated with the 'Bri-gung-pa, the Karma-pa, or the sTag-lung-pa, without leading to notable conflicts. lHa-sa, on the other hand, was never a political vacuum. The position and prestige of the lHa-sa *dkon gnyer pa* therefore was never small. The increasingly assertive presence of the dGe-lugs-pa in lHa-sa and its immediate surroundings should not go unnoticed by their sectarian opponents and their dominant position was seriously challenged barely fifty years after the demise of the universally respected Tsong-kha-pa. The ensuing conflict proved to have strong political and ideological implications. Though never directly articulated, the key issues of dispute were centered around questions like the rightful representation of the true Embodiment of Compassion, or manifestations of Avalokiteśvara, the tutelary patron *bodhisattva* of Tibet. For the main adversaries, foremost the Karma-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa, the hierarchs of either schools boasted or claimed pre-eminence in embodying precisely this tutelary deity and palladium, the Karma-pa having here taken the lead when gauged historically. The conflict reached a critical point in the late 15th century when the inherent and long-nurtured aspirations entertained by the Karma-pa for the *sanctum* in lHa-sa came to the fore, at a point when the site was already firmly controlled by the local dGe-lugs establishments, headed by 'Bras-spungs. The remarkable success of the dGe-lugs-pa, after occasional setbacks, must to a large extent be ascribed to the genius of the later 2nd Dalai Lama, in hindsight arguably the greatest of all Dalai Lamas.

The subsequent battle for lHa-sa clearly cannot be seen without taking adequate recourse to the larger political picture of Central Tibet, involving many regional powers and involving the lingering conflict born in the aftermath of the emergence of Phag-mo-gru-pa as [con]temporary hegemonic and political factor, with numerous regionally independent gouvernorships (*sde pa*), a situation that was conducive to the rise of a number of ruling houses both in dBus (north and south of gTsang-po river) and in the gTsang province. They soon were at odds with one another, being locked in intercine squabblings. Needless to say, in the present essay we must restrict our presentation to the political actors directly involved in the conflict in and around lHa-sa.

Nourishing such aspirations, the 7th Karma-pa (Zhva-nag) Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454–1506 A.D.) paid regular visits to lHa-sa, as in 1478. It was the utmost ambitious and charismatic 4th Zhva-dmar Chos-grags ye-shes (1453–1524 A.D.) who similarly in 1478, 1497, 1500 and again l505 rendered considerable service and tendered ample donations to the Jo-khang or to the Karma-pa hermitage on Mt. [rTse] Po-ta-la. The peaceful (and somewhat fatalistically bent) 7th Karma-pa discloses in a notably candid way in his biography his sentiments concerning the lHa-sa patrimony occupied by their antagonists. His stance, paraphrased below, was formulated during his peregrination throughout Tibet. When he paid a visit to lHa-sa – in the late 1470's,[160] he was unable to withhold his grievance and his contempt (a stance that at that point possibly was bolstered by the reassuring feeling that he had the military strong Rin-spungs-pa as supporters).

[160] Other studies suggest that his visit took place in the 1490's, but this is hardly feasible. Cf. D. P. Jackson 1989: 49.

It is reported how [the 7th Karma-pa] three times listened to a prophecy of Maitreya[161] which bespoke that the image of Jo-bo Śākyamuni (of lHa-sa) – most inauspiciously – had been set up in the very heart of a Nāga-land (i.e. upon a subterranean watery world of the former 'O-thang lake and the heart-blood of the supine demoness), wherefore the Teaching of Buddha generally was destined to deteriorate, but specifically so here in Tibet. This prophecy went on to purport that due to such prevailing circumstances, however – deemed unworthy for ornamenting the supreme incarnation (i.e. rendering service to the Jo-bo Statue)[162] – Tibet had become a land replete with (impure and unworthy) mendicant monks. Only by establishing a [morally] pure monk community, the prophecy proclaimed, that as retinue would render service to the Jo-bo icon, would the Teaching of Buddha revive and prosper properly. Concurring with the prophecy, the Karma-pa readily contemplated establishing such a community,[163] [yet misgivings also abound] because even though the local sNel-pa governors (the then de-facto rulers of the lHa-sa area) were attached to [the Karma-pa] hierarch and had been patrons of the last three [Karma-pa] embodiments,[164] due to their dependency on others [i.e. the long-standing patronage obligation of the sNel-pa to the dGe-lugs-pa and the latter's allies and military strength], they could not fulfil the injunction issued by Maitreya. Still Karma-pa was of the opinion that the injunction could not just be ignored. He was firmly convinced that such a Karma-pa monk-community would be beneficial for all practitioners, irrespective of spiritual level, but that it [currently] remained impracticable to realize since no one would support it at this very point. He further contended that in these degenerate times in which he was living those responsible for the site (the dGe-lugs-pa), under the pretext of proper spiritual conduct, in fact were only concerned with amassing riches and material things as simple householders, and being demonically obsessed (as he purports), they were acting as hypocrites who merely wore the insignia of renunciate while at the same time incessantly preparing for war. He estimated that a monk army amounting to 450 fighters, properly equipped, easily could fulfil the injunction and take over the site. On the other hand, he conceded, no Karma-pa follower could ever inflict any harm on others and being true followers of Buddha would not indulge in such sinful activities, take no offence when provoked. Yet the very next day a militia of dGe-lugs monks from Se-ra was immediately mustered, and prepared themselves for battle. They were about to confront him and his retinue of monks as they arrived at his camp wearing on their head begging-bowls, using their cushions as lance banners and accompanied by a number of conscripts. But since no one in the Karma-pa camp transgressed the behest [of the Karma-pa hierarch, i.e. not to take up arms and engage in fighting], they remained unarmed and unmovable in the same position wherefore the dGe-lugs army proved unable to cause them any harm (cf. *Kam tshang brgyud pa I* 280a7–b7; *II* 60b3–61a4; see also *III* 6b1–7a3; *Karma sku phreng II* 153–56).

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[161] The *locus classicus* of this prophecy remains to be identified.

[162] The supreme incarnation alludes to *ston pa* Śākyamuni, *alias* Jo-bo Rin-po-che. For the modalities of offering head ornaments (*dbu rgyan phul*); cf. *Tsong kha pa rnam thar* 349–55; *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 3b5.

Evidently an ill-veiled reference to the local dGe-lugs-pa-loyal sacristans and to the monks of 'Bras-spungs. In the eyes of the Karma-pa hierarch, the dGe-lugs establishment – haughty with hubris – was considered unworthy of being entrusted with the exclusive care of the site. Such accusations or even disdainful dismissals (i.e. their practice is impure and the holders beset with materialistic and worldly objectives) were common, and came in use when one party, mostly frustrated, considered their antagonists unworthy of the privileges they held.

[163] An ill-veiled euphemism for appropriating control of the site.

[164] This refers to the sNe'u fiefship's patronage of the Karma-pa ever since the 5th Karma-pa De-bzhin gshegs-pa, starting from 1406 A.D. Cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1002. If this reflects historic truth, it would indicate that the sNel-pa had sworn patronage to both orders during the same period, in no way an unusual arrangement.

A year or two later the tables slowly turned when the assertive Rin-spungs rulers Kun-bzang and in particular his son Don-yod rdo-rje rGyal-po dpal-bzang-po – the coming strongman of Central Tibet, partisan and vigorously anti-dGe-lugs – not least being instigated by the politically ambitious 4th Zhva-dmar (and the 7th Karma-pa?), invaded the dBus province, conquered 'Phan-yul (under the rule of the Brag-dkar governorship who had replaced the rGya-ma house in this area in the late 14th cent.) and subsequently inflicted a blow on the sNe'u/sNel-pa (then secular protectors of lHa-sa) – the first incursion taking place in 1480 followed by another in 1499. That the sNel-pa estate had been devoted to the legacy of lHa-sa is witnessed, aside from the numerous restaurations and refurbishments conducted by them, by the erection of a number of statues in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang that represent former ascetics and craftsmen famous for having rendered great service to the *sanctum*, such as images of Dol-chung skor-dpon, Bla-ma Zhang and Zhig-po bdud-rtsi.[165]

The power of *chos rgyal* Don-yod rdo-rje, numerous sources confirm, at that point (i.e. around 1500's) was well-nigh absolute (*ding sang khong la mi nyan pa'i mi mi 'dug*).[166] The situation thus changed – if only briefly – during the ensuing Rin-spungs-pa and Karma-pa hegemony (which however proved fragile due to the embittered wrangling reigning between the entourages of the presiding Zhva-nag and Zhva-dmar administrations respectively and the lack of coordination with other polities) with their presence in the lHa-sa area and their control over large parts of Central Tibet between *ca*. 1480 and 1518 A.D. Their success in lHa-sa itself no least was the outcome of the shift in allegiance on the side of the sNe'u-pa at lHa-sa – and opportunely of the Brag-dkar-pa too – who, once defeated or coerced, proved willing to comply with the wishes of the new strong force in Tibet.[167] Aside from marking a turning-point in the narrow network of local secular rule in

[165] See Fig. 20 and *lHa ldan dkar chag* 9. In addition to the donation in 1415 of Mt. dMar-po-ri (or part of it) to the 5th Karma-pa, it did not go unmentioned that a presiding sNe'u-rdzong-pa Phag-gru *dpon po* (*sic*! i.e. Nam-mkha' bzang-po of the sNe'u estate?) in the 1430's donated to the 6th Zhva-nag mThong-ba don-ldan (1416–53) a full religious estate grant (*spyi sgos kyi gzhi len 'bul byas*), yet without specifying which estate was donated. Cf. *Kam tshang brgyud pa* 246a1–3 8B: 574. It was a period marked by considerable upheaval and unrest at the Phag-gru seats and the beginning of the rise of the Rin-spungs house; cf. App. I above and Czaja 2006. Behind this move taken by the sNe'u-gdong administrators, we no doubt should also see the workings of the 6th Karma-pa mThong-ba don-ldan.

Opposition to the later developments in the 1480's was organized by the redoubtable 8th dGa'-ldan and 'Bras-spungs throne-holder, sMon-lam-dpal Legs-pa'i blo-gros (1414–1491 A.D.), who – vainly in part – used a method of warfare, namely sorcery to attempt to ward off the Rin-spungs-pa. Most spectacular was *sa dbang* Don-yod rdo-rje's attack on dGa'-ldan in 1480 to plunder the rich objects kept there. It allegedly was this 8th dGa'-ldan throne-holder's successful defence – by means of Mahākāla rites that protected the site from further destruction and pillaging. Cf. Kaschewsky 1970: 251. At that point, sMon-lam-dpal gained a repute as great magician. He passed away on Mt. Potala.

[166] See *Rin chen rnam rgyal rnam mgur* 212.2–3 (= 107a2–3).

[167] One of the most intriguing issues of the 15th century centers around the contentious and antagonistic relationship between sNel-pa and Rin-spungs-pa, both originally local governors and fiefships of the sNe'u-gdong or Phag-gru *gong ma*. Their earliest clash may be related to events at Rva-lung where the 'Brug *nang so* Rin-chen bzang-po (father of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs) had been assassinated by a sNel-pa chief in 1467 (*'Brug pa kun legs rnam thar* 3b, 12a, 126b; ed. Stein) – in the wake of such wranglings that in part may have been instigated by the 'Brug-pa at Rva-lung or followed in the wake of the demise of the Rin-spungs ruler Nor-bu bzang-po (1403–66); the young 'Brug-pa Kun-legs was reared by his aunt (married into the Yar-rgyab house of Gong-dkar) and he later went to become servant to the Rin-spungs *mi dbang* Kun-tu bzang-po (son of Nor-bu bzang-po and elder brother of *mi dbang* mTsho-skyes rdo-rje). The 7th Phag-gru *sde srid*, albeit married to a Rin-spungs lady had been dissatisfied with the Rin-spungs ruler Nor-bzang and a war ensued, with Yar-rgyab, Gong-dkar and Bya-sa siding with the lady of the Phag-gru ruler and the sNe'u and 'Ol-kha siding with the Phag-gru *sde srid*. Cf. *Deb dmar gsar* 83; Ehrhard 2003c: 46. For further details; see also O. Czaja 2006.

The tension was building up in the 1470's, and with changing loyalties, it is reported that at one point the Rin-spungs-pa were attacked by Gong-dkar (= Yar-rgyab) and by the sNel-pa. It promptly courted retaliation. Yet, notwithstanding the subjugation or submission of the sNel-pa governorship (along with another little-known independent secular house known as the dPal-'byor lhun-po estate* behind dMar-po-ri that later adhered to the sNe'u house) in 1480 – or precisely because of it – the Rin-spungs *nang so* mTsho-skyes rdo-rje (1450/62–1510) and the sNel-pa rulers (out of foregone nostalgia they still prided themselves with the now purely nominal Yüan-time title "Local Commander" (*du dben sha* = *duyuanshuai*), like so many other petty local rulers in Tibet) were united in showering donations on the 7th Karma-pa, now their common root-teacher. This sign of the new loyalty of sNe'u-pa towards Rin-spungs and the Karma-pa is witnessed by the circumstance that in 1481, with the enthronement of *spyan snga* Ngag gi dbang-po (1439–91) as the 8th *gong ma* of Phag-gru at sNe'u-gdong, the sNe'u ruler met mTsho-skyes rdo-rje (see *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1123–24). In 1499, after a backlash of disloyalty, the sNe'u *rdzong* anew was raided by the Rin-spungs-pa, and it was only with the mediation and assistance from the side of the rulers of 'Ol-kha and the sTag-lung that the sNel-pa rulers managed to escape and seek refuge in Byang sTag-lung; cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 481; *Kam tshang brgyud pa* 308b2–6; Klong-rdol (*gSung 'bum II* 448).

The most intriguing aspect in this story remains with the circumstance that both the Rin-spungs-pa and the sNe'u-pa arguably stemmed from the same old dGyer (*var.* sGer) clan stock** (evidently from different patrilines or branches). It is somewhat perplexing to register warring clashes between lines with common roots (although "no love lost" between affinal lines are amply reported in Tibetan literature too); conversely, it could also explicate the shift submission on the side of sNe'u. It cannot fully be ruled out that the dGyer clan of the founder Nam-mkha' bzang-po within the sNe'u house in the meantime had been ousted from their main seat.

Whatever it may be, the sNel-pa in the late 15th cent. was coerced into shifting front, when the sNe'u *sa skyong* Ngag-dbang bsod-nams lhun-po and (his younger brother) Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal opened their treasury and soothed the Karma-pa by donating their personal revenue (*sku skal*; including the sGer/dGyer clan heirloom and regalia? see e.g. *Thang stong rnam thar I* 214–18; and below) to their new root-teacher, the 4th Zhva-dmar (enthroned 1493 as *spyan snga* at gDan-sa-thel ruling there until his death), a step that evidently prevented the all-out destruction of the sNe'u estate and the lHa-sa seat. It should be added that traditional Karma-pa sources persistently argue that their conduct in this period of momentary superiority had been guided by a behaviour worthy of "the old Dharma kings of Tibet" and that confiscation of estates directly was abolished (having been taught the Dharma-principle of orderly conduct from Rin-chen rnam-rgyal; see fn. 170). This remark indeed suggests that criticism had been floating on that score.

In the heated atmosphere, the invasion and pacification of the sNe'u estate nevertheless was welcomed in different corners, so e.g. the learned gSer-mdog wrote a letter of congratulation on the occasion, a step no doubt that later was an added reason for his unpopularity (and subsequent ban on his writings) in dGe-lugs circles.

* This estate was the residence of the sNe'u ruler dPal-'byor rgyal-po; cf. Table V.12.1.

** The common position that the sNe'u house rose from the Rlangs lHa-gzigs clan (of the Phag-mo-gru-pa; see e.g. Klong-rdol, *gSung 'bum* II 448–49) is uncertain and probably untenable, the sNe'u founder Rin-chen bzang-po merely was a minister of *ta'i si tu* Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan and in no way a kin. Nam-mkha' bzang-po, who was elected *rdzong dpon* of the sNe'u fiefship was descended from the sGer line *via* the Rin-spungs-pa house. The dGyer (*var*. s/dGer) was a clan striking old roots in Tibet (a major early stronghold and homestead of theirs was Khra-'brug in Yar-lung). It allegedly had risen to prominence during the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po (a founding figure sGer Ral-pa-'dzin is listed as his *nang blon* – albeit historically shaky) and the clan supposedly won pre-eminence through (monopolizing) trade with the precious *g.yu* gems brought along from Dru-gu (Tujue; i.e. the Turks); such costly objects were treasured by them as their family regalia and heirlooms. Later, as said, they emerged as the ruling lines behind rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang of Mal-gro wherefrom the sKu-rab ruling house of Dvags-po was descended; this line of sGer was known as the dGer-dkar line); they were also behind the founding lineages of Nam-mkha' rgyal-po, the founding figure of the Rin-spungs-pa.

In the narrow Yar-lung area it was important to note that the above Rin-spungs-pa Ma-sangs mTsho-skyes rdo-rje returned to the dGyer clan's homeland of Yar-lung and appropriate the mKhar-thog *rdzong*. From 1491–99 – during a period his nephew *sa skyong* Don-yod rdo-rje ruled the entire dBus and sKyid-shod – he acted as regent to the Phag-mo gru-pa state (reigning together with his religious ally and teachers, the 4th Zhva-dmar-pa Chos-grags ye-shes (1423–1524 A.D.) and the 7th Zhva-nag).

It is not without irony that the *g.yu* regalia of the sGer clan – inherited and dearly treasured by the Rin-spungs-pa and indirectly linking them to the ancestral legacy of Srong-btsan sgam-po – later were confiscated by the emerging dGa'-ldan pho-

the lHa-sa area, to the dGe-lugs-pa this *volte face* of their traditional allies and long-time patrons was regarded as an act of betrayal. Behind the change in attitude, we also shall anticipate the strategy of the *spyan snga* of the Phag-gru and of the Rlangs family in sNe'u-gdong with their new strongly pro-Karma-pa stance. The decisive military incursion of 1499 towards the sNe'u/sNel-pa had followed in the wake of an intermezzo that took place the year before. In lHa-sa, the sNang-rtse *sde pa*, a local but powerful ruling house in the neighbouring sTod-lung valley – patrons both of the Zhva-dmar-pa and Zhva-nag-pa – had been assassinated by their (old) foe, the sNe'u-pa, probably because the former attempted to oust or to replace the weakened sNel-pa as secular lords of lHa-sa. Indeed, there are several indications suggesting that the sNang-rtse *sde pa* by Don-yod rdo-rje had been commissioned with the responsibility for the lHa-sa area in the period 1481 to *ca*. 1500 A.D. It probably was in this period that they had erected a local residence in lHa-sa, the sNang-rtse-shag which soon should turn into a detention.[168]

The new ruler was commonly addressed as the dBus-gTsang ru-bzhi *sa skyong*, "Ruler of All Central Tibet." It was a point when it was the Rin-spungs rulers who were petitioned when issues and natural disasters of supraregional importance had to be attended to (cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 101, 168–169), so e.g. the outbreak of drought, famine and epidemics that visited sKyid-shod district in the year 1500. It prompted the local Brag-dkar *mi dpon* Sri-gcod at Glang-ra (of 'Brom-stod) to request their help and for charity when the Karma-pa were on their way to their allies at 'Bri-gung-mthil. En route they had also paid Jo-khang a visit, where Zhva-dmar-pa would consecrate the local dikes by strewing blessed barley corn (*phyag nas*) and it is reported that the subterranean Nāga spirit, the "lord of the site," displayed himself visibly to receive the flower offerings. It thus was both an act of donation and one of reception (signalling an underlying submission and approval) that seem to purport that the Karma-pa were considered as – or regarding themselves as – legitimate heirs and local rulers to lHa-sa. 'Bri-gung sources chronicle the same episode[169] when plague and drought – soon translating into a

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brang rulers in the 1640's. These ancient precious ornaments (*rin rgyan*) of the sGer were displayed as trophies (from around 1658) during the rGyal-po lo-gsar ceremonies of *sMon lam chen mo* up to most recently. Cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: Introduction. Sources: *sGer gyi gdung rabs* 128–29; *Deb dmar gsar* (Tucci 1972: 238-241); *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 452–53; *DL6* 431; *Bod kyi deb ther* 160f.; *gSer bzhengs dkar chag II* 254a6–5; *Deb ther kun gsal* 242–44.

[168] In 1498 *bka' blon* (*sic*) sNang-rtse-ba Blo-gros legs-bzang* was assasinated, evidently by the sNe'u chiefs (cf. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 50b4–5; *Deb dmar gsar* Tucci 228), a step courting a renewed invasion and retaliation by the Rin-spungs-pa Don-yod rdo-rje the following year. It prompted the asylum of the sNe'u chiefs to the neighbouring sKyor-mo-lung. In the years ahead, the sNe'u estate should be ruled from sKyor-mo-lung; cf. Table 12.1.

During the tenure of the 5th Dalai Lama's reign, the sNang-rtse manor was formally converted into the residence of the city magistrate (*mi dpon*) and judiciary mansion (later jail). Cf. dKon-mchog lha-skyabs 1998: 189; *HSLG 6*: 167–71; *Lhasa Interviews* 1–12 (see now Tsering Gyalbo 2005: 418–40).

* He may be identical with sNang-rtse Blo-gros blo-bzang (son of one rGya-lu *drung 'khor* and Dung-'dzoms Bu-khrid of sNang-rtse *gzhis ka* (a rel. estate which at some point was under the rGyud-smad *grva tshang*). His contemporary was Sle'u [= sNe'u] *rdzong dpon* under which the sNang-rtse *gzhis ka* at some point had been subordinate. It is reported that the sNe'u [*rdzong dpon*] Bu-mo A-dzoms (= Sangs-rgyas dpal-'dzoms? late 15th, early 16th cent.? ; see Table V.12.1 below) eventually killed Blo-gros blo-bzang by setting fire to the sNang-rtse-shag residence where he had been kept prisoner. See *lHa sa'i dmangs khrod sgrung gtam* (Vol. 1): 435–52. The sNang-rtse-shag mansion housed a *srung ma* called sNang-rtse rgyal-po; the *srung ma* may be identical with the (later) *yul lha* of sNang-rtse – originally embodying the assassinated Blo-gros blo-bzang.

[169] Cf. *Kun dga' rin chen rnam thar I* B: 408–16; *III* 107–22; *III* 512–27; *IV* 25–27; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1142; *Kam tshang brgyud pa I* 309b3–4. The fields, grass, leaves etc. all dried out, just like lakes and ponds, suffocating all fish in the water as detailed in the sources. The date is confirmed in the biography of Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas rin-chen (1450/53–1524/25 A.D.) who reports about a widespread drought looming large in dBus-gTsang, blighting the provinces

severe famine – haunted the sKyid-shod district, with a huge death toll. Here the protagonist was the 15th 'Bri-gung throne-holder Kun-dga' rin-chen (1475–1527), who similarly entertained close bonds with Don-yod rdo-rje (regularly camping in this period in the lHa-sa area – in fact his more stationary tent-residence during this period was sNye-thang – and customarily addressed *sde pa sgar pa* or the "mobile or camping ruler")[170] who had summoned him to assist in rain rituals and who – similar to the reception of Zhva-dmar-pa – too was invited to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang to conduct ceremonies and inaugurate the local dikes with "blessed barley corn." In fact, both bKa'-brgyud hierarchs met in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and were treated as peers by *sa skyong* Don-yod rdo-rje, received the same grand reception not only in Ra-sa but also on Mt. Potala. We may conclude that *sa skyong* Don-yod rdo-rje deliberately entertained close patron-client bonds to both hierarchs, indeed eventually to the sTag-lung hierarch too.[171] It may not surprise that both to the 4th Zhva-dmar-pa and the 7th Zhva-nag-pa (from 1486 A.D.) entertained close teacher-pupil relationships with the 15th 'Bri-gung-pa. Remarkable here perhaps is that for the service in halting the drought and in protecting lHa-sa, the 'Bri-gung hierarch was rewarded with the sMon-grong feudal estate grant (located in 'Brom-stod, conveniently situated as a stop-over estate *en route* between lHa-sa and 'Bri-gung-mthil).[172] Under the auspices of Don-yod rdo-rje, the 'Bri-gung until at least late 1520's remained the effective rulers of the area to the east of lHa-sa (i.e. sKyid-stod) up until 'Bri-gung, a point in history when the 'Bri-gung-pa reached their apex as regional power. They remained enmeshed in repeated warfare against the Phag-mo-gru-pa, headed by their local governorship, the dGa'-ldan-pa – the coming strong force in the area – who made many inroads into 'Bri-gung territories and destroyed many of their sites starting from 1516. Not uncharacteristically, the early 16th century is denoted a period fraught with internal conflicts between maternal relatives (*zhang tshan 'khrugs pa*) as the sources depict disloyalty

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that year and prompting him to carry through a purifying ablution rite. Ill-starred, a true *annus horribilis*, the same year saw a major epidemic rage in 'Phan-yul too. Cf. *Mus chen rnam thar* 100.2–3. Just prior to this point, gTsang-smyon (1452–1507) successfully conducted rain rites in lHa-sa after a bout of drought; cf. *gTsang smyon rnam thar* 117.3–5. The 15th 'Bri-gung tenant had been pupil of the 7th Karma-pa Chos-grags rgya-mtsho from 1486 and entertained bonds to the 14th sTag-lung throne-holder.

[170] The camp site was set up at mKhar-nag-thang or "the Black Citadel Plain" of sNye-thang, where he regularly resided in his black tent (*sbra nag*). In the early 1500's, the old and ailing gTsang-smyon (1452–1507) here repeatedly delivered precepts to the Rin-spungs ruler, instructed him in the *dharma* principle of rule based upon *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* – not inappropriately, since this canonical text deals with the issue of the confession of sins and instructions concerning divine kingship. See *gTsang smyon rnam thar* 126a5–128a3; *Rin chen rnam rgyal rnam mgur* 12a4–6, 20b1–3.

[171] The Rin-spungs-pa entertained close religious bonds and patron-priest relations with a very large number of religious institutions and individuals, aside from the major bKa'-brgyud-pa also to Sa-skya-pa. It included among others great masters such as Go-rams-pa and, as said, Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan, Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1475–1530), *lha btsun* Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, and Śākya mchog-ldan (1428-1507), to mention a few.

[172] Also denoted sMon-grong skyid-tshal – or sMon-'gro nang-pa not far from this site we find other 'Bri-gung sites such as Zhog sKyid-spro and Phyag-'tshal-sgang.* Later, sMon-grong became a private (*sger*) and subsequently a Kun-bde-gling monastic estate.

From another, much later 'Bri-gung incident (this time involving the hapless dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin, the 35th 'Bri-gung throne-holder), we may acquire an impression of the ritual modalities during a 1938 drought episode in the 'Bri-gung area which e.g. involved the execution of appropriate apotropaic and incense offerings to local Nāgas (*klu gtor klu bsang char 'bebs*), being conducted at gZi-can bla-mtsho of Mal-gro, cf. *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 652.

* This site (present-day identical with Phyag-'tshal-nang? located at 29°34'N 91°24'E; cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 85), was already registered in the early 13th cent. as the border site of 'Bri-gung monastic influence and its name may indicate that it was here that guests to and fro 'Bri-gung were welcomed or seen off; cf. Grags-pa 'byung-gnas, *gDan sa rin po che'i bla ma dge 'dun rnams la gdams pa* 303.4, 304.4.

between rival relatives. It refers not least to the sheer endless conflicts and rivalries in which many governors were locked, headed by families often affiliated with one another by blood. Blood in fact here meant little, since arranged intermarriage indeed was regarded as nothing more than a strategic means of forging indispensable if only temporary alliances. In the early 16th century, the main actors were, aside from the now moribund Rin-spungs-pa, the competing side-lines of the Rlangs family that had settled outside the main seat at sNe'u-gdong, now ruling from Gong-dkar and sKyor-mo-lung (replacing Yar-rgyab and sNe'u *sde pa* respectively). A characteristic trait of the petty internecine conflicts in these centuries thus was the treasonous lightness with which loyalty transformed into disloyalty, how hubris and fortuitousness were followed by their antithesis, when old friends turned into new enemies or when the harvest of disloyalty was reaped, repaid by betrayal – it often backfired, as a Tibetan saying in one source appositely went: "the slingshot made from goat hair hits the goat's neck" (*ra spu'i 'ur rdo ra yi mjing par 'khor*).

With the death of the redoubtable rulers of Rin-spungs-pa, *sa skyong* Don-yod rdo-rje and mTsho-skyes rdo-rje in 1510 and 1512 respectively, in the wake of the repeated military defeats of the once-strong Rin-spungs-pa army in 1516, Rin-spungs-pa should lose their grip over lHa-sa. Their fate was doomed after a new front had gathered against them leading to repeated clashes with their former ally, the Phag-gru ruler, Ngag-dbang bkra-shis grags-pa, and his coalition-army led by troops from the new rising power of dBus, the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa. The disappearance of the Rin-spungs-pa paved the way for the ascent of the dGe-lugs-pa in the lHa-sa area again, now with the active support and patronage of the Phag-gru ruler. For a brief period, the Phag-gru ruler – who entertained close bonds to 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho, now was directly wielding his power in the area, evidenced by the posting of family members of his in sNe'u *rdzong* and sKyor-mo-lung, both strategically close to lHa-sa. The main figure behind this alliance in the period to come was the last sNe'u ruler, the female *dpon sa* Sangs-rgyas dpal-'dzoms-ma.

Propped by 'Bri-gung-pa's military strongman and administrator, the redoubtable mGon-po rgyal-mtshan, the 15th throne-holder Kun-dga' rin-chen remained politically and militarily successful in the 1520's, and appropriated large areas of 'Phan-yul. They kept remaining an initially military, later ecclesiastic challenge to the dGe-lugs presence in dBus or sKyid-shod right up to the beginning of the 17th century. We can appreciate how the geo-political idealization of lHa-sa (ideally embodied in the two imperial sanctuaries) that was intimately connected with the emergence already from the 11th century of the all-pervasive Avalokiteśvara and Great Compassionate One Cult and with the prestige and glorification of the role held by the imperial founder Srong-btsan sgam-po now increasingly became a real issue. In fact, the bone of contention that constituted the spiritual trophy between uncompromising political fronts now focussed around this legacy. It soon turned into a dispute over symbols that occasionally triggered warfare. The ensuing activities appear to have followed a logical path of consolidation: In the year 1503, having made extensive donations that included the two Jo-bo edifices and the Tshal Gung-thang institution (including other Karma-pa objects of veneration found in lHa-sa) to the Karma-pa (as we have seen above the 'Bri-gung-pa were otherwise compensated), the wish – as paraphrased above – of the Hierarch to erect a proper community (*dge 'dun gtsang hrug*) on dMar-po-ri or Mt. Potala[173] proved impossible to fulfil

[173] Although it proved politically impossible (due to the vehement opposition from all dGe-lugs institutions in the area) to erect a proper Karma-pa convent on the hill, it appears that in the 1480's as *sa skyong* Don-yod rdo-rje took control over the lHa-sa area, a new residence (*khang gsar*) – here to be understood as a hermitage on Mt. Potala* – was

evidently out of fear that the opposition would be too powerful, and the Karma-pa wish finally was not carried out and sanctioned by the lay ruler Don-yod rdo-rje, concerned as he was for the dire consequences of *Realpolitik*. The ambitious Karma-pa hierarchs at that point had succeeded in setting up a *khang gsar* or "new hermitage residence" on the hill, but it never turned into a proper monastic seat, which was the true objective of the Karma-pa. The 4th Zhva-dmar instead erected in Byang, the Yangs-pa-can monastery[174] and the 7th Zhva-nag Chos-grags rgya-mtsho had the temple of Thub-bstan Chos-'khor[-gling] built in the locality of Sa-nag in the eastern part of lHa-sa township, where he resided during his last years, evidently in an attempt to add weight to the intention of his to strengthen their presence in the area. Both institutions were completed in 1503 A.D,[175] at the height of the Karma-pa control of the lHa-sa area and raised as outposts in the closest

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inaugurated by Chos-grags rgya-mtsho; cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1142.4–5; the same took place in 1500, when the 4th Zhva-dmar-pa visited the site. This new residence clearly was no more that a renovation of an older institution belonging to the Karma-pa that went back at least to the 13th cent., perhaps earlier. This hermitic seat accomodated among others the *thugs dam* relic of *rje* De-bzhin gshegs-pa installed in the latter's hermitage on dMar-po-ri, a sandalwood statue of the White Tārā at the age of six years which in this respect was confiscated and appropriated by the Karma-pa; cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1105; *Kam tshang brgyud pa I* 294a1–2, 309b1. It was the local legacy of the 5th Karma-pa – who had passed away 1415 on dMar-po-ri in his estate hermitage – that appears to be in vivid memory around 60 years later, motivating the Karma-pa to appropriate and to make use of their legal right.

Later Mi-bskyod rdo-rje (in 1526) – a equally worthy candidate known as the 8th 'Jig-rten dbang-po or Lokeśvara manifestation – too lists a speaking statue of *drung* Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (this person since it was the 3rd Karma-pa, who initially had been granted dMar-po-ri as religious estate in 1310) that requested to be placed in front of the lHa-sa sPyan-ras-gzigs (= Lokeśvara); cf. *ibd. II* 14b3–4. It appears that the famous 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara (considered the *Bod kha ba can gyi rten skal*; see below) at that point had been set up in its own chamber on Mt. dMar-po-ri (= the meditation cave of Srong-btsan-sgam-po?) – yet it remains unclear whether this old cave was identical with the seat of the 5th Karma-pa. If so, the renovation in the 1480's may refer to this old Avalokiteśvara hermitage. On dMar-po-ri: sTag-lung Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal reports in 1605 about a(nother) principal image on Potala, a special alloy (*zi khyim*) statue of Munendra originally erected in Varaṇasi, in addition to accommodating other statues; cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 582. A *rdzong*? or fortification on dMar-po-ri or Potala is reported during 1610 in connection with description of the aftermath of the destruction of the Yar-rgyab house.

Sensing the dangers of the revival of a Karma-pa seat in the heart of lHa-sa, the dGe-lugs-pa probably only allowed – if at all – a Karma-pa presence at its immediate outskirts. An actual Karma-pa convent was therefore only allowed to be erected in the eastern part of the town, resp. three and four kilometers at the most from Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and dMar-po-ri, and hence out of sight of one another – to avoid or provoke warring conflicts. Still, as we shall see, Sa-nag remained a threat to the dGe-lugs-pa during its entire existence.

In early 1645, the Great Fifth, after his all-out victory in Central Tibet, contemplated where to set up his permanent residence, it is reported that a number of candidates were mooted such as in Mal-gro, and prophecies initially suggested other fortress hills such as Has-po-ri at bSam-yas or Chu-bo-ri, yet the choise was to fall upon dMar-po-ri.

* Or at the feet of Mt. dMar-po-ri, we are informed that a eight-pillered *chos grva* of Karma bka'-brgyud-pa was destroyed during the reign of the Great Fifth, whereupon the Zhol bTson-khang (also called sPang-steng thog-kha) was erected. See *Lhasa Interviews* 7 (now Tsering Gyalbo 2005: 379–80).

[174] Byang bDe-chen Yangs-pa-can (30°05'N 89°32'E) of 'Dam-gzhung county (*xian*). Cf. e.g. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1145–1151; *Zhva dmar lnga pa rnam thar* 6a3-5; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1846–47. He ascended the throne as the first incumbent after the Phag-gru gong-ma had donated him the area as religious estate. The name may have been consciously (provocatively so) chosen since Yangs-pa-can also was the name of the central temple in the dGa'-ldan monastery. Soon after its erection, it became involved in the lingering skirmishes between the Karma-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa.

In 1518, the gTsang troops inflicted major damages on Se-ra and 'Bras-spungs. In 1642, conversely, Byang Yangs-pa-can suffered major damages from their antagonists.

[175] Cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1105–06: east of lHa-sa; *Kam tshang brgyud pa I* 294a4; *dPal 'byor lhun grub rnam thar* 28b4–5).

lHa-sa area in connection with their hegemonic endeavours to bolster their presence in the area and set up in an attempt to outshine the large dGe-lugs monastic *ka ba gsum* pillars in the area. It was the 4th Zhva-dmar who in this period, strongly backed by Don-yod rdo-rje, thus emerged – if only for a few years – as the undisputed hierarch in Central Tibet. He entertained close relations with the Phag-mo-gru-pa and had already in 1493 (1496, according to *Zhva dmar lnga pa rnam thar* 6a3) taken over the seat at gDan-sa-mthil and he successfully restored the seat and institution of their then feeble 'Bri-gung ally. It was among the hierarchs of the latter order that the ideological endeavours of Zhva-dmar found a revival.

Faithful to their political ambitions, the gTsang alliance nevertheless kept claiming that lHa-sa and its key *sanctum* had passed under their rule long before, a situation that promised that lHa-sa remained at the cross-road between peace and war. They contended – not quite unjustifiably – that dMar-po-ri, once had been donated to Karma-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje and – later reconfirmed – to the 5th Karma-pa De-bzhin gshegs-pa during the preceding Tshal rule. Following his return from China in 1411, the 5th Karma-pa was invited to sNe'u-gdong at which occasion rTse Po-ta-la in lHa-sa was donated to him as monastic or hermitic estate grant, reconfirming an older donation.[176] The Tshal-pa and sNe'u-pa, it thus appears, had smoothed the path for the Karma-pa's claim on lHa-sa, at a period where the sNe'u-pa now throughout the 15th century rose to become the overall rulers of sKyid-shod and 'Phan-yul.[177]

The 5th Karma-pa's tour through Yar-lung Valley in 1411–12 to sNe-'u-gdong proved triumphal, during a period when in lHa-sa bTsong-kha-pa increased his spiritual (and political) leverage, and Karma-pa's every step no doubt was being monitored carefully by the dGe-lugs-pa. After a final detour to mTshal-min in Dol dist., he returned to lHa-sa where he decided to sojourn in the erstwhile Srong-btsan sgam-po hermitage. The 5th Karma-pa, a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, who had conducted extensive repair of the Ra-sa *sanctum* and was regarded as an universally acclaimed master and imperial preceptor, was to spend his last days (1415 A.D.) in his favourite

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Thub-bstan Chos-'khor (also called or written Thub-chen; the "Dharmacakra of Buddha's Teaching;" evidently a word-play on lHa-sa, since it was one of the three paramount Dharmacakra pilgrimage sites of Tibet) was located in Sa-nag or "Black Soil," the ancient name for the present-day district of (the more appropriately named) Karma dgon-gsar [gling-kha] in eastern lHa-sa, adjacent to sKu-'bum-thang. Kaḥ-thog reads lHa-sa'i thod Sa-nag-ma or "Sa-nag-ma [on] the threshold or doorstep of lHa-sa." It thus was located in the closest environs, due east of Bar-skor and the Jo-bo *Sanctum* (as recommended in the Maitreya prophecy reported above), thus fulfilling the earnest wish of the Karma-pa hierarch to establish a Karma-pa temple close to (i.e. "at the threshold" of) Jo-khang. It only survived for a limited number of years, which would explain why the elusive site rarely finds mention of any note in contemporary literature. Thub-chen dgon-pa remained the bone of contention between the two opposing factions (cf. *Mi bskyod rdo rje rnam thar* 223–224). Still. their limited success was also admitted to by the Karma-pa, they – in hindsight? – deemed the outcome or the prospect of their project of consolidation in lHa-sa to be mediocre (*rten 'brel ha cang 'grigs che ba ma byung*).

The Sa-nag site of the Karma-pa in the "heart of lHa-sa" and thus in the heart of dGe-lugs territory remained a thorn in their flesh throughout the entire period right up to the early 17th century. The name evidently springs from the "Black Site" i.e. the "Site of the Black [Hats]" (Zhva-nag). The 5th Dalai Lama (cf. *DL4* 41b3–4; *DL5 IV* = Ahmad 1999: 223) pointedly remarks that Sa-nag-ma was located within (and hence under the jurisdiction of) the sNe'u/sNel governorship (having been confiscated from them following their defeat to the Karma-pa in the 1480's) and he adds, true to his unmistakably polemic style, that it was raised there by the Karma-pa with a view to "dry out" Se-ra and 'Bras-spungs.

[176] An additional reason for the Tshal donation to the 5th Karma-pa may rest with the fact that De-bzhin gshegs-pa stemmed from the same clan as Bla-ma Zhang, namely the sNa-nam Zhang.

[177] I.e. *skyi 'phan gi bdag po*; cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1014.

cave on dMar-po-ri, close to Jo-bo Rin-po-che on the mythic seat of sPyan-ras-gzigs. The sources vary as to the reason for his untimely demise, some purport that he succumbed to a bout of small-pox, others suggest that he may have been a victim of poisoning – in any case, the renown master passed away during a time marked by a virulent atmosphere.[178]

It is common knowledge that a number of hierarchs in Tibet such as the Rva-lung ’Brug-pa patriarchs, but also numerous other ascetics and masters, claimed to uphold an emanational nexus (i.e. a spiritual-corporeal consubstantiality) with the deity Avalokiteśvara – no wonder perhaps considering the altruistic and national symbolism accorded to this particular deity, yet, telling here is that the 5th Karma-pa, like his predecessors, most forcefully were considered a manifestation (*rnam ’phrul*) of Avalokiteśvara. As a high hierarch, he thus did no more than sojourn in his mythic home on dMar-po-ri in lHa-sa, the Tibetan substitute for the mytic site of this deity. During the subsequent spell, about 18 (*var*. 13) larger or smaller dGe-lugs-pa establishments were turned into Karma-pa and ’Bri-gung-pa convents (*DL2* 559–560, *Zur chen rnam thar* 74b2–4), which in those places, so it is argued, meant the total obliteration of the dGe-lugs teachings there. That the Karma-pa strategy should not pay dividend rested not least upon the circumstance the Karma-pa and behind them the gTsang rulers in the ensuing period were weakened by the internal dissent that prevailed between Zhva-dmar and Zhva-nag factions and their more than unlucky hand in establishing viable and permanent institutions in this area (contrary to their success in the Yar-lung or lHo-kha area incl. Dvags-po and Kong-po), all in all leading to a weakened position that eventually reduced their grip over the sKyid-shod area. Their supremacy in dBus proved short-lived, already 1516, opposition to their hegemony was formed and warfare again broke out. The Karma-pa for the time being receded into the background, but from the 1580’s up until the beginning of 1640’s, they kept vying for ultimate supremacy in Tibet in the wider supraregional dBus-gTsang conflict.

In the early 16th century, the 2nd ’Bras-spungs *chos rje* dGe-’dun rgya-mtsho was successful in establishing a number of dGe-lugs seats in the area of ’Ol-kha, supported by the local ruler Amoghavajravijaya, i.e. Don-yod rdo-rje rnam-rgyal – his patron who assisted him in establishing rGyal Me-tog-thang – a site that was to hold major cultic importance for the dGe-lugs-pa; the Phag-mo sNe’u-gdong rulers in the same period paved the way for the ’Bras-spungs hierarch to establish religious estates in the dGa’-ldan area, a policy that triggered conflicts with the ’Bri-gung-pa (cf. *dGa’*

[178] The full background behind his untimely (and unnatural?) passing remains one of the great mysteries of 15th century due to its political implications. The circles behind those who may have striven to assassinate him were considered, as it was hinted at, to have brought disgrace to the Phag-mo-gru-pa ruling house, and the same circles later may also have been behind an attempted assassination (linked to events there in the 1430’s? cf. fn. 165 above) of members of the ruling house of the sNe’u/sNel *rdzong* – who, we know, incidentally had stood behind the estate grant of dMar-po-ri to the 5th Karma-pa. In sum, as possible perpetrators, one source points to certain circles at ’Bri-gung and to the dGe-lugs-pa. The powerful circles at ’Bri-gung (it is purported that the same circle(s) much later may have included the wife of the 14th throne-holder, viz. ’Bri-gung’s only female ruler or *sgom ma* Rin-chen dpal-mo (d. 1505) and her entourage who were involved in the planning for assassinating a ’Bri-gung hierarch too). Cf. here *’Bri gung gdan rabs III* 156–57; *’Bri gung chos ’byung* 408. More research is required on this point.

We easily imagine that the untimely death (barely 31 years of age) of the 5th Karma-pa should keep the Karma-pa from securing a firm foothold in the area – at a crucial juncture when bTsong-kha-pa was about – irreversibly – to change the lHa-sa landscape with his many dGe-lugs establishments. A continuous presence of the 5th Karma-pa, a master of unrivalled repute and calibre, in his hermitage on dMar-po-ri surely would have provided ideal conditions in the battle for gaining a lasting footing in lHa-sa.

ldan chos 'byung I 32a2f.). The most durable patron(ess) of his, however, proved to be the sNe'u-pa ruler in the lHa-sa area up until 1550 (cf. Table V.12.1). Antagonistic religious schools and regional hierarchs long nurtured political ambitions as we have seen, and spiritual discord more often than not now translated into military conflicts. It was the increasingly independent dGa'-ldan-pa ruling house (here not to be confounded with the similar-named dGa'-ldan monastery) and its lay rulers (along with the rulers of sKyor-mo-lung, which was headed until then by the sBal-ti clan during this period, yet at a certain point their seat gradually was taken over by a side-line of the leading Phag-mo-gru-pa rulers) that were strongly supportive of the dGe-lugs-pa, and in the long perspective it was precisely this dGa'-ldan-pa house – subsequently known as – the sKyid-shod-pa[179] alone that in the period mid-1550's–1620 emerged as the dominant political player and religious benefactor in lHa-sa and in the wider sKyid-shod area, taking advance of the gradual decline of the sNe'u-pa and absorbing the neighbouring governorship of Brag-dkar, in fact replacing them altogether as the dominant political force in the area from 1550. The patronage wielded by this house often was conducive to the degree of success enjoyed or held by rivalling religious schools and their struggle for supremacy in this crucial phase of Tibet's history. It also added a cultural and religious dimension to the political struggle. We have reports of growing sectarian tension and occasional warfare between the dGe-lugs-pa and the revitalized 'Bri-gung-pa beginning already from 1516 (cf. e.g. *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 14a2f., *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 174f. etc.), which surely had risen as the mightiest sectarian and military antagonist to dGe-lugs supremacy at this junction having by now replaced their allies, the Karma-pa. This is all the more surprising since 'Bri-gung was haunted by a tiring inner conflict (see below). Warfare escalated already in 1526 and again in 1537, when many dGe-lugs monasteries in the Mal-gro and 'Ol-kha districts were appropriated by the 'Bri-gung-pa who forced them to convert to the latter sect.

We have now entered a period and a century that, even more than the preceding one, was characterized by skirmishes in different corners. It still involved different lay governorships and religious orders that continued being enmeshed in fightings or in forging shifting short-term allegiances. It is worthy of note, as may be gleaned from contemporary sources, that the holder of ecclesiastic authority almost always remained subordinate to temporal rule and authority. We also have ample testimonies how the head of a secular authority often proffered patronage to a number of distinct orders simultaneously or, conversely, that a religious order or personage served different or shifting secular masters. A key to an understanding of this is hinged upon the circumstance that both parties made use of any means available to meet his or their objective, in a decentralized society and in a political climate fraught with shifting loyalties between regional powers. This commonly entailed neither any contradiction nor involved any notable conflict since convention in the Tibetan politico-religious landscape always exacted a loose and liberal exchange of patronized hospitality in return or exchange for religious instructions. Patronage thus never remained all-exclusive. Still we should not fail to register alternative and uncompromising voices such as the one articulated by Padma dkar-po, indicative of a common situation prevailing in late medieval Tibet during this spell: At one point he disapprovingly bewails the shift of allegiance (not infrequently the forceful conversion) of one denomination to another that regularly took place, considering it against the ethics of Dharma.[180] Whether cases of ideological roller-

[179] The *sa skyong* dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa initially (from mid-14th cent.) constituted a governorship as district retainers of the Phag-gru. In the second decade of the 1500's, the dGa'-ldan-pa was still *dmag dpon* of (parts of) sKyid-shod, 'Phan-yul and g.Yor districts; cf. *Kun dga' rin chen rnam thar III* 178–182 and Part I: fn. 542. For their pedigree and genealogy, see Table V.12.3 below. Later, in the mid-16th century, however, they grew increasingly influential; cf. Introduction: Chap. 9; App.V: Table 12.3.

[180] *chos lugs phar bsgyur tshur bsgyur 'di chos dang 'gal ba yin*; cf. *Pad dkar rnam thar I* 98a4–5.

coasting or being motivated upon premeditation, whether enforced or not, it was such reorientations and shifting alliances that kept fuelling many minor conflicts and haunted medieval Tibetan politics.

The traditional backing from the chiefs of the Upper and Lower Hor communities in the 'Dam region of northern Central Tibet to the Karma-pa[181] as well as the long-standing Nags-shod Mongol patronage of the 'Bri-gung-pa (which found expression in the execution of prosperity rituals for such patron-client relationships as the *'Bri Hor mchod yon sku rim*),[182] and with whom they had earlier entertained long-term amicable relationships and had forged a political union, must be seen in the wider context of the intimate bonds that had prevailed between the Karma-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa cemented by the 7th Karma-pa who earlier had assisted in a revival of the teaching traditions at 'Bri-gung during the tenure of the 15th 'Bri-gung throne-holder. At that point 'Bri-gung had just witnessed a destructive phase and a weakening of the seat. Already 1495–96, and again 1501 and in the following years, the 'Bri-gung-pa, during the tenure of the 15th 'Bri-gung Kun-dga' rin-chen – assisted by *rje btsun* Kun-dga' nyi-ma – but also during the subsequent throne-holders had secured the undivided devotion and support of the Hor and the 'Brog-sde communities living in the wide Nags-shod district north-east of 'Bri-gung, including the tribal confederations (*tsho ba*) of the 'Ba'-ra-ba and the sGom-sde, the Khyung-po, the Rong-po and Sog then under the control of the Hor kyi rgyal-po Kun-dga' bkra-shis (*'Bri gung Kun dga' rin chen rnam thar I* 86–87; *III* 94–96, 127–128, 593; *IV* 81–2, 184).[183] The support to the Karma-pa garnered from the gTsang rulers over

[181] They resided north of the district Ko-khyim ("Residence of Hide," i.e. Tents) of 'Dam-gzhung (located: 30°35'N 91°19'E). Ko-khyim originally had been an 11th-century bKa'-gdams-pa foundation (est. by Ye-shes bla-ma; cf. *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung I* 29; *II* 89b2). For the Hor communities and their presence there; cf. also Sperling 1992. Their camps were located northwards from Rva-sgreng dgon-pa.

[182] E.g. in connection with a traditional *gtor bzlog* ritual of the wrathful Hayagrīva (Khro-rol; of Myang-ral's *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* cycle) conducted in 1545 A.D. by Rin-chen phun-tshogs during the visit to the camp of the Hor tribal chief Thar-pa-'bum and his son Thu-bo Karma-dpal (d. 1583); cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 197; *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 348–351. These rituals – serving as apotropaic rite or enemy deterrence – were reiterated at regular intervals. In 1545, Rin-chen phun-tshogs was repeatedly requested by the same Hor *rgyal po* to enter a political union. Thar-pa-'bum in 1558 – after the demise of his 'Bri-gung teacher – sought to establish religious bonds to bSod-nams rgya-mtsho.

[183] The northern normadic and pastoral settlements served as traditional, almost permanent, *vaineya* conversion fields for both the sTag-lung-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa. However, the story of their interaction remains complex. A large number of these settlements in the 'Dam region and further on in Nags-shod (= Nags-shod 'Bri-ru *rdzong*), located north, north-east of both seats had in the preceding years entertained shifting bonds to either orders; cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 372–74, 433; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 577 reports occasional internal warfare among the settlements and their confrontations with the two orders in the early 1400's (leading to repeated and mixed attempts at bringing about their conversion, at mediation, but also occasions marred by cases of warfare and at securing their lucrative patronage (the Tibetan hierarchs often went on so-called charity and patronage tours, tellingly euphemized as "amassing donations" or *'bul sdud*) during the tenure of the 9th through the 14th sTag-lung-pa and the 10th and 11th 'Bri-gung throne-holders; cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs I* 485–86*; III* 141.

To the relief of the Tibetan religious seats, the Mongol settlements and tribal chiefs more often than not were at odds with one another, a stalemate durable enough to distract them from conducting concerted looting forays into Tibetan inhabited areas, still the regularly occurrring military incursions from the side of the Mongols no doubt wearied the Tibetans, in particular those involving attacks (not infrequently only involving military threats) on the most vulnerable northern establishments such as 'Bri-gung, sTag-lung and Rva-sgreng, an easy prey for a Mongol incursion. Often religious teachings were offered to these well-armed nomadic settlements as a means of compensation or even as bribe in order to dissuade them from conducting such invasions at least for a certain amount of years. The massive endeavour to turn them towards Buddhism eventually proved successful (still with regular setbacks), and essentially remained a sheer never-ending task. The visits to these settlements should be repeated even up to the period 1740–70's by the 16th and 17th

the years along with their alliances forged with the aforementioned secular and religious heads of the ’Bri-gung-pa and the sTag-lung-pa,[184] spurred the dGe-lugs establishment in dBus to establish initial contacts with the Mongols too, the initial contacts in late 1558 to the same Hor settlements north of lHa-sa (see e.g. *gShin rje gshed chos’byung II* 252a6f.; *DL3* 58b1f.),[185] but soon to the Tümed Mongols through the 3rd ’Bras-spungs *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho in the mid–1570’s, contacts that heralded a patronage which, as is well-known, eventually paved the way for the emergence of the Dalai Lama institution and its subsequent sovereignty over Tibet.

’Bri-gung, but also by the sTag-lung rulers; cf. *’Bri gung gdan rabs III* 207; *sTag lung chos’byung I*, *passim*.

For some information on the Nags-shod Hor settlements; cf. now Ri-dbang bstan-’dzin, *Nag shod ’bri ru’i lo rgyus* 176f. A thorough study of the long-standing and troublesome contacts between the Tibetan monastic settlements and the scattered Mongol nomadic people still needs to be conducted.

[184] Aside from any tension prevailing between the founding figures of either orders and their different orientations, the first serious report about warring clashes between the two main seats (headed by the powerful Ga-zi and Kyu-ra clans) can be situated in the 1220’s, evidently in connection with wrangling over access to the Nags-shod area, where the sTag-lung-pa attempted to monopolize or dominate the clear-felling of trees for trading and for refurbish their extensive and lavish monastic buildings. We have reports of clashes in the 1270’s, too. A conciliatory note occurred when in the mid-14th cent., the powerful ’Bri-gung *sgom pa* (or *khri dpon*) Śākya bzang-po (b. *ca*. 1330) married a Ga-zi *dpon mo*. Stilll later, bonds between the mid-15th-cent. secular chief *rdzong ji* bSod-nams rin-chen and the sTag-lung seat developed, not least in the joint utilization of the lucrative wood trading and its exploitation in the Nags-shod dist. Early in the 1460’s, fuelled by another conflict, the ’Bri-gung army (evidently headed by the ambitious Phag-mo line at ’Bri-gung) unsuccessfully invaded sTag-lung territories at Phod-mdo. The former was to be the last skirmishes between the seats (with the exception of a minor skirmish in the early 1570).

The later part of the 15th cent. would prove to be a period marked by widespread deprivations – spiritually as much as politically – at ’Bri-gung (starting with the 10th throne-holder whose son and grandsons occupied the seat successively) heralding a dramatic decline of their own teaching tradition. It was concerned ’Bri-gung masters like the 14th throne-holder and his elder brother dBang/Wang mKhar-thog-pa – no doubt assisted by the 7th Karma-pa at ’Bri-gung – who therefore approached the 12th sTag-lung hierarch Ngag-dbang grags-pa at Thang-’brog in order to receive teachings and to revitalize the ’Bri-gung tradition on that score.

A dramatic change for the better between the traditionally antagonistic schools therefore was initiated when in 1469, the 14th sTag-lung throne-holder was considered a rebirth of the 13th ’Bri-gung throne-holder – another indication that the ’Bri-gung teaching tradition now had been revived or revitalized by sTag-lung, at least for a short period, and it signalled the mutual study of their respective curricula. The 15th ’Bri-gung throne-holder in 1499 attended the obsequies of the sTag-lung *sde pa* Tshe-dbang grags-pa (i.e. the Hor-khang *nang so*), invited by the latter’s two sons, the 14th and later the 15th sTag-lung throne-holders. A deepened teacher-pupil relationship gradually developed between the hierarchs. It coincided neatly with the circumstance that the daughter of the 14th ’Bri-gung throne-holder, ’Gro-ba’i sgrol-ma (b. *ca.* 1478/79) was married into the line of the sTag-lung chiefs to cement the new bonds in a period when both hierarchs now united in becoming the root-teacher of the Rin-spungs chief Don-yod rdo-rje – a stance behind which we naturally should also see a clever political stratagem of the latter in forming an united front against their common foe, the dGe-lugs-pa. Full harmony finally was established in the mid–1570, when a lHun-grub *rdzong* ruler (*mi dbang*) married the daughter of Rin-chen phun-tshogs, whereby a traditional *zhang dbon* relationship – emblematic of Tibetan rule – prevailed between the leading figures at the see; their common son was the powerful 18th sTag-lung throne-holder Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal; the bonds were further cemented when the following lHun-grub *mi dbang*, also descendant of the ruling sTag-lung Ga-zi family, married the ’Bri-gung lady Bu-khrid rgyal-mo, who gave birth to the coming 19th sTag-lung throne-holder in 1600 A.D.

Sources: *Kun dga’ rin chen rnam thar III* 104–07; *III* 507–08, 584; *IV* 25–26, 80, *passim*; *sTag lung chos ’byung I* 257–62, 432; *Sangs rgyas seng ge rnam thar* 15a4–6; *sGam po khri rabs* 81a5–b6.

[185] The settlements were headed by *hor dpon* Thar-pa-’bum, the Mongol chief who from 1543 entertained close contacts with the ’Bri-gung; cf. e.g. *DL3* 58a2f. The initial meeting between the 16th ’Bri-gung throne-holder and Thar-pa-’bum went back to 1532, where they met in mKhar-thog; cf. *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 215.2–3.

2.8 Portents and Mirabilia:
lHa-sa as Ideological Battleground –
Hegemonic Designs among Rival Families and Powerful Hierarchs

Although the lingering rivalry between the Karma-pa, the 'Bri-gung-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa heads for supremacy throughout the larger part of the 16th century thus covered many issues and had different backgrounds – doctrinally, ideologically and not least politically, a topic too detailed to be adequately addressed within the pale of this essay – the conflict proved to have strong repercussion and direct bearings on the political fate of the lHa-sa area with its sacred environment, perpetually at stake.[186] Apart from the traditional regional – occasionally supraregional – skirmishes and clashes reported in the sources, usually involving trifling issues over territorial claims, or fuelled by cases of all too transient loyalties, violation or betrayal of sworn alliances that often dominated medieval Tibetan politics, still a not inappreciable part of the political conflicts, as we have already seen, were sparked off precisely over the issue of the paramount control of lHa-sa. In dBus, it had involved ambitious, local lay rulers as well as monastic chiefs, not only between the Karma-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa, but also included the (long Karma-pa-allied but) independent-minded 'Bri-gung-pa, whereas the sTag-lung-pa appear to have nourished political ambitions only to a limited extent.[187] It had become increasingly clear to the parties involved that control over lHa-sa with its national monuments was part and parcel of control over Tibet (Central Tibet), yet the dynamics of the conflict should not be overseen: the gradually overwhelming presence of dGe-lugs-pa establishments in the area itself provoked other denominations and polities to react.

It is perhaps small wonder that the location of the 'Bri-gung seat in the Upper sKyid-shod area and the traditional political role they had played in the area warrants their lingering ambitions for the overall supremacy and legacy of lHa-sa, right from the time of the presence of their once affluent, but overly independent, *Stellvertreter*, the 'Bri-gung-affiliated lHa-pa clan and their influence in the area in late 12th century (see above) and the subsequent skirmishes with the Sa-skya-pa which ended in the 1290 *Gling log* catastrophe. Later, during the tenure of the charismatic 16th throne-holder Chos kyi rgyal-po Rin-chen phun-tshogs (1509–1557 A.D.) – the most illustrious master the 'Bri-gung-pa school ever produced – followed not least by his son, the 20th tenant Phun-tshogs bkra-shis (1547–1602 A.D.), and assisted by the former's and the latter's root-teachers, the 4th and 5th Zhva-dmar, indeed brothers in spirit equipped with equal *forma mentis* – do we have reports of their renewed interest: They appear to have repeatedly undertaken flood preventive measures and to have conducted repairs along the lHa-sa bank and in the sKyid-chu area,[188] thus displaying an interest that went way beyond the regular and obligatory offerings – tendered by all leading hierarchs and ascetics irrespective of sectarian moorings – in Jo-khang to its key images and sanctuaries. Rin-chen phun-tshogs and his influential son and grandsons – all successive throne-

[186] The only, now somewhat outdated study so far which touches upon a number of points in this essay is that of G. Tucci in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*.

[187] Noteworthy is that the 8th and 9th sTag-lung throne-holders in 1359 and 1378 resp. had taken their full ordination in lHa-sa, in front of the celebrated Jo-bo statue. Apart from such symbolic and possibly apolitical incidents, the sTag-lung-pa – rather located on the periphery of Central Tibet or sKyid-shod – wisely refrained from nourishing overly hegemonic designs for the Tibetan heart-land, unlike the 'Bri-gung-pa.

[188] See e.g. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 197.6–9; 225–227; *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 270.2–5, 275.5–76.5; 359.3–370.4; *Phun tshogs bkra shis rnam thar I* 581.1–583.2; *II* 620.6–621.4; *gTer ston lo rgyus* 134a5–135a6.

holders – wilfully promoted the Srong-btsan sgam-po and Great Compassionate One cult linked to this legacy.[189]

The 'Bri-gung master was a visionary eccentric – in personality not quite unlike the 5th Dalai Lama. His numerous identities and pre-existences – his protean garbs like so many other "treasure-revealers" served as indispensable pre-conditions both for his present embodiment as much as for his politico-spiritual quest – meant being addressed both *lha sras gnyis pa* and *o rgyan gnyis pa* Rin-chen phun-tshogs.[190] Imperial linkages in the form of embodiments of religious and cultural heroes,

[189] Through different transmission lines, the Bri-gung-pa – not least *chos rgyal* (i.e. Dharmarāja) Rin-chen phun-tshogs received the cycle of *rGyal po bka' 'bum* (i.e. the *Ma ṇi bka 'bum* cycle) that later became immensely popular as curricula at 'Bri-gung-mthil (cf. e.g. his grandson, 'Bri-gung *rig 'dzin* Chos kyi grags-pa; *alias* dBur-smyon; 1595–1659 A.D.; his *bKa' 'bum*, ed. Dehra Dun 1999, Vol. 7 : 403–439).

[190] His biography frankly refrains from listing his sheer innumerable "pre-existences" (*rnam 'phrul brjod kyis mi lang ba*). He may have stemmed on his mother's side from the Brag-dkar house of 'Brom-stod. In 1512–13, there were serious misgivings at the 'Bri-gung court whether indeed Rin-chen phun-tshogs was a true sKyu-ra scion or not, or whether indeed he was an illegitimate son. Venting such misgivings was 'Bri-gung's administrative and military chief, the redoubtable mGon-po rgyal-mtshan. The accused family members were forced to take an oath (*mna' bsgag*) of truth in neighbouring imperial Zhva'i lha-khang – the prestigious imperial temple (see fn. 100 above) that at that point was under the jurisdiction of the 'Bri-gung-pa (possibly also chosen due to the circumstance that the young candidate was [to be?] considered a royal manifestation). This performative act was tantamount to an humiliating *diditio* in the face of the dominant Phag-rtse faction ruling within 'Bri-gung. Soon after, the young sKyu-ra prince was compelled to leave 'Bri-gung, being dispatched with a small retinue to Yar-lung for a lengthy stint partly for his own safety while the matter was deliberated. Only after several years did the debate – possibly after his personal success – over his allegedly nebulous origin efface. The accusations and the humiliation – a topic that must have been regularly discussed in 'Bri-gung-pa circles – may have had some impact on his personality (like for instance his deliberate assumption of many emanational identities) and shape his determination to stand the test of time (cf. e.g. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 186–87; *DL5 I* 18b1f.).

Behind these accusations loomed large the conflict within 'Bri-gung, namely between the two lines and their resp. houses within the main Thog-kha-pa patriline who vied for preeminence at 'Bri-gung-mthil. For several decades now, a *khu dbon* dispute had raged between the fronts, two brother-lines respectively of sPro-lung or Yang-ri-sgar (i.e. headed by Chos kyi rgyal-po and his son Rin-chen phun-tshogs) and known as the Thog-kha *nang so* and the Phag-mo[-rtse] line (headed by Rin-chen rnam-rgyal), commonly known as the Khang-gsar *nang so* line. By sowing doubts about Rin-chen phun-tshogs' paternity, the campaign of the assertive amd ambitious mGon-po rgyal-mtshan evidently aimed at undermining any attempt by the former to ascend to the throne – a strategy which failed since the traditional *khu dbon* succession had just been re-introduced again at 'Bri-gung with the predecessor, the 15th throne-holder, so that Rin-chen phun-tshogs as his nephew was eligible for the throne in 1527. At the point of Kun-dga' rin-chen's passing that year, an agreement was reached: the sPro-lung line initially was allowed to occupy the throne, immediately to be followed by a candidate from the Phag-mo line. Following the demise of the 15th throne-holder, the Phag-mo line must have exerted an appreciable amount of influence at the 'Bri-gung seat since mGon-po rgyal-mtshan succeeded in ousting the 15th throne-holder's *sku zhang*, the sTag-rtse *rdzong* ruler (of the mGar clan wherefrom he himself may have stemmed) from 'Bri-gung after the latter's position at the main seat had weakened following the strong female ruler (*sgom ma*) Rin-chen dpal-mo's passing in 1505. Already in 1534 – possibly provoking an early infringement of the agreement, and following severe harassment from the side of the Phag-rtse house (see *Deb dmar gsar* 200) – the path was paved for the impatient ascent to the throne of the Phag-rtse candidate, the 17th throne-holder (himself nephew of the 16th throne-holder) Rin-chen rnam-rgyal. The untimely dethroned Rin-chen phun-tshogs soon after established Yang-ri-sgar as his future seat. The following three throne-holders at 'Bri-gung-mthil all stemmed from the Phag-mo-rtse line, clearly the strongest faction within 'Bri-gung at that time – and as such it amounted to a reversal of the proper *khu dbon* succession principles that had been contrived by an ambitious father.*

The immediate descendants of Rin-chen phun-tshogs, however, with the 20th throne-holder's ascent in 1583 or 1585

as we have seen, had proved to be an essential component behind the execution of hegemony or of its mere quest in Tibet. Like a host of contemporary *gter ston*, here transmitting a blend of 'Bri-gung and rNying-ma lore,[191] he too constructed an imperial-time scenario – a sort of personal profile and staged itself – this is most evident from his incisive *gter ma* and esoteric writings – as a manifestation of *lha sras* Mu-tig btsan-po (i.e. 'Jing-yon Sad-na-legs; an identity that Rin-chen phun-tshogs forcefully promoted in his esoteric writings and that may account for his care and restoration of the sKar-chung temple in Grib once erected by the king). At the same time he was viewed as a Second Guru Rinpoche – in addition to be considered – according to circumstance or opportunely – as an embodiment of a plethora of other celebrated identities and aliases of pre-existences. His religious and esoteric training, e.g. age eight at the feet of the 4th Zhva-dmar-pa – whom we described above as overly enthusiastic and ambitious on the lHa-sa issue – in addition to his restless peregrinating life, his obsessive interest in the esoteric cycles of Myang-ral, of the Byang-gter cycles (esp. of teachings transmitted from his teacher, *gter ston* mNga'-ris *rig 'dzin* bDud-'joms rdo-rje), and the role of *lha rje* dGe-ba-'bum dramatically shaped his ideological quest. Among events that would hone his awareness and preoccupation with the overall lHa-sa legacy no doubt also count his affair with a noble lady, his secret consort *rig 'dzin* rGya-mtsho Bu-'khrid (d. 1559/60) (stemming from the ruling house of rGya-ma khri-khang)[192] – their liaison in 1546–47 led to the birth of his only son Phun-tshogs bkra-shis, an infant who similarly was proclaimed to be a legitimate manifestation of a number of the Tibetan kings as conveniently prophesied or foreordained by Rin-chen phun-tshogs' pupil Zhig-po gling-pa in the build-up – consciously – of the aforementioned imperial linkage and a viable spiritual genealogy. Born in rGya-ma khri-khang, close to the birthplace and homeland of Srong-btsan sgam-po, the birth of his son clearly constituted an added impetus for the powerful 'Bri-gung hierarch to occupy himself with this still-vibrant Srong-btsan sgam-po legacy in the rGya-ma area itself – formerly with close bonds to 'Bri-gung, later the rGya-ma territories were occupied by them through their intermarriage with the ruling rGya-ma house by appropiating the prestigious, imperial Ka-tshal temple).[193] Phun-tshogs bkra-shis' direct descendants thus were

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with the latter's three sons repeated this arrangement and occupy the see consecutively, before the seat adopted the now widely disseminated incarnate system. Cf. Table V.11.1; *Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar* [B] 27b1–2; *Deb ther dmar* (Tucci 199–201; transl. imperfect) and in particular fn. 228 below.

* The key figure behind the abrupt change in 1534 A.D. was the father of the coming 17th and 18th throne-holders (both brothers ironically may have been half-brothers of Rin-chen phun-tshogs, same mother?), namely *drung chen* Rin-chen [rnam-rgyal], eldest brother to the 16th throne-holder's father; cf. *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar I* 206f.

[191] His famous rDzogs-chen *gter ma* denoted *Dam chos dgongs pa yang zab* – evidently a play on the 'Bri-gung founder's celebrated *summa Dam chos dgongs gcig*, but here propounding an "utmost profound" or esoteric hermeneutics. The cycle was detected by him 1538 (having followed earlier discoveries already from 1532; and was committed to writing in 1551 A.D.), composed at a point when his spiritual leaning increasingly turned towards rNying-ma-pa lore, cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 194. For the cycle's *dbang brgyud* and *slob ma rjes 'dzin*; cf. Vol. IV 65–66, 225–26, 265–66 (*Dam chos dgongs pa yang zab chos skor*; ed. Bir 1980).

[192] The rGya-ma khri-khang (located at 29°45'N 91°40'E) in rGya-ma district of Mal-gro gung-dkar *rdzong*. She stemmed from the lineage of Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston *rin po che* (1138–1210 A.D.) of rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang. This line too adhered to the dGyer (*var*. sGer; i.e. sGer-dkar branch) clan. See Table 10 of App. V.

[193] His biography in greatest details lists his up to 13 former pre-existences, *inter alia* as Gung-ri gung-btsan, as the mythic Akarmatiśīla (known from the *Ka khol ma* and *Maṇi bka' 'bum* celebrated story as procurer of items for the installation of the king's *yi dam* statue), as rGyal-sras lHa-rje Mu-tig btsan-po, then as gTer-ston Sangs-rgyas bla-ma (the revealer of the key esoteric Bla-rDzogs-Thugs *gsum* cycle), followed by a re-birth as U-rgyan gling-pa (b. 1323), then eventually as Ming emperor (*sic*) [= Shizong, Zhu Houcong, 1522–66 A.D.] included no doubt as the latter had bestowed upon the father, Rin-chen phun-tshogs hereditary rank, title and citation.

to play a very important role in Tibetan politics: signally, one of Phun-tshogs bkra-shis' sons – grandson of Rin-chen phun-tshogs – would emerge as a serious contender for the rebirth of the 3rd Dalai Lama (see details below), another – final – attempt by peaceful means to exert influence on the overall heritage issue behind the Srong-btsan sgam-po and Avalokiteśvara cult that by now had been held by the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* and the dGe-lugs camp.[194] The autocratic heritage and the parvenu political legacy of Rin-chen phun-tshogs would be anything but trifling since his son Phun-tshogs bkra-shis would father some of the highest hierarchs in Tibet and his daughter sMon-lam Phun-tshogs bu-khrid (b. *ca.* 1550) become mother to Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal, sTag-lung's most illustrious throne-holder and ruling chief.

In the now heated climate in lHa-sa, small gestures had great impacts, so when the 8th Zhva-nag Karma-pa in 1546 attempted to pay a visit to lHa-sa, he was flatly denied access to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang by monks from 'Bras-spungs. In their denial, they possibly were backed by one of the sKyid-shod-pa governors, who now ruled the sKyid-shod area that spanned from dGa'-ldan over Gung-thang to lHa-sa, where they had set up their mansion dGa'-ldan khang-gsar south of the Ra-mo-che. Recalling the sensibility of the dGe-lugs-pa, their opposition may reflect fears of an impending attempt to appropriate the site just like in the case of his predecessor, the 7th Zhva-nag some fifty years earlier (see above). It was during the same period that the Gung-thang temple – also seat of the sKyid-shod-pa – was destroyed by a great fire, and it may be speculated whether a direct or at least a casual connection between the ban and the fire can be inferred (see Part I: fn. 179).

An episode that may also be linked to the conflict just mentioned was related to the activities of the aforementioned Rin-chen phun-tshogs. After the skirmishes with the Karma-pa reported above, in the mid–1500's, it was now the ambitious 'Bri-gung-pa who seriously challenged the spiritual claim of the dGe-lugs-pa to the site. The same year, 1546, lHa-sa was visited by yet another major destructive flood.[195] Rin-chen phun-tshogs is recorded to have conducted various water-abating rituals in this connection. It cannot come as a surprise that at this juncture the influential

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The 'Bri-gung master also entertained teacher-pupil bonds with *gter ston* rGya-ma Mi-'gyur Las-'phro gling-pa.

[194] The sudden demise of Rin-chen phun-tshogs at rGya-ma in 1557, during retreat was kept a secret for almost three years – such secrecy usually was a sign of the passing of a "mighty ruler," a demise kept in the dark because of fear of negative repercussion for the 'Bri-gung position at the prospect of his untimely (unnatural?) demise at the height of their struggle with the dGe-lugs-pa.

Over his bodily remains a dispute flared up between his pupils at Ka-tshal and the 'Bri-gung-mthil hierarch and their court headed by the Phag-mo-rtse line: his remains initially were brought from rGya-ma to the neighbouring imperial dBu-ru Ka-tshal *vihāra* (which he reportedly visited for the first time in 1534 and subsequently renovated in 1544) located deep within old 'Bri-gung domain, yet later the mortal remains were divided, a part inserted into a *chos 'khor mchod rten* ossuary in 'Bri-gung, while other parts of his relics (*gser gdung*) were inserted into a bKra-shis 'od-'bar dome in the same dBu-ru Ka-tshal *vihāra*. This wish, effectuated by his son in token fulfillment and commemoration (*thugs dgongs rdzongs*) indeed reflected Rin-chen phun-tshogs' own testamentary injunction uttered prior to his own death. Many of his pupils (known as the Zur-pa line (or the "Ex-['Bri-gung throne-holder]" line) subsequently held abbotship there, another indication of the token tribute paid to the Srong-btsan sgam-po cult. Cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 200–02, 219–21; *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar I* 226.2; *Phun tshogs bkra shis rnam thar I* 536–37; *Zur chen rnam thar* 111b1–112a1; *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 434–435 See also Table V.11.1 below.

[195] Also confirmed by Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa; see his *bSod nams grags pa'i dpal rnam dpyod mchog gi sde'i rnam par thar pa* 37a3–4 (ed. A Mundgod 1998; B 12a3–4). The hydrological extremes – drought followed by excessive rain – repeated itself in 1551 in lHa-sa; cf. *DL3* 34a2–4.

sde pa sKyid-shod-pa (i.e. Don-grub rab-brtan/rgyal-po) (rl. *ca*. 1545–1568)[196] intervened. They were the actual ruler of the lHa-sa region and its northern districts (*byang phyogs sa'i bdag po*) after the political power of the sNe'u-pa had been weakened and now temporarily was governed by a ruling branch of the Phag-gru seated at sKyor-mo-lung. The dGa'-ldan-pa had entered a patron-priest relationship with the 17th and later the 20th 'Bri-gung throne-holder,[197] a truly ominous development to the dGe-lugs. The resumption of the warring conflict between the 'Bri-gung and the dGe-lugs raging in the mid-1550's was one of the consequences of this arrangement. As emerging antagonists on the scene, Rin-chen phun-tshogs and *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho – the latter still a minor – at the height of their ideological struggle, the 'Bri-gung master e.g. in 1556 as alternative war-stratagem was accused of taking recourse to projecting – voodoo-like – ill-boding, stroke- and paralysis-causing Rāhula *gza'* libels (*gza'i than 'gyed zhig btang*) towards his main foe, attempting to cause harm to the young *chos rje* while the latter was under way to rTses-thang – without, however, inflicting any fatal harm to his body, forcing the dGe-lugs-pa as deterrent (*bzlog thabs*) to seek magic means too (*DL3* 47b6–48a2).[198]

In the ensuing conflict, one religious figure is recorded to have played a prominent role and thus proved successful in inscribing himself into the annals of the flood control history of the lHa-sa area: *sde pa* Zhig-po gling-pa Nam-mkha' tshe-dbang/brtan rgyal-po, *alias gter ston* sNang-rtse-pa Gar gyi dbang-po, a celebrated rNying-ma mystic, through his many visionary revelations from Guru Rin-po-che (of whom, not inconveniently, he for his life-long quest and mission was considered an emanation).[199] His background is telling and spectacular: it must be seen on the background of the role of the sNang-rtse *sde pa* (the father or grandfather of Zhig-po gling-pa) whom we had met half a century before as active players in the struggle for hegemony in lHa-sa, although this aspect of the 15th-cent. conflict remains little known. In order to properly evaluate his personal involvement, we must take a look at the contemporary political situation: The birth of the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho into the local *sde pa* family of rTse-kha or Khang-gsar-gong of sTod-lung is essential to keep in mind. The main political player, as we shall see, was the powerful rTses-thang Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa dpal-bzang-po – the influential erudite and hierarch who simultaneously and successively had held a number of hierarch seats (*khri pa*) at Se-ra, dGa'-ldan and 'Bras-spungs within the dGe-lugs ecclesiastic administration. As 20th throne-

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[196] Cf. Part I: fns. 695, 697.

[197] The changing relationship between the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa, at times at odds with one another, at times forging a union, may temporarily have witnessed a change to the better during the lengthy reign of the 17th 'Bri-gung throne-holder Rin-chen rnam-rgyal (1519–76 A.D.).

To underpin the delicate strategic alliance policy, dGa'-ldan-pa nobles in the early 1550's also entertained a *mchod yon* relationship with the 'Bras-spungs hierarch.

[198] Other sources purport that Rin-chen phun-tshogs was successful in paralyzing other hierarchs and rulers (temporary foes such as Rin-spungs-pa rulers and dGe-lugs hierarchs) by Rāhula-caused strokes. Cf. e.g. *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (cf. *The Nyingma School* 681); *Zur chen rnam thar* 74b3–75b3. The use of destructive means of submission = violent sorcery and ritual slaying (*mngon spyod*, *abhicāruka / abhicāraka*) in order to eliminate foes had a long tradition in Tibet.

It is still unclear how the great 'Bri-gung master himself passed away the following year. It may be speculated that it was anything else than peaceful, an outcome of the violent and baneful exchange of mortal and physical threats.

[199] This account is based upon the following sources: *Zhig po gling pa rnam thar* 60.3–63.6, 99.2–4; *Sog bzlog bgyis tshul gyi lo rgyus* 224.2; 226.3 and *Lung bstan rdo rje lha khang, passim* (for the latter, see the detailed paraphrase and discussion in Akester 2001); *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 356f.; *gTer ston lo rgyus* 91b4–93b1; *Gu khra chos 'byung* 447–48; *Nor bu'i do shal* 292–95.

holder too of the important sKyor-mo-lung abbatial seat from 1543 until his death, it was he who, together with his close associate, the local *dpon sa*[200] married to the ruling Phag-gru *gong ma*, orchestrated the recognition and identification of the successful candidate from the neighbouring Khang-gsar-gong house. This Phag-gru sKyor-mo-lung branch line obviously wanted to offer more than a helping hand in order to govern and control the 'Bras-spungs seat and hence dGe-lugs-pa and, eventually, to be in a better position to provide the next incumbent as sDe-srid *gong ma*. At that point, the choise of the Khang-gsar candidate, can be viewed as a political move to affront the Karma-pa and 'Bri-gung-pa in the sTod-lung area too, not least one of their patrons, the sNang-rtse-pa. The conflict escalated, simultaneous with another conflict: in the early 1550's, the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa – stout supporters of dGe-lugs-pa and of bSod-nams rgya-mtsho – taking side in the succession conflict at the main Phag-gru seat – raided the sKyor-mo-lung seat, where they held the Phag-gru *dpon sa* and his cadres captive until 1561.[201] Clearly, the dGa'-ldan-pa were growing increasingly independent.

A controversial figure, Zhig-po gling-pa (1524–83), propped by the 'Bri-gung-pa and the Karma-pa, rose to become an elder contemporary rival of the leading dGe-lugs hierarch, *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (1543–1588), the 3rd Dalai Lama *in spe*. It appears that Zhig-po gling-pa, as *gter ston*

[200] Cf. also *DL3* 17a6ff. The powerful sNe'u-pa *dpon sa* was Sangs-rgyas-dpal-'dzoms-ma (*ca*. 1485–1550/60), she and Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa were the mastermind behind the identification of bSod-nams rgya-mtsho. The latter mentored the young hierarch's initial apprenticeship. The sKyor-mo-lung-pa (once one of the six celebrated Vinaya seminaries in Central Tibet; cf. Table V.8.4 below), since 1527 was a *gzhis ka* and religious seat now under the Phag-gru *gong ma* Ngag gi dbang-phyug bKra-shis grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, who together with the dGe-lugs-pa patriarch sponsored the *dngul gdung* or silver-plated ossuary of the 2nd 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* (= the 2nd Dalai Lama in retrospect; in 1542 erected by the master-artist 'Phreng-kha-ba). From the mid-1540's, with the presence at sKyor-mo-lung of the Phag-gru *dpon sa gDung brgyud rin po che* bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (?1532–66 A.D.), son of the Phag-gru *mi dbang* 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po reigning at Gong-dkar, and that of the family of *sde pa* rNam-rgyal grags-pa (bSod-nams rgya-mtsho's father) remained close. Signally, they as relatives were of common blood. The predecessor, dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho had repeatedly visited, during the last part of his life, Khang-gsar-gong on his way to sKyor-mo-lung, so e.g. 1536 and 1542. Cf. Table V. 12.1.

[201] Rin-chen phun-tshogs entertained close bonds from 1545 between himself and the local sKyor-mo-lung *dpon sa* (see prev. note). The sKyor-mo-lung *dpon sa* simultaneously occupied the position as *zhal ngo* at sNe'u *rdzong* (opposite to sKyor-mo-lung; the local Phag-gru governorship that after *ca*. 1500 A.D. had disappeared and been replaced by the Phag-gru branch line, whereas another competing Phag-gru fraction resided at Gong-dkar); cf. e.g. *DL5 gSan yig II* 123b1; *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar I* 345.3; 394.1; *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 197, 209–10.

The reason behind the occupation or capture of sKyor-mo-lung through the dGa'-ldan-pa in the early 1550's is still not entirely clear, it appears that 1552 during the enthronement of bSod-nams rgya-mtsho at 'Bras-spungs the conflict had not yet broken out. The following year 1553/54, the mighty 11th? Phag-gru *sde srid* Ngag-dbang bkra-shis grags-pa was compelled to step down at sNe'u-gdong, being temporarily replaced by his grand-son Ngag-dbang grags-pa of the Gong-dkar branch within the Phag-gru regime. The concomitant appointment as new Phag-gru *nang blon* of one bKra-shis rtse-pa evidently played a role, too. For more details on this coup and the Phag-gru line at sKyor-mo-lung, see O. Czaja 2006. dGa'-ldan-pa's important role in the events may have been linked to their temporary support and patron-client commitment to the 'Bri-gung-pa.

It is said that only through the mediation of the 17th 'Bri-gung throne-holder was the sKyor-mo-lung *dpon sa* set free again; cf. *'Bri gung chos 'byung* 444; *sKyor mo lung chos 'byung* 103–04 (here maintaining that the sKyor-mo-lung *zhabs drung rin po che* was kept prisoner in dGa'-ldan pho-brang). The point requires further research and it is likely that the role of the patriarch bSod-nams grags-pa may (until his passing) cast some light into the matter.

reportedly active in the Khyung-tshang-brag cave of Shun, – a celebrated site associated with Guru Rinpoche – within the closest district of sKyor-mo-lung in sTod-lung on the western outskirts of lHa-sa and later active at Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang,[202] was destined to enter a prolonged sort of visionary-ideological and ritual competition – a duel for spiritual pre-eminence or supremacy in upholding and in embodying the heritage of lHa-sa as a religious center. His most celebrated revelations which included the Avalokiteśvara cycles such as the *Thugs rje chen po 'khor ba las sgrol* and the *Zab pa skor bdun* cycle with its assertive language and delicate prophetic contents once concealed by Guru Rinpoche and eventually traced by Zhig-po gling-pa in 'Phrul-snang (cf. the 2-vols. Collection; Gangtok 1976) were bound to arouse suspicion and opposition among the dGe-lugs-pa. The activities of Zhig-po gling-pa no doubt must be seen against the background that he stemmed from the sNang-rtse sde-pa nobles of sTod-lung. The latter, as said, played a strong local role as patrons to the Zhva-dmar-pa, with their residence at Yangs-pa-can,[203] and hence in opposition to the sKyid-shod-pa and the dGe-lugs establishment. The house (and the pilgrim site) of sNang-rtse seems to have played an important role down through time in the struggle for supremacy in the area, so in

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[202] Cf. here Akester 2000; Ehrhard 2005.

[203] In the contemporary hegemonic mosaic, the Karma-pa alliance (of mTshur-phu, resp. of Yangs-pa-can) with the powerful sNang-rtse house (*sde bdag*) (located at 29°43'N 90°49'E in present-day rGu-rgum *xiang* of sTod-lung; located some fourteen kilometers from the sKyid-chu estuary on the eastern bank of sTod-lung phu-chu), and hence a local noble house and patron initially must have led to considerable frustration among the neighbouring pro-dGe-lugs patrons such as sKyid-shod-pa (at least one wing of this powerful family), whereas the sNe'u-pa and among others the sKyor-mo-lung-pa rulers in lower sTod-lung seem, as we have seen, to have temporarily shifted side (in around *ca*. 1550).

bSod-nams rgya-mtsho himself – as Zhig-po gling-pa's younger contemporary and antagonist – had been born into the *sde pa* family of [sKyar-po-pa] rTse-dga'/-kha (= rTse-mkhar) Khang-gsar-gong estate of sTod-lung (located at 29°44'N 90°58'E in the present-day Yab-mda' *xiang* of sTod-lung-mda' – see also *HSLG* 3: 13; Taring *Kyichu Map* C3; Fig. 27; Part I: Map 3; located a few (*ca*. eleven) kilometers from sNang-rtse; on his father's side bSod-nams rgya-mtsho descended from a family that formerly had been in charge of rGya-ma khri-skor and on his mother's side descended from the old Zi-na clan, born into the Kun-bzang-rtse family, a paternal uncle line of local stewards stemming from *mi dbang* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, the 5th *sde srid* of Phag-gru). He therefore was considered a Phag-gru scion and his close appenticeship under bSod-nams grags-pa and his bonds to sNe'u-gdong cemented these family bonds to the Rlangs family and the presiding Gong-ma. Most important, the rTse-dga'/mkhar *gzhis kha* (still mentioned in 1681; cf. *DL6* 320) thus located close to the sNang-rtse *gzhis ka* in sTod-lung-mda', which indicated a local feud that had been bequeathed to and executed by both protagonists. We can conclude that the scene of the dispute between dGe-dKar (i.e. between dGe-lugs-pa and the dKar-brgyud-pa, i.e. the Karma-pa and 'Bri-gung-pa) thus had been temporarily transferred from lHa-sa to its neighbouring district (*lha sa'i nye 'khor*) of sTod-lung.

For another telling example that bespoke this latent rivalry, cf. Vitali 2001. See also *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 448; *The Nyingma School* 722–24 as cited in Akester 2000.

* From a *bka' shog* issued by sKyid-shod-pa bKra-shis rab-brtan (kept in the Kun-bde-gling Archive in lHa-sa) in 1584, it appears that the sNangs-rtse area at that point was under the rule of the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa house. The *sde pa* sNang-rtse later in the 17th cent. was registered under the jurisdiction of bKra-shis-ljongs; and later again during the dGa'-ldan pho-brang period (from mid-17th cent.), the estate was in the hands of the noble family Byang-ngos-pa. Into most recent time, the sNang-rtse pilgrimage sites (comprising a local Mt. Potalaka or Gru-'dzin ri-bo and an autogenous (i.e. natural) Jo-bo Khasarpāṇi statue) and the local cult of Avalokiteśvara attracted treasury-finders such as the *gter ma* revivalist mChog-gyur bde-chen Zhig-po gling-pa who e.g. in 1866 [re-]opened the pilgrimage site (cf. his Collected Writings Vol. 30: 207–222). A similar but far older Avalokiteśvara seat in sTod-lung was sKyer-sgang.

sNang-rtse itself later earned some ill-repute as the locale where *sde srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho met his tragic end in 1705. The latter's *gdung rten* or ossuary in form of a large sKu-'bum is still found there (recently repaired after its Cultural Revolution destruction). Cf. *Paṇ chen blo bzang ye shes rnam thar I* 224b4; *'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa rnam thar* 117–18; *DL5II* 57a6f. and also Petech 1972: 12. At one point the site had been appropriated by the wife of lHa-bzang Qan, Tshe-ring bkra-shis. The execution of the regent involved a member of the sTag-sna family; cf. g.Yung-drung sgrol-ma 1998: 1–2.

the late 1490's leading sNang-rtse members in the wake of the local strife had fallen victims to an assassination attempt perpetrated by their lHa-sa antagonists, surely an outcome of their support and unmitigated loyalty to the Karma-pa. The motivation of Zhig-po gling-pa to challenge the dGe-lugs dominance in the mid-16th century must be seen on this background.

Sidelined Conflict



23





23. *The Old sNang-rtse gzhis ka in sTod-lung valley*
Photo: Andre Alexander

23a. *Nam-mkha' tshe-brtan bSod-nams rgyal-po, alias Zhig-po gling-pa, the rival of the 3rd Dalai Lama*

24. *Birthplace of the 3rd Dalai Lama in sTod-lung valley. The mChod-khang dmar-po with his Ossuary*
Photo: Matthew Akester

In terms of the strategies for water-control – read: a strategy for the Jo-bo environmental "remediation" or "restoration" – a strong motive and no doubt also a good part of the concomitant legitimacy, as so often the case, had been the alleged discovery by Zhig-po gling-pa of two scrolls at bSam-yas in 1556 A.D. (other sources say 1554; cf. *Nor bu'i do shal* 294) that proved to contain, among other things, prophetic instructions by Guru Rinpoche concerning the protection of the lHa-sa *vihāra* against flood. Yet the decisive impetus for Zhig-po gling-pa had originated with another redoubtable *gter ston* and mystic, none less than the charismatic Rin-chen phun-tshogs (*alias* gNam-lcags me-'bar), who, as we have now repeatedly seen, long shared a genuine interest in the ritual heritage of water regulation in lHa-sa – or in its potential use as an effective political instrument not least as embodied and personified in dGe-ba-'bum and his legacy. Backed over the years by a host of long-standing and strong Tibetan (the Karma-pa and minor secular patrons from rGya-ma and from sNye-mo and Shun, etc.) and Mongol patrons – not least to the north from Hor kyi rgyal-po Thar-pa-'bum[204] and

[204] He approached the dGe-lugs-pa in 1558 – after the demise of his former preceptor Rin-chen phun-tshogs – in order to establish religious bonds with bSod-nams rgya-mtsho; cf. above. Thar-pa-'bum and Karma-dpal (d. 1583) admitted to having been formerly followers of the 'Bri-gung hierarchs, but now their exclusive object of veneration, they assured, would be the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje*. However, we also know that they entertained relations to the sTag-lung-pa as well as close contacts to the Karma-pa. For some additional details as to the latter bonds, see also Sperling 1992.

his son Karma-dpal – Rin-chen phun-tshogs was, with his strong visions and personal determination – a major ideological and political challenge to the dGe-lugs-pa.

As a precursor to Zhig-po gling-pa's endeavour, Rin-chen phun-tshogs' biography in fact informs us that it was he – who in 1547, when again lHa-sa was haunted by flooding – initiated his own dike mission ten years before the spectacular foray of his pupil Zhig-po gling-pa.[205] The 'Bri-gung mystic had been encouraged by a most trusted pupil of his, Bla-ma gTsang-pa Ngag-dbang don-grub who at rGya-ma (where Rin-chen phun-tshogs' consort had just given birth to his only heir, Phun-tshogs bkra-shis) reported to Rin-chen phun-tshogs a dream he experienced the night before that a Mongol invasion was impending that year – possibly a conventional, yet convenient pretext. He resolved that to avert the invasion itself, a Bhairava expulsion rite (*bzlog thabs*) would prove efficient, only the Mongols this time would unite in invading the entire Tibet.[206] As part of its prevention and with it any foreboding and casually-linked flooding episode, he foresaw that if a many-cornered *mchod rten* between Ra-sa and Ra-mo-che was to be erected on a site resembling a tortoise in accordance with a given prophecy (i.e. evidently alluding to a celebrated one earlier proclaimed by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa), a preventive effort accompanied by intense prayers of powerful noble people (i.e. "political support"), then any forthcoming warring conflict and invasion would dissolve all by itself. If, however, it failed the danger that the Jo-bo Rin-po-che image was carried away by water would be immediately imminent – likely a worst-case scenario and an ominous sign for the deterioration or, still worse, possibly the bare survival of Buddhism on Tibetan soil. During the 7th month of 1547,[207] along with a group of monks that included among others, *dpon po* (also known as 'Bri-gung mkhan-chen) Kun-dga' blo-gros,[208] Rin-chen phun-tshogs at lHa-gdong shan-ka village – the locality still so named on the southern bank of sKyid-chu across from lHa-sa – initiated his "site restoration mission" by blessing the dikes with "sacred barley corn" and at the most flood prone stretches with other sacred substances and blessings. Proceeding further (i.e. to the northern bank, across from lHa-gdong), they reached mChod-rten-sgang gi grong (the village of sKu-'bum-thang in lHa-sa) where they saw the *mchod rten* and the old dikes that formerly had been built by lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum and his consort in order to avert flooding.[209] Rin-chen phun-tshogs' lHa-sa mission no

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[205] Rin-chen phun-tshogs' biography adduces that already in 1535, he had paid lHa-sa and bSam-yas a visit, where he allegedly carried out dike repair and concomitantly executed so-called *mtha' dmar bzlog* rites for the perpetuation of both sites. During the same spell, while accompanying his teacher *gter ston* mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, he fatefully received the full empowerment and reading authorization of the *rGyal po bka' 'bum* of the Great Compassionate One Cult and subsequently was offered the 11th-cent. 'Bri-sgang seat of 'On as a monastic estate.

[206] The prospect of an united invasion from all the Mongol tribes at no time had been overly realistic; all former insurgencies into Tibet from Mongol tribes – who after the break-down of the Yüan empire rarely were united and hence often in conflict with one another – had been conducted by smaller tribes and groups; any united invasion indeed would have posed an unprecedented threat to Tibet.

[207] The year before, Central Tibet again had both experienced a devastating drought during spring, followed by a destructive monsoon flooding – hydrological extremes so characteristic of the lHa-sa climate.

[208] He is also registered as teacher to the 15th throne-holder.

[209] The biography further maintains that they remained in the area, spending the night in a local Rag-kha khang-sa or "Dike House." Clandestinely – in order not to arouse the suspicion of the dGe-lugs-pa at 'Bras-spungs and Se-ra? – the *dpon sa* arrived and invited them to the sKyor-mo-lung *gzhis kha* (ruled by the line stemming from the Phag-mo gru-pa (see fns. 200–201), with the presence of bSod-nams grags-pa). Later, Rin-chen phun-tshogs was invited to lCang-lo-can (= ? the dGa'-ldan khang-gsar mansion of the sKyid-shod-pa nobles in lHa-sa adjacent to Ra-mo-che (the latter *vihāra* located at the northern edge of the lHa-sa inner townscape; cf. A. Alexander 2005; see also Part I, fn. 697 above) where

doubt was part and parcel of a power statement and an attempt to test the reactions of the adjacent ’Bras-spungs community. This also become evident when his biography claims that Guru Rinpoche, the spiritual inspiration behind the agenda, appeared and gave his approving blessings by strewing flowers; it is even asserted that the local Jo-khang sacristans, obviously sympathetically disposed, showed Rin-chen phun-tshogs their respect. His biography frankly reports that his mere presence in lHa-sa, e.g. his camping at gSang-mda’ and in sKyor-mo-lung aroused the suspicion of the monks of ’Bras-spungs, and his biography again reports the ’Bri-gung-pa camp indeed was looted and destroyed by ’Bras-spungs monks which lead to a minor crisis where the damages inflicted had to be compensated after the Phag-gru sDe-srid intervened (see also *rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog rnam thar* 256). The years 1546 and 1547 had been fateful ones, in 1546 the great 8th Zhva-nag had been denied access to Jo-khang and the same year Tshal Gung-thang (and the mGon-khang at sTag-lung dgon-pa) were destroyed in a great fire.

Rin-chen phun-tshogs’ demise ten years later, in 1557 would bring an abrupt end to his ideologically coloured endeavour,[210] a quest that appears to have been inherited by his pupil, the congenial Zhig-po gling-pa who now – prosecuting what Rin-chen phun-tshogs left unfulfilled – to the north-east of the lHa-sa town (probably on the plain of sKu-’bum-thang, along the northern bank of sKyid-chu) initiated his envisaged erection of an octogonal three-storied rDo-rje lha-khang shrine – a huge *apotropaion* – raised for the protection against flooding from the monsoon-fed sKyid-chu (see *Lung bstan rdo rje lha khang*, *passim*, and M. Akester 2001 for a full translation).[211]

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he prosecuted his dike protecting mission by strewing “blessed barley corn” along the gate of the southern dikes (*lho rags kyi rags mgo*) and along the most vulnerable stretches, he established five [water] mills ([*chu*?] *’khor lo lnga*) in the area. The mission was finally crowned by a visit to the Jo-bo image in ’Phrul-snang, in an attempt to ensue that the mission was blessed and sanctioned.

Returning towards rGya-ma, they were received en route in gratitude by the local people of Kha-rog shan-ka (= ? Rags-kha shan-ka, at sKyid-chu river, at the foot of Yer-pa in Glang-ru district of ’Brom-thod *or* rather Kha-rabs/rag shan-kha, a *grong tsho* in bDe-chen *xiang* of present-day sTag-rtse *xian*; loc. 29°39'N 91°23'E; towering above this site is the bDe-chen Kha-rab rgyab-ri (cf. *DL6* 426; later a Zur-khang estate, cf. Petech 1973: 148). Further upstream, they were received by the people of La-mo Gyang-rgyab chu-skor (of La-mo in present-day sTag-rtse *xian*; i.e. La-mo Gyang-ri dmar-po and La-mo Chu-skor; cf. *CTZhZh* 148; loc. 29°46'N 91°33'E; see *Dimingzhi I* 86ab).

A year later – in 1548 – the ’Bri-gung master visited sNang-rtse on his way to sKyor-mo-lung, where he was to deliver religious precepts and it may be speculated, that it was on this or a later occasion that he evidently persuaded Zhig-po gling-pa to carry through his future *rdo rje* or *chu bzlog lha khang* enterprise. The sNang-rtse sde-pa Zhig-po gling-pa reportedly also urged the ’Bri-gung master to commit some of his esoteric writings to paper. Cf. *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 353f.

[210] At this point it may be mooted what sort of reward – or trophy – Rin-chen phun-tshogs, or for that matter, Zhig-po gling-pa (aside from a personal) had in mind with their mission. Where the Karma-pa’s ultimate objectives would seem overly profane and matter-of-factly in their hegemonic pursuit, the objectives of the two *gter ston* appear more ideological, at least unarticulated. In the *Vajra Temple* text of Zhig-po gling-pa, the patrons behind its erection in 1557 were resp. one Drung-gnas *dkon gnyer dpon* and a gNyer-chen rDo-rje grags-pa (see Akester 2001: 21). Otherwise unknown, they appear to have been custodians or sacristans, either of Ra-sa ’Phrul-snang or from Tshal Gung-thang, and may have been supported by the powerful *sde pa* sKyid-shod-pa who at that point ruled either seat.

[211] The name *rdo rje* or adamantine, alludes to its indestructible nature, hoping that it would remain intact *in perpetuum*. The idea was not new: Just as physical sanctuaries were erected to protect lHa-sa from watery destruction (*chu skyon*), another similarly important quest was to protect bSam-yas from sand and fire. In the early 15th cent., Thang-stong rgyal-po, a pioneer of such remedial crusades or missions, had erected a *mchod rten khang bu brtsegs* to protect bSam-yas from being buried in sand; cf. *Thang stong rgyal po rnam thar III* 202–03.

Completed the same year, this remarkable and apparently affluently equipped chapel should, with the wax and wane of time, ideally last for *ca*. 40 years (as it was proclaimed, yet it barely survived for one full year), before it fell prey to the turmoil created by man and nature. We have no trace of it today. In raising this chapel, Zhig-po gling-pa too had followed in the footstep of his spiritual mentor, mChog-ldan mgon-po, who, as already mentioned, in vain had attempted to erect a similar water-protecting chapel, but had been hindered by the dGe-lugs-pa (of 'Bras-spungs) due to their intense opposition, or as noted by Sog-bzlog, due to their small-mindedness. The most important question in this matter cannot be adequately answered: who were the lay rulers and patrons behind the building of this edifice or who were the instigators? The sNang-rtse-pa and the sKyid-shod-pa ruling house may be convincingly mooted due to the bonds prevailing between Zhig-po gling-pa and the sKyid-shod-pa, certainly after the latter's *volte face*, also the sKyor-mo-lung-pa and the sNe'u-pa, supported by the religious seats of 'Bri-gung and Karma-pa, a formidable front indeed. Zhig-po gling-pa too had an old score to settle with the dGe-lugs-pa, after the assassination of his forebear some years before (1498). Another unanswered question is the role of the 8th Zhva-nag Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje who entertained relations with the *gdung brgyud* of sKyor-mo-lung (i.e. *mi dbang* bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (d. 1566); cf. also *sKyor mo lung chos 'byung* 103), but who at that point was ailing. Well-known incidentally are his numerous appeals, his odes and advice to the sNe'u-gdong rulers and his uncommonly genuine non-partisan stance (cf. e.g. *Mi bskyod rdo rje rnam thar* 221–227) in the political strife of his day. Nevertheless, a major impetus behind the initiative guiding the two *gter ston* just mentioned must be sought, as we have seen, with Sangs-rgyas gling-pa. We continue to observe that the main actors in the on-going drama thus either were divinely inspired *gter ston*, willingly supported or manipulated by ambitious lay rulers. Doubtless, the numerous texts and ritual cycles dedicated to the topic concerning the perpetuity, protection and renovation of the lHa-sa site and ascribed to the latter – not surprisingly – are also reflected in the interest on the side of the 4th and later the 5th Karma-pa for *gter ston* Sangs-rgyas gling-pa's esoteric teachings. It is therefore no less significant to consider the spiritual genealogy that may have motivated Zhig-po gling-pa (himself considered a rebirth of Sangs-rgyas gling-pa and in the words of his biographer Sog-bzlog-pa) to place a claim on being a rightful preserver of the Buddhist heritage of lHa-sa: Zhig-po gling-pa was conveniently linked up in one of his pre-existences with Bla-ma Zhang; cf. *Zhig po gling pa rnam thar* 26.1–2, 29.1–3, 36.5–6, 37.6), a nexus evidently considered crucial for underpinning the legitimacy concerning any claim and prestige behind upholding or representing the ideological heritage of the site, since the latter also emerges later in the pre-existence line and succession of the 5th Dalai Lama,[212] who evidently

[212] Telling is the artificial legitimacy or spiritual genealogy forged in Zhig-po gling-pa's case (as already discussed in detail by M. Akester 2001: 6–7) to link the latter to 'Brom-ston and its bKa'-gdams-pa line – a core legitimacy upon which the Dalai Lama institution rested as reported in many Dalai Lama biographies.

This unmitigated attempt to capitalize upon old bKa'-gdams-pa legacies (deeply offensive to dGe-lugs sentiments) and the unrepentant, almost aggressive demonization of the dGe-lugs-pa (*dge lugs 'di bdud lta bur*) from the side of a triumvirate of *gter ston* accounts for the subsequent antipathy, that was nourished by the 5th Dalai Lama against this rNying-ma treasure-finder trio known as sNang-Gong-Sog gsum, i.e. sNang-rtse Zhig-po gling-pa, Sog-bzlog Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan and Gong/Gangs-ra Lo-chen gZhan-phan rdo-rje (1594–1654), but also against another political visionary prophet, *gter ston* Shes-rab 'od-zer (1518–84) that later should lead to a ban on the publication of their writings.*

Many of their political prophecies were deemed dangerous and vicious and were employed as political instruments. The contents of such prophecies indeed could be controversial since, if accepted at face value, the far-reaching consequences would be explosive, given the fact that they could be interpreted as the authoritative *porte parole* of Padmasambhava. Remarkable here is that two members of the triumvirate had been pupils of 'Bri-gung Rin-chen phun-tshogs.

sought to include or incorporate the very same figures in his endeavour to generate as spiritual genealogy to the site, to its history and its underlying legacy.

A response to the ambitious endeavour launched by Zhig-po gling-pa, not surprisingly, was dealt with by the 5th Dalai Lama in his biography of bSod-nams rgya-mtsho. The Great 5th utilized these developments to link the foray of Zhig-po gling-pa – albeit in this connection never directly mentioning it – with the issue that confront each and every Tibetan, namely that according to Tibetan astrology, each 13th year in a human life constitutes a dangerous year (*lo keg*) with serious obstacles either to the person's life and health or to his immediate surroundings: in the case of the high hierarch, this *lo keg* would seem to coincide with the emergence of the warfare in Central Tibet and the conflict between 'Bri-gung and dGe-lugs reported above that raged during the mid– and late 1550's, when paradoxically both parties in the late 16th century unwittingly competed (see below) about the re-embodiment as the 4th Dalai Lama. The 5th further refers to a number of crucial prophecies issued by Ratna gling-pa, by mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen Padma dbang-rgyal (1487–1542) and especially by the latter's younger brother *rig 'dzin* Legs-ldan bDud-'joms rdo-rje (1488–1569) – both *Byang gter* teachers of royal blood (stemming from a side-line of the Mang-yul Gung-thang rulers; the first even

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Due to Zhig-po gling-pa's politically contentious and eclectic ties to Zhva-dmar, to the Sa-skya-pa (i.e. resp. Ngag-dbang Kun-dga' rin-chen (1517–84), as well as to bDag-chen Ngag gi dbang-po), to rTse-gdong Kun-dga' bsam-'grub, but also to the 'Brug-pa (*zhabs drung* Mi-pham chos-rgyal, 1543–1604/06),** he kept remaining a dreaded figure, precisely because of his political prophecies – often euphemized as *dus rtags lung bstan* (stigmatized as *lung bstan ngan pa* or wicked prophecies by the dGe-lugs-pa) for which reason he remained a target in many orthodox dGe-lugs apologetics and histories. It was said that sNang-rtse-ba Zhig-po gling-pa's assertive and contentious treasury finding in Jo-khang themselves hinged upon his close (family?) relations to a local *nang pa* bZhu-khang-pa of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, his local (and secret) ally no doubt. To make matters worse, Zhig-po gling-pa, with his strong anti-dGe-lugs stance often targeted bTsong-kha-pa in his writings. Cf. *bTsong kha pa rnam thar I* 356–58 (referring to the deplorably still non-extant bTsong-kha-pa biography *Ngo mtshar lung bstan gi rol mo* by Brag-sgo-ba *rab 'byams pa* Phun-tshogs rgya-mtsho).

sNang-rtse-ba thus was viewed as an ideological usurper encroaching on their well-earned rights and hard-won prerogatives. The dGe-lugs-pa mooted (as part of a defamation) issues related to the authenticity and interpretation of some of his esoteric cycles (e.g. the *Zab pa skor bdun* among his numerous writings; cf. *rNying ma'i gsung 'bum dkar chag* 131–38; *DL5 II* 170b7–171a6; *Nor bu'i do shal* 294–99; see also his assertive and prophecy-rich *Thugs rje chen po 'khor ba las grol gyi chos kyi lo rgyus lung byang gsal ba'i sgron me* 1–41; ed. Gangtok 1976).

Paradoxically, other prophecies of his found sympathy with his antagonists. It would be a worthwhile enterprise to investigate the background behind the lingering conflict between a number of *gter ston* and the dGe-lugs-pa establishment. Cf. also *Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar* [B] 14b3f., 46b3f.; *Sa skya gdung rabs* 407–18, 44. The dGe-lugs-pa opposition towards the rNying-ma-pa masters (and other masters, eventually involving a printing ban on the writings of the 8th Karma-pa Mi-bskyod rdo-rje and others) initially had been grounded – as we most readily see in the case of Zhig-po gling-pa, aside from ideological difference – in their different alliances forged to political opponents, but also in the opposition nurtured in numerous corners against the above rNying-ma-pa, feared as they were for their dangerous prophecies and rituals that targeted the insidious involvement of the Mongols in Tibetan politics and a motif for this was the unabashed invitation to Tibet by the dGe-lugs administration from the late 1580's. Worthy of note also, in connection with the elemination of the Yar-rgyab ruling house, sNang-rtse's prophecies were employed.

* A closer reading of the writings of the 5th Dalai Lama and access to the still non-extant *gTer ston chos 'byung* written by Dre'u-lhas *grub dbang g*.Yung-mgon rdo-rje, *alias* Kun-dga' mi-'gyur rdo-rje (1721–69) – son of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, may shed further light on the dispute.

** Zhig-po gling-po's subsequent political importance is evident from the fact that his daughter was the consort of the 'Brug-pa hierarch Mi-pham chos-rgyal, their son again being Mi-pham bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma, on his side incidentally the father of *zhabs drung* Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal, the future founder of the state of Bhutan; cf. Ehrhard 2005: 17.

Family Affairs: Father – Son – Grandson



***25**. Father: Chos-rgyal Rin-chen phun-tshogs (1509–1557), 'Bri-gung visionary and mystic – ideological contender to the lHa-sa heritage*
16th-century statue kept in the gSer-khang of 'Bri-gung-mthil (PKS 2004)



***26**. Son: Chos-rgyal Phun-tshogs bkra-shis (1547–1602). Great ascetic, father of many 'Bri-gung hierarchs*
Statue kept in Phiyang monstery in Ladakh (after Binczik and Fischer 2002)



***27**. Grandson: sTag-lung Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1571–1626). Illustrious ruler, scholar and saint*
17th-century statue kept on the ground-floor of sTag-lung Ri-bo-che *gtsug lag khang* (PKS 2004)

included into one of the pre-existence lineage of the Dalai Lamas) to 'Bri-gung Rin-chen phun-tshogs and his son – which altogether heralded that a statue of Mahādeva was about to be set up in lHa-sa that would turn its back to (i.e. affront) the central Jo-bo Śākyamuni statue[213] and thus boded

[213] For the inclusion of Padma dbang-rgyal and the role of his younger brother too and the reason for their ennoblement into the Dalai Lama pre-existence lineage; cf. *rMad byung bskal pa ma* 213–16.

The facial orientation of the Jo-bo statue in Jo-khang was towards the west (= towards Nepal/India wherefrom it originated), whereas the orientation of the new statue intended to be installed in the *rDo rje lha khang* of Zhig-po gling-pa would seem to have been towards SE; in fact, the statues would have their backs turned towards one another; an overly inauspicious arrangement boding ill for the territorial integrity, and in turn for the well-being of country and population.

ill – in the eyes of the 5th Dalai Lama – or would impair the local fragile toponymic lay of the land (*lha sa'i sa dpyad nyams*) as visualized by the dGe-lugs-pa; the author further refers to a number of other omnious temporal signs (*dus rtags lung bstan*) that indicated that the site would turn into a "swirling ocean of blood" (aside from alluding to the mythic heart-blood "site" of the supine demoness, here also referring to a prospective horrifying battlefield scenario), etc. and he finally foresaw – no doubt here taking advance of the benefit of hindsight – that it is (the 3rd Dalai Lama's own re-embodiment) namely 4th Dalai Lama, Yon-tan rgya-mtsho bDe-chen Chos kyi rgyal-po who as a remote scion of Činggis Qan tamed or pacified any menacing border peoples (i.e. any foe). We thus see that the attempt to assume a central position in the struggle for the lHa-sa heritage by building the disputed *rdo rje lha khang* by the 5th Dalai Lama in the longer perspective was seen as the outcome, i.e. a "natural impediment" or imbalance associated with the karmic development of the high hierarch personally, partly to be set right only by way of announcing the recognition of his subsequent embodiment into a glorious ruling family of the Mongols that proved decisive for the final struggle in Central Tibet almost a century later (*DL3* 70a2–72b3). We easily detect the intention behind the Great 5th with this argumentation when he attempts to soften or incorporate the stances of his opponent by arguing that the Tümed Mongols – rightful descendants and scions of the glorious Činggis Qan would be the true defenders of Buddhism and expeller of hostile border armies. The positive attitude towards a Mongol involvement, aside from his own and his line's bare survival, no doubt also rested with his own family ties that revealed a Mongol ethnic background too.

By thus linking a local dispute in the lHa-sa area in the mid-1500's with the prophetic vision that the re-embodiment of the 3rd Dalai Lama was to incarnate himself in the glorious lineage of the powerful Tümed chiefs, the 5th Dalai Lama conveniently provided the rationale behind the step taken by bSod-nams rgya-mtsho and the central dGe-lugs-pa administration at 'Bras-spungs, namely to seek his re-embodiment in Mongolia, a plan generally maturing, when the first attempts from the side of the dGe-lugs to seek help from the Mongols had just been carried through. We shall assume the initial plans for these contacts beginning were rooted in suggestions vented by Kun-bzang-rtse and the presiding Phag-gru *mi dbang* Ngag-dbang grags-pa who already in 1571 suggested that contact was taken up with the Tümed ruler in the Kokonor region. It was the dGe-lugs-pa, not least due to the successful missionary endeavours conducted by bSod-nams rgya-mtsho in 1577–78 in Mongolia that gave his denomination the better cards to ensure the undivided support and patronage of the Tümed Mongols and thereby unwittingly herald the start of their ultimate victory over their foes among the gTsang-pa and hence the fate of Tibet. Whatever rationalization here may have been conducted by the 5th Dalai Lama, there remains some reason to assume that the hour of birth for the decision among the dGe-lugs-pa to seek help and patronage from the Mongols also had been rooted in the warring conflict with the 'Bri-gung-pa and possibly also the initiative of Zhig-po gling-pa to challenge the claim of the dGe-lugs hierarchs and their establishments in upholding a monopoly and privilege of administering or representing the site of lHa-sa and its unbroken cultural memory.

It was also a period marked by the attempt from many sides to forge new coalitions and alliances – and not only to the militarily and materially strong Mongol tribes. Also between different Tibetan

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Later the ominous story of the set-up of the lHa-chen statue turning its back to the lHa-sa Jo-bo and thereby exerts a negative or ill-boding effect on the "auspiciousness of land and people" conveniently was used to explain the loss of territories during the 1618–19 war in Central Tibet; see *DL5 I* 25a1–3.

hierarchs we observe such attempts: the head of one wing of the two dominant brother lines vying for power at 'Bri-gung, namely Rin-chen phun-tshogs' son Phun-tshogs bkra-shis in 1570 arranged a marriage between his younger sister and the ruling *mi dbang* Kun-dga' rgya-mtsho of the Ga-zi house, the actual ruler behind the powerful sTag-lung seat (see below). The son of the union was to become the formidable 17th sTag-lung throne-holder Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal – of mixed sKyu-ra- and Ga-zi clan blood – and nephew of Phun-tshogs bkra-shis. He ascended the sTag-lung throne in 1585. The union reveals the concern that spurred the 'Bri-gung ascetic, who in 1583 (var. 1585) himself had become the strong man at 'Bri-gung as its 20th throne-holder. He was also the one who made a last attempt to influence the course of history.

When another severe flooding visited lHa-sa in 1583 A.D., it was the 'Bri-gung-pa Hierarch Phun-tshogs bkra-shis (following in the trail of his visionary father Rin-chen phun-tshogs and in the absence of the now 3rd Dalai Lama in Mongolia) who again was requested by the sKyid-shod-pa, – a request supported by the Karma-pa and thereby reconfirming an old political union – to perform a ritual mediation and he successfully assisted them in eliminating the threat, by bringing the heavy rain to a halt, by reverting the course of sKyid-chu river and by repairing and solidifying the embankments.[214] This feat in fact earned him a great name as *grub thob* in wide circles. Although other examples of the spiritual rivalry between the dGe-lugs-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa are to be recorded and are essential for a fuller understanding of the dispute, this shall suffice. It was also during the tenure of sKyid-shod *zhabs drung* g.Yul-rgyal-ba (d. 1607; ruling from 1589) that large-scale dikes had been erected or renewed in the sKyid-shod area (cf. *GT* 50b).

Adding to the picture, during the same spell a number of 'Brug-pa, albeit nourishing no notable political ambitions in the narrow sKyid-shod area, also gained some merit as "flood controller." In the early 1520's, the 'Brug-chen Hierarch Ngag-dbang Chos kyi rgyal-po (1465–1540 A.D.), at one occasion through his strong prayers was successful in reducing the menacing and expanding river-waters in lHa-sa.[215] In 1591 A.D., the 4th Hierarch Padma-dkar-po (1527–1592 A.D.) similarly conducted consecration rituals in form of strewing "sacred barley-grain" (*phyag nas*) along both the upper and the lower section of the lHa-sa'i chu-rags. In other words, the local dike construction, incessantly renewed or under repair, had turned into an integral piece of sacred environment, an object of veneration and blessing, regarded as a defensive protective wall around the *sanctum*. Any dignitary of note who passed through lHa-sa (and the Tshal district) was expected to pay ritual service to the Jo-bo Brother statues, not least in form of conducting either pre-emptive or restitutive repair and rituals along the existing *chu rags*. As such, a contribution to their maintenance was deemed an obligatory part of paying tribute to the Jo-bo Brothers and its protection. These measures, as said, also had a practical side: the latter-mentioned dignitary had – barely ten years old in 1536 A.D.

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[214] In 1598, the 20th 'Bri-gung throne-holder repeated the rites in lHa-sa against flooding as requested by the sKyid-shod-pa rulers. Cf. *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 270.2–5, 275.5; *Phun tshogs bkra shis rnam thar I* 581.5, 583.1–3; *II* 620.6–621.4; *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 197.6–9, 225, 233.

Some texts suggest that the earlier flooding took place in 1587 (not 1583). Already in the late 1560's, Phun-tshogs bkra-shis had won some experience in halting the water: he successfully had conducted thaumaturgic flood averting rites in Kong-po. During the 3rd Dalai Lama's lengthy stint in Mongolia, the sKyid-shod-pa rulers and the 20th and 21st 'Bri-gung throne-holders resp. entertained close relations. Clearly, Phun-tshogs bkra-shis – strongly supported by the Karma-pa – (like earlier his father) during his successful mission in lHa-sa clearly would unfold his ambitions for the site's underlying legacy. He reportedly several times by magic means attached the dGe-lugs-pa; cf *JCh* 267b2f.

[215] See e.g. *Ngag dbang chos rgyal rnam thar* 554.2, 559.3–560.1.

– been compelled to halt his journey to Tshal Gung-thang, since the sKyid-chu had overflowed the area leaving him stranded in mGar-grong for a lengthy period, unable to proceed further.[216] There can be room for little doubt that that flooding was a serious and permanent impediment to communication and trade throughout the centuries and such personal experiences, along with the often dangerous negotiation of the river itself, provided an added impetus for maintaining and securing the *chu rags* intact. Adding to this list we should also mention the sTag-lung *chos rje* who in 1580 or 1581 similarly conducted extensive repairs of the *sanctum* in lHa-sa and where he generously donated – customarily it seems – a new golden roof.[217]

Summing up – in their confrontation with the Karma-pa up to the close of the 17th century, it was two figures who proved to be ideological and political challenges that might have spelled disaster for dGe-lugs' strong presence and dominance: the 5th and the 8th Black Karma-pa.

2.9 *Chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho:
The Virūpa of Tibet – Master over the Waters and Architect of Alliances

The vexing albeit prestigious issues behind water-control and natural disaster management in Central Tibet – during the warfare in sKyid-shod district delineated above that raged in the mid-1550's – forced the 'Bri-gung-pa antagonists not to remain silent. The recognition of c*hos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho had been – almost exclusively – orchestrated by the old and all-powerful Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa, who at this point as a ruling mandriarch or lord (responsible both for clerical and secular matters – *chos srid*) had the final say in all important matters and affairs in leading dGe-lugs circles. In addition, he held numerous ecclesiastic posts and exerted great spiritual influence.[218] After the detection of the prospective young candidate in sTod-lung, a mis-en-scène staged or choreographed by the monk-patriarch or hierocrate himself, he soon conducted the infant's tonsure and name-giving ceremonies (a part of his name customarily being the same as his mentor) in 1546 at 'Bras-spungs – where bSod-nams grags-pa served as interim (11th) throne-holder – his oath-taking in 1549 and finally installed him on the 'Bras-spungs throne in 1552 (as 12th 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* throne-holder and as gZim-khang 'og-ma or "Lower Chamber" incarnate). bSod-nams grags-pa himself simultaneously or just prior to this point in 1548/49 sought retirement at 'Bras-spungs within

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[216] Cf. also *Pad dkar rnam thar V* 3b6–4a2. To Padma dkar-po is also ascribed the enactment of rituals to prevent watery disasters (*chu'i gnod*), so once in Kong-po, cf. *ibid*. 5a7; prior to this, it otherwise was the 'Bri-gung-pa who were active and influential in the Kong-po area – where large stretches and where temples were located that long served as 'Bri-gung outposts in the region, right from the time of the 4th throne-holder – in the mid-1260's, later again, it was the 10th and 11th 'Bri-gung throne-holder Chos kyi rgyal-po (1335–1407) and Don-grub rgyal-po (1369–1427) – and still later the 14th (so e.g. in 1470 A.D.) and the 20th 'Bri-gung throne-holders, who similarly executed a row of thaumaturgic feats and miracles for the protection against flooding in different areas of Kong-po, ever-vulnerable flood prone stretches – usually after many people had been killed and entire villages destroyed; cf. e.g. *bKa' brgyud gdan rabs* 283–87; *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 136,142, 155, 223. It may be noted that flood destructions (*chu skyon*) in Kong-po – due to the larger amount of water – generally were both more frequent and more devastating than the damage visiting the lHa-sa area.

[217] It refers to the endeavours of the 17th throne-holder *chos rje* Kun-dga' bkra-shis rgyal-mtshan; cf. *Tāranātha rnam thar* 16b1–3, 19b4. Not listed in the otherwise extensive survey of the 5th Dalai Lama in his *lHa ldan dkar chag*. In fact, to both the 14th and 15th sTag-lung throne-holders (and certainly a large number of other masters) was ascribed the faculty of reducing flooding too; cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 495, 543, 547, 550–52.

[218] A good part of the young infant's childhood (following his official recognition in 1544) was spent in sKyor-mo-lung, where he was patronized by *gdung brgyud rin po che mi dbang* bSod-nams grags-pa rgyal-mtshan. Cf. *DL3* 16af.

the precinct of the so-called "gZims-khang gong-ma" or Upper Chamber (which then developed its own incarnate line).[219] bSod-nams rgya-mtsho at that point was barely nine years old.

bSod-nams grags-pa, for a number of reasons – scholastic and political – was an imposing and redoubtable man. He was the very life-blood who embodied in his person the veritable guarantor behind the delicate, but vital relationship between dGe-lugs-pa and the Phag-gru or Rlangs rulers at sNe'u-gdong, the ruling seat of rTses-thang wherefrom he descended, a link that explains a good deal of his powerful position at dGa'-ldan pho-brang. Growing up under the auspices and guidance of this mentor, it was during the period following the latter's demise in 1554 that the young 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho in 1559 renewed the old alliance with the now increasingly politically and physically feeble 11th Phag-gru *gong ma* Ngag-dbang bKra-shis grags-pa rgyal-mtshan at sNe'u-gdong (clearly urged by his influential uncle Kun-bzang rtse-pa Chos kyi dbang-phyug, who on most occasions served as his warden and political adviser of sorts). Already 1562 A.D., bSod-nams rgya-mtsho should seize the initiative and conduct extensive water-reducing rituals that included appropriate consecrations and he took other flood disaster relief measures along the embankments after yet another major flooding incident had visited lHa-sa.[220] For his ability to reduce and control the waters, he became known as the Second Virūpa,[221] a figure reknown as thaumaturge for his fabled exploits in controlling the water. Flood control measures, as we have seen, remained the single most important issue for the protection and survival of lHa-sa, not least also because the financial costs and human toll that followed in the wake of flooding always were considerable. To be true, this depiction of the 'Bras-spungs chos rje is only conveyed in dGe-lugs sources. The stance taken by bSod-nams rgya-mtsho in this respect should not only be seen in the light of the above-mentioned rivalry, where any successful taming or control of the waters invariably ensured the candidate great prestige. Equally important, and being considered an embodiment of the Great Compassionate One, the role as protector of living beings meant that the emergency measures required his unconditional moral and humanitarian commitment.

Until this point, the dGe-lugs-pa hierarch at 'Bras-spungs had suffered a row of humiliations concerning lHa-sa and his claim for pre-eminence in the area at the hands of the Karma-pa and now by the 'Bri-gung-pa. The next step taken by him therefore was only logical: the following year

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[219] It was the competition between the future successors of these incarnate lines that led to considerable tension within the dGe-lugs organization; cf. G. Dreyfuss 1998; G. Smith 2003: 129.

[220] In 1551, a serious drought had hit lHa-sa, and bSod-nams rgya-mtsho, barely eight years old, is said to have succeeded in producing rain-water by way of a chain of rites. Cf. *ibid*. 34a3–4.

[221] In other words, his ascetic practice (*brtul zhugs* or *vrata*) was said to equal that of the Indian master (*bir va pa dang mnyam pa*). The Indian thaumaturge or Yogeśvara, i.e. *mahāsiddha* Virūpa was famous for his extraordinary ability to control the waters (when crossing the Ganges river), altering or reversing its courses and even cross the waters without sinking as vividly recounted in his biography. See e.g. here Templemann 1983: 15; Dowman 1985: 43f. See also the essay in Linrothe ed. 2006. For his role in Gung-thang, see App. IV, below.

However, not only bSod-nams rgya-mtsho received the flattering appellation of being likened to Virūpa. Formerly, in the period around 1220 A.D., lHa-nang-pa (1164–1224) had been compared to the Indian *grub thob* for his water controlling activities in sTod-lung (cf. *lHa nang pa'i rnam thar I* 66–68). The epithet was also used when another stretch of land – ever-vulnerable to flooding – Gong-dkar simultaneously was destroyed by the water that originated from both gTsang-po and sKyid-chu (*gong dkar la skyid gtsang 'dres pa'i chu bo'i gnod pa*). The influential and learned Thu-ston Kun-dga' rnam-rgyal (1432–96) of Gong-dkar rDo-rje-gdan, while being compared to the Indian thaumaturge, is chronicled to have successfully applied appropriate *Vajrakilaya* rites in which connection a *caitya* was erected to ward off the destructive damages from flooding. Cf. *Kun dga' rnam rgyal rnam thar* 94.

bSod-nams rgya-mtsho issued a decree compelling the monks of Se-ra, 'Bras-spungs and dGa'-ba-gdong (i.e. key dGe-lugs sites along the most vulnerable stretch of sKyid-chu's northern bank and along sTod-lung-chu) in connection with the *sMon lam chen mo* to maintain the dikes, i.e. to ensure its permanent solidification (*lha sar chu rags rtag mar rgyag pa'i zhal bkod*; *DL3* 72b5–73b5; *Shakabpa Guide* 23–4) on an annual basis.[222] Here he took advantage of the overwhelming presence of dGe-lugs institutions that had now mushroomed in the area, an advantage that was born from a basic, but convincing strategy: the dGe-lugs had succeeded in their expansive development which involved combining a gradual conversion of numerous religious seats adhering to other denominations into their own camp with appealing offers of patronage and financial support. Again and again throughout in particular the 15th and 16th century, we come across information that details the ascent to various dGe-lugs-pa thrones of scions desending from contemporary ruling houses, such as in Dvags-po, 'Ol-kha and sNye-mo. It must be reiterated: the survival of an institution was hinged upon ample and constant patronage and denominational shifts were common-place.



***28**. The Siddha Virūpa. Stopper of the sun and tamer of the waters*



***29**. The Third Dalai Lama: The Tibetan Virūpa and master of the waters*

[222] dGa'-ba-gdong located above the estuary or confluence of sTod-lung-chu into sKyid-chu is a particularly delicate site where flooding often raged: So e.g. in 1697, it was precisely here that a statue (see the *sa gnad gso thabs* scheme below) was erected to ward off natural hazards. The text purports that from then on "fears of the *chu klung*" or the monstrous and turbulent flood water accordingly was rendered harmless, in this case irrespective to what extent the local farmers had to bear the brunt, since such incidents formerly had forced them to lay their fields fallow. In this part of Tibet, crops without irrigation usually did not grow. In the lHa-sa valley, the fields most often were situated on terraces only slightly above the river level, supplied by leats from the sKyid-chu river. Cf. Osmaston in Clarke ed. 1998: 130–31.

This step by bSod-nams rgya-mtsho was also regarded as a sign of respect for the Srong-btsan sgam-po site of lHa-sa as much as it constituted a means of ensuring it for all eternity – "the root and branch of all happiness and benefit in Tibet" as it was euphemistically and fatefully called. It again underpins the spiritual importance behind any designs for the rule in lHa-sa. Yet, his offensive measures certainly also – as it is candidly reported in the 3rd Dalai Lama bSod-nams rgya-mtsho's biography written by the 5th Dalai Lama – were regarded as a means of "overcoming one's enemies and protecting one's relatives."[223] This formulation, aside from being an age-old and cherished aphoristic idiom,[224] was nothing but a uncompromising political statement and a stance reflecting the long-felt conviction nourished by the dGe-lugs-pa, namely that lHa-sa rightfully had been under their time-honoured (i.e. since bTsong-kha-pa) protection and their exclusive maintenance. Taking this initiative, the 'Bras-spungs hierarch proved to possess political acumen – wisely counselled no doubt by his uncle Kun-bzang-rtse-pa. He adroitly entertained close bonds with the sKyid-shod-pa, in particular with the *sa skyong* bKra-shis rab-brtan (1531–1589; *rl*. 1568–89) (see Part I, fns. 694–698), the younger brother of Don-grub rgyal-po, who contrary to his elder brother evidently entertained particularly strong dGe-lugs sympathies. His personal bonds to bSod-nams rgya-mtsho appear to have developed from *ca*. 1572 A.D., after bKra-shis rab-brtan had the command at Brag-dkar. As it transpires, it constituted no contradiction whatsoever that the same ruling house entertained, during roughly the same period, amicable patron-priest relationships with competing or conflicting orders, although in this case it merely appears to reflect distinct preferences and sworn commitments between two sKyid-shod-pa brothers to different orders rather than political calculus. Reading contemporary literature the leading hierarchs of most orders tendered teachings at regular intervals to leading local hegemons almost indiscriminately. It therefore appears that the 'Bri-gung alliance (the close contact appropriately was coined *'Bri sKyid thugs yid gcig 'dres*) from the side of the sKyid-shod-pa was strategic, a temporary step entered and reinforced in the 1580's during the 3rd Dalai Lama's absence in Mongolia. The sKyid-shod-pa increasingly sided with the dominant dGe-lugs-pa during the tenure of the able and learned bKra-shis rab-brtan and his son/nephew *sde pa* g.Yul-rgyal. Yet it should here be reiterated that alliances often were loose or shifted fast, so the army of the same ruling house was to be defeated, latest in a row of battles, in the early 1600's by a combined 'Bri-gung (now the bitter foe of the sKyid-shod-pa after the latter's unmitigated support to the dGe-lugs and the new Dalai Lama) and gTsang troops, although the wind of success was blowing in the opposite direction. For the 'Bri-gung-pa, their loyalty to the future losing party in the lingering conflict meant the loss of many territories of 'Phan-yul and sKyid-shod later on.[225]

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[223] This reflects a basic two-pronged strategy that outwardly involved an offensive reversal/expulsion (*phyir bzlog*) of enemies and inwardly a defensive protection (*srung*) of friends.

[224] Cf. e.g. Sørensen 1990: 363, 368.

[225] See *Chos grags rnam thar I* 205–06; *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 280. For their loss of dependencies in 'Phan-yul and Mal-gro (starting already from the 1620's, the remaining 'Bri-gung estates were largely destroyed in the decisive 1641 warfare), the 'Bri-gung-pa eventually were compensated with remote areas in Yar-stod.

2.10 Battered Hopes:
Contested Embodiments and New Identities – The Drama behind the Dalai Lama Succession

The exclusive alliance that was about to be forged between the dGe-lugs-pa administration, headed by the 3rd Dalai Lama and executed by his entourage of dGe-lugs administrators and hierarchs and supported by loyal lay supporters such as the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa etc., with the Tümed Mongols eventually would pave the way for the ultimate supremacy of dGe-lugs-pa. Yet, the way to this goal would still be long: when in 1588 the freshly-titled 3rd Dalai Lama suddenly passed away, the choice to seek his rebirth among their northern patrons gradually matured: as it turned out, a Mongol option was tempting at this particular point in history. It was among these hospitable and pious, yet perpetually feared patrons that *zhabs drung thams cad mkhyen pa* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho had spent the past decade and eventually his last years. The predeliction for choosing a non-Tibetan candidate not least had been born out of the vexing conflict firstly with the Karma-pa, but eventually with the 'Bri-gung-pa and their lingering strife in Central Tibet. And the influence of the latter in the battle for influence in Central Tibet must have been far from trifle, even among the Tümed Mongols in the crucial period. Two prospective candidates for the re-embodiment of the deceased 3rd Dalai lama soon were in play:

1. The son (b. 1589) of Sümbür Sečen Cögükür, the Tümed Mongol chief, grandson and scion of the Tümed ruler Altan Qan (1507; rl. 1543–1583).[226] His was a formidable choice that would (and indeed should) carry far-reaching consequences for the relationship between the dGe-lugs-pa and their recently converted and military strong Mongol patrons. Yet , his choice would herald the participation and involvement of Mongols (and indeed later Chinese) in inner-Tibetan affairs. The candidate we now know was to be the future Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (1589–1616).

2. The son (b. 1590) of 'Bri-gung Phun-tshogs bkra-shis. A serious candidate, later known as *zhabs drung* dKon-mchog rin-chen (1590–1654).[227] He was the third *thugs sras* – and in fact – grandson of none else than 'Bri-gung *zhabs drung chos rgyal* Rin-chen phun-tshogs (1509–1557 A.D.), who – as we have already seen – had seriously and incessantly challenged – both on an ideological as well as on a physical level – dGe-lugs-pa's pre-eminence in the heartland of Tibet during the past decades and their claim for an all-exclusive and all-executive representation of the prestigious lHa-sa legacy and the Srong-btsan sgam-po cult.

We recall that the eccentric 'Bri-gung master and ascetic Rin-chen phun-tshogs, as detailed above, personally had experienced many humiliations in his life, the most serious among which was the reservations articulated – within the 'Bri-gung fold itself – in around 1513–14, that he was not a genuine sKyu-ra scion, rumours that were wilfully spread by one branch of his family, namely his antagonist from the Phag-mo-rtse line of his uncle.[228]

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[226] The father of the 4th Dalai Lama was the son of Altan Qan's fourth son Sengge Dürüreng, identified as Sümbür Sečen / Mergen Cögükür *tayiji* (Tib. Su-mi Se-chen, ~ Mer Chos-khur *tha'i ji*) and his wife Bigcoγ *Bikiyi* (Tib. Ba-khen *sbyu la yi / biyi*).

[227] He eventually became the prospective 1st 'Bri-gung Che-tshang hierarch, and in due course the 22nd throne-holder of 'Bri-gung. Cf. also *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 127.

[228] As already discussed above (fn. 190), this conflict had preoccupied and seriously weakened the 'Bri-gung seat. The

infighting had raged in the inner circles for the most part of the 16th cent. – and indeed should have repercussion into the early 1600's: it involved repeated and bitter armed warfare, and the conflict went down in the history as the '*Bri gung khang thog nang gyes*; it culminated in 1583/85 when Phun-tshogs bkra-shis ascended the throne. *In nuce*, the conflict rested with the dispute over access to the 'Bri-gung main seat between two strong and uncompromising factions:

'Bri-gung Seat
The sKyu-ra Patriline

The Khang-gsar *nang so* Line of Phag-rtse	The Thog-kha *nang so* Line of sPro-lung
[seat at sTag-sna in Thang-skya dist. of Mal-gro gung-dkar]	[seat at sPro-lung, above Yang-ri-sgar of gZhu-smad in dBur-stod]
Its scions were	Its scions were
the 15th, 17th, 18th, 19th 'Bri-gung throne-holders	the 16th, 20th, 21st, 22nd 'Bri-gung throne-holders
[Periodically supported by]	[Periodically supported by]
dGe-lugs-pa	Zhva-dmar,
Gad-la 'Or/Hor-pa,	sTag-lung
'Chad-kha-pa of Mal-gro	dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa, rGya-mkhar-pa
	mKhar-rtse, Mang-ra, Bya-yul, and
	Hor-pa (sTeng Hor)
	(i.e. Hor *rgyal* Thar-pa-'bum and Karma-dpal)

Phun-tshogs bkra-shis (and surely his father) long nurtured a genuine interest in positioning themselves strongly in this conflict between powerful brother-lines and their resp. houses dominated by two wings: from the original patriline of the Thog-kha-pa (the main ruling sKyu-ra line named after the 12th-cent. Thog-kha gSer-khang mansion; and originating with the 5th 'Bri-gung throne-holder's patriline) which had split into the subsequent Phag-mo-rtse (also called the Khang-gsar *nang so*) branch- or sub-line versus the sPro-lung or Yang-ri-sgar line est. by Chos kyi rgyal-po (father of Rin-chen phun-tshogs).

Its pre-history: Out of the common sKyu-ra Thog-kha-pa patriline at 'Bri-gung, and in the aftermath of the ruinous and autocratic rule at 'Bri-gung of their 11–13th throne-holders, the Phag-mo-rtse line was to originate with the 12th 'Bri-gung throne-holder and his descendants, yet merely half a century later, it was on the brink of dying out, prompting the elder brother of the 15th throne-holder, *sgom pa* or administrator Rin-chen rnam-rgyal (the eldest brother to Rin-chen phun-tshogs' father) to take over the landed estate of Phag-mo-rtse (i.e. main seat at the rNam-sras-gling *pho brang*) in order to revitalize the branch. The conflict in the 1520's had also been rooted in the circumstance that member of the militarily strong 'Bri-gung Phag-mo line proved increasingly conciliatory towards the dGe-lugs, following prior skirmishes between the parties. Members of this line successfully occupied the 'Bri-gung throne with the ensuing 17th through the 19th seat-holders. In other words, following Rin-chen phun-tshogs who as 16th throne-holder evidently after a few years (1527–34) had been ousted from the throne. Due to this usurpation and due to the doubt about his origin sowed by his Phag-mo-line relatives, he seems to be holding a life-long grudge against this brother line. Upon Rin-chen phun-tshogs' demise in 1557, the inner 'Bri-gung conflict was soon to flare up again, when in 1570 the 18th throne-holder passed away. Two events were to mark this hapless year at 'Bri-gung. Firstly, the Phag-mo-rtse line succeeded in securing – somewhat irreguarly as it may seem – their candidate Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal on the throne instead of Rin-chen phun-tshogs' son. In the same year (or shortly before), Phun-tshogs bkra-shis – in the wake of being discarded as rightful candidate to the throne or evidently as a strategic move – succeeded in marrying his sister to the powerful *mi dbang* Kun-dga' rgya-mtsho – ruler of lHun-grub *rdzong* in 'Phan-yul and main seat of the Ga-zi family behind the sTag-lung chiefs – indeed a formidable ally. The son of this union (with both sKyu-ra and Ga-zi blood – and hence Phun-tshogs bkra-shis' future nephew) was to become sTag-lung most illustrious scholar-saint and powerful chief, their 18th throne-holder Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (b. 1571). See Fig. 25–27 above.

The conflict now escalated dramatically: As a result of this alliance, the Phag-mo-rtse chiefs saw their local position

The yearning for recognition – arguably hinted at by his own *gter ston*-like hypertrophy of borrowed or assumed identities – must have played no small role in his family and his influence – having risen to become both a respected and utmost feared opponent to the dominant dGe-lugs position – thus cast long shadows even after his demise, shadows that reached onto the threshold of the Mongolian tents and be widely debated. But why this 'Bri-gung foray into dGe-lugs territory by attempting to claim or to ensure the birth of the highest dGe-lugs-pa hierarch within the 'Bri-gung fold? Well, we have seen the dogged commitment, almost personal obsession that kept driving the 'Bri-gung hierarch during the last decades for the Srong-btsan sgam-po legacy – a heritage that he felt called upon to represent (too), and had this suprising – but risky – foray of theirs been crowned with success, the 'Bri-gung would indeed be holding a very strong hand in the long-fought battle for the heritage issue in lHa-sa. We have reasons to believe that by currying favour from both the Mongols princes and the leading dGe-lugs administrators, they attempted to change the course of history. The same perspective, but here mingled with fears, must also have guided certain leading dGe-lugs-pa when responding to this unusual situation. True, to the dGe-lugs-pa the prospects were incomparably more comfortable if not unproblematic, having to cope with a certain prominence of candidates – a true *embarras de choix*. Opting for the 'Bri-gung infant would have taken the wind out of the sails of a major and vexing foe in Tibet (conversely, the same arguments, even stronger, could be advanced by the 'Bri-gung-pa), yet the princely candidate found in Mongolia within the family of a strong newly converted ally and patron – needless to say, remained quite promising, where a remote Mongol-born candidate with undisputed reputation was deemed a tantalizing and irresistible choice.[229] The question remains who in the first place had ventured to introduce the 'Bri-gung candidate, and the answer not surprisingly was sought in certain (nationally minded, or just traditionally anti-Mongol?)[230] circles within the dGe-lugs-pa who nourished blatant misgivings as to the prospect – notwithstanding the attractiveness for future patronage and military protection from Mongol side – that the hierarch in the first place was to be found outside Central Tibet – an unprecedented situation, which suggests to us that some circles in the dGe-lugs fold either may have sympathized with or straightforwardly advocated a

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threatened at 'Bri-gung and the same year – during the initial tenure of the 19th 'Bri-gung throne-holder, they unsuccessfully attempted – attack always remains the best form of defence – to raid sTag-lung. After the (untimely, unnatural?) death of the 19th 'Bri-gung throne-holder in 1582, the Phag-mo-rtse line choreographed a renewed attempt to continue their dominance of the throne for the latter's son Mi-pham, yet the coup failed, and the entourage and many supporters (not least the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa) behind Phun-tshogs bkra-shis succeeded the same year in ensuring his ascent on the 'Bri-gung throne. The inner 'Bri-gung conflict however kept raging throughout the 1580's, with repeated attacks from the side of the *sde pa* Phag-mo-rtse. With the backing from strong parties, the sPro-lung line however was to gain the upper hand. Rin-chen phun-tshogs' shadow indeed proved long and revengeful. Cf. e.g. '*Bri gung gdan rabs II* 525.1–2; *Phun tshogs bkra shis rnam thar I* 562ff.; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 542, 560 and especially Table V.11.1–2 below.

[229] The 5th Dalai Lama does reflect upon the nature or provenance of the candidate and the circumstance that the Mongol option stemmed from a grand noble house. In his defence, he refers to the candidate within the 'Brug-pa school of the prince of Bya in lHo-kha who was identified as the 3rd 'Brug-chen 'Jam-dbyangs Chos kyi grags-pa (1478–1523). The Fifth Dalai Lama incidentally was to receive a number of *gter ma* cycles transmitted e.g. through Rin-chen phun-tshogs as detailed in his comprehensive *gSan yig*.

Incidentally, within the 'Brug-pa school, it was the 10th Rva-lung throne-holder Kun-dga' dpal-'byor (1428–76) who considered himself a manifestation of the 'Brug-pa founder gTsang-pa rgya-ras, and by extension as a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara. It not least was also this incarnational link that inspired the 5th Dalai Lama.

[230] The involvement from Mongol side would externalize a Central Tibetan conflict, a point to be repeatedly criticized by the dGe-lugs-pa antagonists.

Tibetan candidate.[231] Politically motivated recognitions anyhow were increasingly preferred to independent, haphazard, but uncontrollable choices.

2.11 Narratives of Triumph and Submission

The long-forgotten "Phun-tshogs" Dynasty: A Reappraisal

One characteristic trait in the political development during the 15th and 16th centuries clearly rested with the growing political will to seek priority or preference to the system and claims of rebirth (*yang srid*, *punarbhāva*) over more traditional hereditary and family-based religious lineages in the transmission of accumulated religious wealth, in other words a new approach to regulate and represent the linear succession of religious thrones and abbatial chairs. The 'Brug-pa state of Bhutan was in fact established as a last irreversible attempt to revert this new tendency. It not least was the dGe-lugs administrators who extended their influence by consciously attempting to absorb old aristocratic and religious families through the identification of their scions as re-embodiments of high hierarchs.[232] The old system, with a few exceptions, until then had been transmitted almost exclusively within local aristocratic families and clans (preferably transmitted through father-son and paternal uncle-nephew lineage successions) in order to retain the secular and religious control over accumulated wealth and ensure ample political influence and patronage. The *sku 'phreng* re-embodiment lineage succession now became prominently normative, a popular system (not entirely unknown in Tibet, so among the pioneering Karma-pa from the 13th century, but also among the 'Brug-pa and sTag-lung-pa) that carried some risks to the hitherto family-bound inheritance, since it enabled families or circles behind any new elected candidate access to the accumulated wealth commonly held by the chair, and in most cases considerable wealth was at play. It cannot surprise that when some of the most dominant and prestigious family-based seats in Tibet did introduce the same rebirth system, they often kept the number of candidates restricted, and in most cases the rebirth candidate was exclusively identified within the close family itself around the court of the predecessor. But it was also used to incorporate local religious aristocracy, so e.g. the dGe-lugs successfully absorbed a hereditary line of the Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa at rTa-nag rDo-rje-gdan in gTsang – to strenghen their position in this particular area – by identifying one of their scion as the rebirth of the 1st Dalai Lama, although at that point this candidate "merely" was addressed as the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje*.

In our ongoing discussion of the hegemony of Central Tibet in the 16th century, when perusing contemporary literature, it is evident that the 'Bri-gung-pa with their skilful policy by now almost resembled a family "dynasty" of sorts – by us tentatively and patronymically labelled the "Phun-tshogs" dynasty (hinted at also by the line's *chos rgyal* titulation) of 'Bri-gung on account of the circumstance that all protagonists were sharing the name-element "Phun-tshogs." The father of the 'Bri-gung candidate, c*hos rgyal* Phun-tshogs bkra-shis – as much committed to the heritage issue as his father – had gone out of his way to have his son recognized as the rebirth of bSod-nams rgya-mtsho; he had fair reasons to be optimistic, since another of his four sons in 1588 or 1589 suddenly, if not surprisingly, had been recognized as the 6th Zhva-dmar *dpal ldan* Gar-dbang

[231] A number of key sources are still not available that might cast light on the sentiments nourished in leading dGe-lugs circles. Deplorably still absent are the biographies of the 3rd and 4th Dalai Lama by mKhar-nag *lo tsā ba* and the writings by *drung yig* 'Jam-sras and Bya-dar *sprul sku* 'Phrang-kha-pa (i.e. *dpal ldan* Blo-gros bzang-po (*ca*. 1510–1575); cf. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 35b2f.

[232] See G. Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts* 123.



***30**. The Sixth Zhva-dmar Chos kyi dbang-phyug (1584–1630)*
Photo: *Zangchuan fojiao jintong* 2000

Chos kyi dbang-phyug (1584–1630) at Yangs-pa-can, long-term allies of the 'Bri-gung-pa – in the very same year. His sister sMon-lam Phun-tshogs (*ca*. 1550–1602 A.D.) – also carrying the Phun-tshogs name-element – as we have seen earlier had wedded the powerful Ga-zi *mi dbang* in lHun-grub *rdzong*, a marriage alliance that ensured overly harmonious relations with sTag-lung.[233] All in all, they constituted a formidable family alliance which would have propelled it – had the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* candidacy also been fruitful – into the role as the decisive polity-makers in Central Tibet. In this scenario, the entire ensuing conflict in Central Tibet and indeed the history of Tibet would have taken another course. We are unfortunately still left in the dark whether behind these intrigues a direct connection prevailed between the rejection of his younger son's candidacy in the dGe-lugs circles and his second eldest son's recognition as the 6th Zhva-dmar.[234] If the reincarnation issue had been settled or treated independently of one another which seems to be the case, and speculating further – if the candidacy had been successful, it is easy to imagine the central role that Phun-tshogs bkra-shis and the 'Bri-gung administration suddenly would be holding at the prospect that he emerged as father of in total four sons, among which his oldest and youngest sons became future successors on the local 'Bri-gung throne, and his remaining sons simultaneously were recognized as the presiding Zhva-dmar and Dalai Lama hierarchs. The 6th Zhva-dmar, even in opposition to the dGe-lugs-pa, attempted to revenge his rejected younger brother.[235]

Unprecedented in the history of Tibet, the sKyu-ra family of 'Bri-gung would in that case be holding a number of the most prominent hierarchs – all brothers by blood – in their hands. It would

[233] In 1609, the prolific Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal – to whom we owe most of the important sTag-lung histories – wrote a brief biographic prayer-text dedicated to his grandfather Rin-chen phun-tshogs. His Collected Writings, aside from the volumes that have recently surfaced, are said to have survived and may one day be available. Cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 734.

[234] The choice of the son of Phun-tshogs bkra-shis as the new embodiment of the 5th Zhva-dmar dKon-mchog yan-lag (1525–1583 A.D.) may by no means surprise us – strong religious *chos 'brel* bonds had long prevailed between the sPro-lung line within 'Bri-gung represented by Rin-chen phun-tshogs with both the 4th and 5th Zhva-dmar; later the 5th Zhva-dmar considered Phun-tshogs bkra-shis a great *siddha.* It may not surprise then that it was the written admonition of the 5th Zhva-dmar that initiated the search for his rebirth within the sKyu-ra family. Our suspicion is strengthened that a religio-political choise had been made, a choice that proved mutually beneficial.

Both the 4th and the 5th Zhva-dmar hierarchs served as root-teacher to the 'Bri-gung masters. Not insignificantly, carrying the name Gar-dbang (i.e. Gar gyi dbang-po/phyug) [Chos kyi dbang-phyug] would also suggest that he was considered a rebirth of Gar gyi dbang-po Zhig-po gling-pa – the teacher of Phun-tshogs bkra-shis – who had passed away the year before (1583). The 6th Zhva-dmar was abbot of gDan-sa-mthil 1590 until his death.

[235] Cf. *DL5 IV* (= Ahmad 223–24, 228).

have been a last opportunity from the side of the ’Bri-gung-pa – a belated but genial attempt to settle the on-going warring dispute and indeed the fortune in Central Tibet, and this circumstance – more than anything else – may also account for the sympathy in some dGe-lugs circles, weary of warfare, for the ’Bri-gung candidate? Needless to say, the ’Bri-gung-pa could count on the backing of the “Kings of gTsang” as well as the Karma-pa – at the prospect with peaceful means to turn the battle for Central Tibet in their favour. It is also in this light perhaps that we shall evaluate the origin of the 10th Karma-pa Chos-dbyings rdo-rje (1604–74): He too stemmed from the Kyu-ra line of the ’Bri-gung-pa through his mother Lady Kyu-ra-gza’ A-mtsho. He was strongly supported by the gTsang-rulers, but later forced to seek exile in Yünnan where he disseminated the Karma-pa teachings and successfully established a number of seats. All in all, and with the eyes of hindsight, we shall propose that the foray constituted an ill-veiled “coup-like” attempt from the side of the united ’Bri-gung – Karma-pa front, received with enthusiasm in some but finally with more fear in other corners of the dGe-lugs administration, to settle the conflict and there is also reason to argue that the manoeuvre nearly had been crowned with success.

In dGe-lugs-pa circles, the ’Bri-gung-pa optimism initially was not quite unfounded: The 3rd Dalai Lama was about to manifest himself not only as a scion of Altan Qan in form of Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, but as most ’Bri-gung and dGe-lugs sources would appear to agree, also to manifest himself through an infant from ’Bri-gung. To the ’Bri-gung-pa in particular, they remained sanguine that their candidate indeed was a manifestation of Lokeśvara in form of the 3rd Dalai Lama, as enthusiastically endorsed in ’Bri-gung sources, even centuries later. Two uncompromising factions existed within the dGe-lugs administration at this point, each endorsing their candidate. dGe-lugs sources (e.g. *DL4* 4a2–20a1; *DL5 IV* ([= Ahmad 221]; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 127) roundly admit to this too: at the crucial point of searching for the recognition in 1590 or 1591 both infants were being mooted as prospective candidates. The head of the recognition committee, the immensely powerful ’Bras-spungs treasurer (*phyag mdzod*) *guoshi rin po che* dPal-ldan rgya-mtsho – a close associate of bSod-nams rgya-mtsho, so his verdict carried a strong, decisive note – went to ’Bri-gung to conduct a proper investigation, the outcome of which however in the end proved less promising, since he in the wake of a facial confrontation with the ’Bri-gung infant entertained some misgivings whether the ’Bri-gung candidate had recognized him properly, or whether he was a suitable re-embodiment at all.[236] At this point, the matter was left undecided. The gNas-chung-lcog oracle, backed by the prediction issuing from *chos skyong* medium Tshangs-pa Dung-thor, however, in their prophecies

[236] The ’Bri-gung candidate – all sources agree – had during the examination correctly addressed dPal-ldan rgya-mtsho by his alternative name Seng-ge, but the latter rejoined – politically motivated? – by stating that the former hierarch (i.e. bSod-nams rgya-mtsho) never used this name in their communication. However, dGe-lugs sources seem to confirm that indeed this was an alternative name of the Major Domo (*Se ra chos ’byung* 135). Still, it reveals special knowledge on the side of the ’Bri-gung-pa. Despite being a failure, whetting the appetite for the establishment of an incarnate system at ’Bri-gung, the rejection of their candidate led – by way of compensation – to the decision of similarly introducing at ’Bri-gung a incarnate system, and he eventually emerged as the 1st Che-tshang incarnation (“older brother”) and his “younger brother” Chos kyi grags-pa (1595–1659) as the prospective 1st Chung-tshang incarnation. It was a period when in Tibet the number of incarnations inflated dramatically, replacing the former family-bound *yab sras/pha bu* or *khu dbon* as model for abbatial ascent and succession.

Curiously enough, both behind the patriline of the 3rd Dalai Lama (on his father’s side, former rulers of rGya-ma khri-khang) and behind the ’Bri-gung candidate with his mother’s equally rGya-ma khi-khang aristocratic background, it would appear that both could claim genuine links to the Srong-btsan sgam-po legacy in the old Mal-gro territory. When the 4th Dalai Lama arrived in Tibet 1603, he was still addressed ’Bras-spungs *sprul sku*. Cf. *sTag lung chos ’byung I* 577.

opted for the Mongol-born candidate. A letter from *gsol dpon* Tshul-khrims rgya-mtsho and *nang so* mDzo-mo mkhar-pa who at this point camped among the Mongols delivered decisive details about the infant from Köke Kota (*mkhar sngon*) who had proved utmost promising, a rapport which eventually dashed the hopes of the 'Bri-gung chiefs and their supports in the dGe-lugs camp. To be on the safe side, the prospects that bSod-nams rgya-mtsho actually had assumed more than one body were argued by pointing to the plausibility of the simultaneous occurrence of more than one manifestation (*dus gcig la du mar sprul pa*) and by conveniently referring to the reassuring circumstance that Buddhas of the three times here were working for the sake of living beings (cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 240–41). On the other hand, although repeatedly targeting Rin-chen phun-tshogs as an antagonist, the occasionally polemic biography also recognizes the religious role he (incl. his scions Phun-tshogs bkra-shis and bKra-shis phun-tshogs) played in providing teachings for and becoming root teachers to some of the 5th Dalai Lama family members (cf. *DL5 I* 18b1f.).

Notwithstanding the choice of the Mongol candidate, the situation in Central Tibet remained dramatic and politically unsettled. The 4th Dalai Lama – who spent the first 12 years of his life in his remote homeland – finally arrived – long awaited – in Tibet in 1603 A.D. Prior to his formal welcome reception in lHa-sa (at dGa'-ldan khang-gsar, the mansion of 'Bras-spungs' strongest lay supporters, the sKyid-shod-pa), *en route* he met a number of leading dignitaries, hierarchs and his most loyal patrons in Central Tibet – all essential for his own political survival – foremost among them, as said, sKyid-shod sde-pa *sa skyong* g.Yul-rgyal, the powerful and learned ruler and the most ardent supporter of the dGe-lugs-pa in this crucial phase (see e.g. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 36b6f.). The conflict that raged in Central Tibet had steadily been built up, the 'Bri-gung-pa, after their "defeat" in providing the 4th Dalai Lama candidate, had mustered their troops and were assisted by the gTsang forces along with conscripts from Zho-dkar and -nag (i.e. the Zho-rong district of 'Bri-gung gTsang-po) and by that of the Phag-mo-gru-pa. By joint efforts, they defeated the sKyid-shod-pa army in 1605 in a battle fought in 'Phan-yul and eliminated many of the latter's troops (cf. *DL4* 41a3f.). Shortly after, in 1607, the influential sKyid-shod *sde pa* g.Yul-rgyal passed away. The latter's estates in La-mo district (of rGya-ma in Mal-gro) at that point were looted and some dGe-lugs monasteries and sKyid-shod estates, especially in the 'Bri-gung area, were either destroyed or confiscated.[237] Most dramatically, in the wake of the father's demise and the ensuing estate confiscation, the two sons of g.Yul-rgyal, viz. Yid-bzhin nor-bu (fatefully named *Cintāmaṇi; b. 1589–after 1647) and his brother mGon-po rab-brtan were taken hostage (*bu gte*),[238] as a human

[237] *sKyid shod chos rje rnam thar* 185 purports that in the wake of g.Yul-rgyal's demise, a large army dispatched from the old foes of 'Bri-gung and Phag-gru made their arrival, taking advantage of sKyid-shod-pa's temporary weakened position. The relationship between the Phag-gru *sde srid* as former rulers of Central Tibet and the dGe-lugs institution, which from the time of bTsong-kha-pa had been harmonious, turned to the worse after the demise of the 13th Phag-gru *sde srid* in 1604. The young 4th Dalai Lama that year attended his funeral rites in sNe'u-gdong; cf. *DL4* 32b5–33a2.

[238] The term *bu gte* or "son hostage" suggests the Chinese *zhi zi*, i.e. "hostage son" or just *zhi ren*, "hostage." Hostage taking or human pawns was a common military stratagem (almost a ritual act) and, as it turned out, an effective means of warfare in Central Tibet at least from the 13th century (indeed a tradition gaining momentum from the time of the Mongols),* but with old roots. The brother of the "sKyid-shod-pa family pawn" or "hostages," the sKyid-shod *chos rje* bsTan-'dzin blo-bzang, while visiting the 1st Pan-chen bla-ma in bKra-shis lhun-po in gZhis-ka-rtse, was allowed to see his brothers as well as his mother who were kept in custody at bSam-grub-rtse early in 1617. The gTsang rulers even accepted that for a period of eight months the latter served as hostage stand-in (*dod*) for his brother Yid-bzhin, and during this phase of confinement, it is reported that he meditated exclusively on Akṣobhya; cf. *sKyid shod chos rje rnam thar* 195; *Paṇ chen chos rgyal rnam thar* 100–01.

shield by the gTsang rulers as bargain in the ensuing war negotiation and hence were destined to be kept in custody for the next 15 years in gTsang. It thus was a period marked by a considerably weakened dGe-lugs-pa, now bereft of the strong backing from the sKyid-shod-pa supporters, and their humiliation culminated with the erection in lHa-sa on Mt. Po-ta-la of a *pho brang* residence raised by the gTsang-rulers conjointly with their ally, the Yar-rgyab *sde pa* in 1608.[239] Ironically, it was the sKyu-ra family-born 6th Zhva-dmar-pa who that year was invited to lHa-sa to inaugurate the site on the mythic hill in the heart of lHa-sa. A few years later, during the hostilities that have gone down in history as the so-called "Rat-Ox Year Warfare" (*byi glang sde gzar*) of 1612–13 A.D. – one of the last successful attempts from the united gTsang forces and their strong hierarch supporters of 'Bri-gung and Karma-pa to eliminate their opponents and become sovereign rulers of Central Tibet – their forces now were headed by the 3rd gTsang *sde srid* Karma bsTan-srung dbang-po and Karma Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal. They took full control of 'Phan-po (i.e. the old sKyid-shod-pa heartland) followed by the seizure of the estate of sNe'u *rdzong* at the threshold to lHa-sa, resembling thereby the foray made over a century before by Ring-spungs-pa Don-yod rdo-rje into the same district. They raided lHa-sa city and the nearby large colleges of Se-ra and 'Bras-spungs.

1618 saw new skirmishes built up with a dangerous escalation of the conflict: the ever-shadowy 4th Dalai Lama had shortly before – quite untimely and partly under mysterious circumstances – passed away (on 15th day of the 12th lunar month of 1616) – arguably meeting an unnatural death, and probably the outcome of anti-Mongol sentiments that ruled the day in certain circles; it had been the culmination of an utmost strained and contentious relationship with the rulers of gTsang.[240] Adding contempt to the ills, the gTsang rulers, successful on the battle-field and sanguine about an early victory against their foes in dBus, eventually soon withheld their recognition of the new incarnation, thereby creating an increasingly intolerable situation. The conflict between dBus and gTsang, and the quest for supremacy in Tibet had reached its intolerable climax. The prolonged warfare that now reigned has gone down in the relevant literature as the "Earth-Horse Year Warfare" (*sa rta'i sde gzar*). The same year, through the mediation of the sKyid-shod-pa and the able and crafty 'Bras-spungs *nang so* bSod-nams rab-brtan, the dGe-lugs again would seek help from their old allies to the North-east, and before long Mongol troops headed among others by Se-chen Da'i-ching (Sečen Dayičing) of the Tümed, Khun-du-le Chos-khur (i.e. Sümbür Sečen Cögükür/Cügügür of the Qalqa)

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* Human pawn or hostage-taking as strategy for anticipating or ensuring loyalty from a vassal ruler (or indeed *a priori* to provoke his submission) was a standard practise from the time of the pre-Christian-era Han dynasty as already recorded in the Chinese Classics (e.g. *Zuo Zhuan*; see e.g. Legge, *The Chinese Classics* 5.17): Eventually, it covered both so-called "exchanged hostages" a *status quo* hostage-taking to ensure friendly relations or, more commonly, so-called "unilateral hostages" to guarantee allegiance and loyalty. See e.g. Yang 1952.

The Mongols too (so *The Secret History of the Mongols* § 253) had long acquainted themselves with this practise, usually by demanding the presence of a vassal's son(s) or brother(s) as pawn at court (often called day-guard; M. *turγaγ*) – this policy was codified by them in the 1230's as part of their state agenda. Qubilai Qan (see *YS* 209) required the vassal rulers personally to seek audience at court or stipulated vassal princes to be sent to court as hostages. This practise no doubt also extended to the compulsory presence and the prolonged stay at court of religious leaders and teachers such as that of 'Phags-pa Bla-ma. Cf. e.g. T.T. Allsen 1987: 73–76.

The topic in a Tibetan context requires further research, but sources such as *Rlangs* are quite instructive in unravelling how such hostage taking works as part of a comprehensive set of ritual acts of *deditio*.

[239] Dung-dkar, *Tshig mdzod chen mo* 2329. The source for this information is unclear.

[240] The Tümed hierarch *lha btsun chung pa* also fell ill – arguably a victim of poisoning? too, and had to convalescence for over a month at Rva-sgreng; cf. *Paṇ chen chos rgyal rnam thar* 101–02. He seized the opportunity to conduct a renovation of Rva-sgreng; cf. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 54a6, 97a4–5. In 1624, Paṇ-chen and the *sog po lha btsun* met here to enter a *mchod yon* relationship in Rva-sgreng.

along with the two influential ruling monk-hierarchs in Mongolia, i.e. lHa-btsun che-chung (or rgan-gzhon), i.e. *lha btsun bgres po* bsTan-skyong Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (d. 1631) and the younger *lha btsun chung pa* Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin rgya-mtsho, both of noble Tümed (i.e. Qutuγtai; *thu med rgyal rgyud*) blood and both pupils of the 1st Pan-chen *bla ma*. They should join hands with the Tibetan lay armies of the *sde pa* sKyid-shod-pa headed by bSod-nams rnam-rgyal (the elder brother of the hostages that were held in custody as pawn in gTsang, a circumstance forcing the sKyid-shod-pa to be precautionary) and assisted by his younger brother, the sKyid-shod *zhabs drung* bsTan-'dzin blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (evidently with the backing of his *guru*, the concerned Paṇ-chen *bla ma* – who himself commanded tremendous popularity in Mongolia). The fascinating history how the Mongols finally were inveigled into dispatching troops that eventually turned the luck in favour of the joint pro–dGe-lugs faction is intimately connected to the story of the temporary transfer of the statue of the 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara to Mongolia,[241] considered the national icon of Tibet, addressed in such praiseful terms such as *Bod kha ba can kyi lha skal* or "the fated or hereditary icon *par excellence* of Tibet" and commonly designated the *thugs dam gyi rten* or the "innermost tutelary image of spiritual commitment" of Srong-btsan sgam-po.

One of the last Karma-pa to challenge the slow but irreversible ascent of the dGe-lugs-pa was the 9th Karma-pa dBang-phyug rdo-rje (1556–1602/03) – his personal names Nam-mkha' rgyal-po and dKon-mchog-'bangs incidentally indicated his challenging stance in representing the Avalokiteśvara cult and its legacy – and the means chosen resembled that of his predecessor, the 7th Karma-pa almost a century earlier. Also this time the attack was ideological rather than physical and consisted in the rendition of a Tārā prophecy that apparently targeted the old Atiśa seat in sNye-thang. The prophecy – like the Maitreya prophecy referred to by the 7th Karma-pa almost a century earlier – attempted to bespeak that the fecundity of the sNye-thang area and its closest surroundings were seriously endangered. The full implication behind the allusion still remains unknown, but it clearly aimed at undermining the authority of the dGe-lugs institutions and their overwhelming or dominant presence in the area. Whatever its deeper impact, it prompted the dGe-lugs-pa to erect a special storehouse chapel (*ze'u* [= *ze'u 'bru* or *ke'u tshang*?] *lha khang*) in the area in order to ensure that the prosperity of the area enhanced (*yul khams la phan*; cf. *DL5 II* 274b4–275a1).

With the examples quoted here, we doubtless have only covered a fraction of the episodes characterized not least by the exchange of libel-like prophecies, almost invariably anonymous and containing a message that aimed at harming or politically ridiculing any opponent, in the first place by way of undermining and eventually render invalid or illegal the rights and prerogatives held or enjoyed by the latter.

The list of flooding episodes in lHa-sa and the list of protagonists involved in the coming period in fact could easily be made much longer since sKyid-chu – opulent sKyid-chu, dreadful sKyid-chu, like so many other rivers in Tibet – overflowed almost every year. Or, conversely, a list comprising the far too numerous episodes of dreaded drought that parched entire districts could be made.[242]

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[241] It was in fact a spectacular case of "sacred theft" (*furta sacra*). Cf. P.K. Sørensen 2007a.

[242] At least from the period of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang regime, proptiatory and supplicative rituals against flood and drought were regularly conducted at the three lakes in lHa-sa: Klu-sbug, lHa-sa [*sic*], and gSang-yib *mtsho** of Dog-sde dist. as well at the many *chu mig* wells in the area in order to ensure – during prolonged bouts of droughts – that water was readily available; so e.g. in 1674, when a severe dry period visited lHa-sa; cf. *DL5 II* 248b4–5.

During the rule of the 5th Dalai Lama, the systematic protection of the lHa-sa area assumed more concrete and sustainable forms. For instance in 1677, a permanent institution was set up to ensure the prosperity of the Tibetan population (*bod 'bangs shis thabs*) – here an euphemism for the protection of lHa-sa as we shall see – consisting of twenty-five officiating *mantrika* who for this very purpose were to take up seat at Yer-pa. Beginning on the 10th day of the 7th lunar month (i.e. during monsoon), they conducted water-abating rituals along the southern and northern shore-line of sKyid-chu that covered the most vulnerable stretch between Rag and Ge-re.[243]

The water-reductive incidents worth quoting on that score are therefore legion, but here we shall finally moot a last telling remark: After the appropriation of power by the dGe-lugs in the 17th century and notably following the reign of the 7th Dalai Lama, the consolidation and not least the protective measures now gradually transcended sectarian diffidence and discord, surely because by now the dGe-lugs-led dGa'-ldan pho-brang government since long had a firm grip on power and could allow themselves to be liberal. A flooding episode in 1725 also resulted in the accusation that the Capuchin missionaries were responsible.[244] And when the monster of flooding was on the rise, the question of emergency always played a vital role. It prompted recourse to requesting help from whoever proved capable of providing it. So for instance we have reports how on one occasion, in the year 1786 during the reign of the 8th Dalai Lama 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtsho, still another serious flood hit lHa-sa. This time too, it entailed that coracles were needed to cross the central Bar-skor square in the heart of lHa-sa and the narrow circumambulation circuit around the temple (called Byang-chub byon-lam or Byang-chub rgyu-lam) in fact only could be reached and passed in a coracle. This appears to be no exaggeration since we know from numerous sources that the entire lHa-sa area was regularly flooded.[245] The lower part of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang temple was reportedly submerged in water – with its submersion on the verge of becoming part of the subterranean realm of the *nāga* (*klu yul*) wherefrom it once was born – including the throne of the main-icon Jo-bo Rin-po-che, regarded and lauded as the *ston pa'i zhal skyin* or the representative of the historic Teacher Buddha Śākyamuni. None of the *bla ma* or gods of Tibet apparently were able to avert the flood, so at least the Karmapa biographies maintain. As last-ditch effort and measure, so it is recounted, the gNas-chung oracle was consulted (as in most cases of state emergency and natural disasters). According to its sibylline prediction and its prophetic message obtained from inquiring and consulting a prophecy-cycle known as *sPyi lung 'Od kyi dra ba can* or *Universal Prophecies: Mesh of Light*,[246]

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* Aside from a thermal bath (Part I, fn. 421), gSang-yib also accommodated a small smallpox hospital, so according to the Smallpox edict of 1794; cf. H. Richardson 1961.

[243] *DL5 III* 38a1–2: *rag yan ge re man gyi skyid chu lho byang gi sngags pa nyi shu rtsa lngas yer par lo ltar sprel zla'i tshes bcu chag med rgyun bzhugs.*

[244] Cf. I. Engelhardt 2005.

[245] The story is only conveyed in partisan Karmapa histories and may at first glance possibly be taken *cum grano salis*. Cf. *mTshur phu dgon kyi dkar chag* 30–31, 572–74, 579–81; *Karma pa bDud 'dul rdo rje'i rnam thar* 5a1–4 [= 9.1–4]; Douglas and White 96.

But Tāranātha – and surely many other visitors to lHa-sa – confirms a similar episode in 1583/5, where the entire core part of lHa-sa had succumbed to water.

[246] The Prophecy-collection either should be identified as the *Lung bstan 'od dra* commonly known in dGe-lugs circles for being notoriously pro-bKa'-brgyud-pa or anti-dGe-lugs-pa; cf. *DL5I* 259b4–260b3; *DL5 II* 2b4–5. The latter stemmed from the *gter chos* (commonly labelled "deceitful teaching" or *zog chos* by the 5th Dalai Lama) of an earlier namesake, the sPo-bo *gter ston* 'Dud-'dul rdo-rje (1615–1672 A.D.) of Kaḥ-thog, who entertained close ties e.g. to the 10th Karma-pa Chos-dbyings rdo-rje.

the government, so it is detailed in Karma-pa sources, felt compelled to invite the 13th Karma-pa bDud-'dul rdo-rje (1733/4–1797/8 A.D.) to conduct water-averting rituals, following here in the trail of the 11th Zhva-dmar-pa Gar-dbang rgya-tsho who reportedly earlier had conducted similar activities. The former at that point sojourned in Sha-brag monastery in the remote gNam-ru *rdzong* of Byang district, north of lHa-sa. The Karma-pa hierarch – to whom extraordinary and unusual faculties were ascribed[247] – initially proved unable to come to lHa-sa due to the impassable roads hither, wherefore he provisionally forwarded a sealed letter addressed to the holy image in lHa-sa. Prior to his arrival, in a vision the 8th Dalai Lama is said to have beheld how the Four-armed sPyan-ras-gzigs 'Gro-'dul – in his form of converting (or safeguarding) the sentient beings – would arrive riding on a horse along the road leading to Zhol rDo-ring. Finally, the Karma-pa hierarch met with the 8th Dalai Lama in the Potala. In front of the statue of 'Phags-pa Vati,[248] to whom he presented a scarf and offered his prayers, he experienced how the statue changed its *mudrā*-gesture – into that of bestowing protection (*abhayamudrā, skyabs sbyin*). Accepting the scarf, it suddenly spoke approvingly to the Karma-pa hierarch, an incident that for the latter evidently served as a sign of the conferral of authority and approval. As a result, the water around the submerged golden throne of the Jo-bo Statue in Jo-khang began to recede. As a token of their boundless gratitude for this true miracle, the 8th Dalai Lama on behalf of the government donated the sNa-mkhar monastic estate of bSam-grub mThong-smon[249] to the Karma-pa hierarch, a donation that served as an endowment fund and source of income for the mTshur-phu mother seat.

A century later – here recorded in order to provide yet another telling example of the sheer endless flow of deluge and flooding that kept on visiting lHa-sa: when the search committee for the identification of the re-birth of the 12th Dalai Lama in 1876 set out from lHa-sa bound for Glang-mdun of Dvags-po district, they were seriously impeded from making headway since rain had been pouring down for a long time and sKyid-chu's current instantly had stepped way beyond its normal boundaries, gushing forth with great speed, halting and inhibiting any progress; adding to the ills, at Klong-la Pass snow blizzard prevented further progress, with snow blinding most members of the traveling party. Cutting a path through the heaps of snow, by leaving pack animals and loads behind and guided by their protective guardians, the key members falteringly made some headway (*DL13* 20). On the return, when the 13th Dalai Lama finally approached lHa-sa, he received the official naming-ceremony in Gung-thang *gtsug lag khang* in the first month of 1878, whereupon

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However, it seems unlikely that the dGa'-ldan pho-brang officials should have consulted this cycle, if at all – recalling that it is merely quoted in full in Karma-pa sources – in order to invite the Karma-pa hierarch; more likely therefore is the possibility that it stemmed from another similar-named but later collection (and at least overly non-polemic) known as *'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs bcu gcig zhal gyi sgrub thabs bsrung bar gnas pa dang 'brel ba'i cho ga gZhan phan 'od kyi dra ba* written by 'Gyur-med Tshe-dbang mchog-grub (1761–1829 A.D.) who actually met the 8th Dalai Lama in lHa-sa too.

[247] Regarded as a *gter ston* himself, he is said to have mastered the language of animals too; cf. Richardson 1998: 355.

[248] The original site of this statue in Tibet was sKyid-grong in the gTsang province. Sometime before the 17th century, it had been transferred to lHa-sa by the dGe-lugs-pa (clearly out of fear, similar to the fate of the Ārya Lokeśvara statue lest it fell into the hands of antagonists) and was set up in the Potala Palace alongside with the statue of its "brother" Ārya Lokeśvara; it remained there until it was transferred back to sKyid-gron and in its stead a replica was set up in Potala. Cf. also the visit in the mid-1650's by A-myes-zhabs; cf. *A myes zhabs rnam thar* 98.1-3 and in particular Ehrhard 2004 for the background.

[249] Formerly (during the dGa'-ldan *gzhung* period), it was part of the lower (*smad*) brGya-tsho, of the Tshal-bde estate district in sTod-lung: today located in sNa-mkhar/dkar *xiang* in sTod-lung bDe-chen county (*xian*) (29°44'N 90°40'E, cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 97b); cf. also *lCags stag zhib gzhung* 186; *mTshur phu dkar chag* 579–80; *HSLG* Vol. 3: 114.

the infant Hierarch would cover the last leg of his journey being paddled and roped to the northern bank in a skin-boat when crossing the torrential current of sKyid-chu (*ibid*. 37).

Summing up, it thus were imperative issues related to natural disasters and its appropriate ritual and practical overcoming, combined with the ideological focus and the cultic representation – the true bone of contention – behind the heritage and legacy issue of the holy site that constituted the guiding motives – the *primum movens* – that governed the prolonged dispute for winning hegemony over lHa-sa in pre-Dalai Lama Tibet.[250] Without an appreciation of these issues, the subsequent political and ideological reconstruction that led to the first proper post-imperial nation-building in Tibet initiated under the reign of the 5th Dalai Lama cannot be adequately understood. The prevailing hegemonic conflict over the physical and ideological control of the site had, as we have already seen, considerable ideological presuppositions and political implications. From the very outset it had been principally rooted in the basic issues and strategies related to questions such as *the symbolic ideology*, *the legitimacy of representation* and *the executive rights in upholding it* not least in handling the vital environmental issues and in interpreting and staging territorial concepts rather than merely referring to profane exigencies and objectives. As can be gathered from the conflict delineated above, the question of legitimacy was in the first place therefore less linked to any delicate issue concerning the claim for primacy in terms of representation, rather the conflict assumed the form of articulating accusations or framing charges (themselves anonymously garbed in the format of incontestable prophecies) against the ways and means of upholding the hereditary rights namely by targeting mismanagement or any improper or unworthy handling of the legacy and of the spiritual heritage itself, simply by attempting to undermine the authority of the opponent. Levelling such accusations again any prospective candidate who ventured to uphold the heritage or parts of it were neither infeasible politically not strategically dangerous, in fact it was a wholly legitimate strategy in the dispute but, as it turned out, also the only feasible approach short of military conflict. These issues remained fundamental determinants of legitimacy and prestige and it was upon this spiritual and divine fundament that the subsequent Dalai Lama institution rested and seek much of its justification. More important than the physical control of an area thus often was the winning and appropriation of a spiritual-genealogical legitimacy that would underpin and justify – in the eyes of others – their claim or long-held prerogatives.

It is not without irony that it not least was the ritual charter associated with Guru Rinpoche as detailed above – questions centered around how to ensure the perpetuation of the lHa-sa site, its mythic background and the underlying "testamentary" literature (of Srong-btsan sgam-po) providing the rationale behind the myth – which would become decisive issues behind the state formation and nation building in the 17th century. These issues were integrated into the ritual calender and national charter invented and elaborated by the 5th Dalai Lama and his successive masterminds in this national project, namely *sde srid* bSod-nams rab-brtan and Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. It reflected their joint attempts at implementing a political master-plan and a grand ideological scheme for nation-building that not least stressed the close national and ideological ties to the civilizatory beginnings of Tibet, to the old Tibetan empire and, inevitably, to the pioneering role of Guru Rinpoche. The formative role of the latter in introducing and safeguarding the Buddhist religion accounts for a good part of the worship and devotion accorded to his figure in leading dGe-lugs circles and the central role

[250] The majority of essays in the recent publication in Pommaret (ed.) 2003 – largely a calque of Pommaret 1997 – dealing with lHa-sa's history is surprisingly silent on these key issues. However without addressing these topics, the history of lHa-sa area cannot be properly understood.

occupied by Pehar as national protector and the gNas-chung site held by the latter in protecting the state that was called into life by the above dGe-lugs statesmen. The national heritage perceived accordingly to some extent also accounts for the pronounced prediliction, aside from any personal interest, behind the 5th Dalai Lama's overly broad and non-partisan dGe-lugs curricula and his open inclusivist or eclectic approach to other school's esoteric teachings not least related to or derived from Guru Rinpoche and as well as rNying-ma-pa teachings and cycles, a stance which triggered considerable tension with leading dGe-lugs hierarchs within the broader dGe-lugs establishment, who altogether advocated a more partisan and restrictive purist dGe-lugs approach, a tension and conflict that has not found an end and that has been broaching into most recent times.[251] This did not mean that the 5th Dalai Lama occasionally was not at odds with rNying-ma-pa masters who ventured to claim to be exclusive and authoritative upholders of specific Guru Rinpoche teachings, especially when these were combined with too obvious political ambitions.

3. WELFARE AND PROSPERITY PROGRAMME FOR TIBET: State Rituals (*sku rim*) Staged for Nation and People

The history of the take-over and subsequent state formation in Central Tibet by the 5th Dalai Lama headed by his chief administrator and later first regent bSod-nams chos-'phel (*alias* bSod-nams rab-brtan) in the mid-17th century and implemented under the patronage and military support of the Qośot rulers is now commonly known and shall not be addressed here. The solidification of their power had been initiated in the wake of the final battle in the early 1640's, where any future opposition was nullified through not least the confiscation of all property and wealth of the gTsang nobles and their affluent hierarchs. In a number of ways the ascendancy of the dGe-lugs school and the new dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung* heralded the dawn of a new era in a number of areas: politically as much as in the field of scholasticism but particularly through a reformation of ritualism. The formerly scattered and battered country now enjoyed an entirely new administrative and governmental structure that changed the country for ever. It is outside the scope of the present essay to trace the complex foundation behind the ideological and cultic structure of the Dalai Lama institution, but the same presuppositions wielded a strong impact on the founding agenda of the state formation. The constitutive or prescriptive charter alone behind the subsequent establishment of the government (*gzhung*) – often also simply addressed as the "Precious Government" (*gzhung sa rin po che*) to underline the sacred origin and nature of the rule – carried obvious nationalistic overtones and to an appreciable extent should forcefully emulate bygone attempts at inchoate state-building and statecraft in Tibet's chequered past. Underpinning the independent and autonomous character of the coming state formation, it largely was a revival attempt that highlighted the glorious past of Tibet during the dynastic time and the independent-minded attempt by the Phag-mo-gru-pa in the 14th century that also explains why dGe-lugs sources persistently emphasized that the hegemony of the Phag-gru and the ensuing dGe-lugs rule indeed was to be conceived of as being identical in nature (*srog gcig*). The continuation was important for the dGe-lugs chiefs to legitimise their new identity. The new dGe-lugs-based government was deemed to constitute a natural political and ideological continuity of the Zhang hegemony established in the lHa-sa area

[251] Cf. the illustrative discussion in G. Dreyfuss 1998.

in the 13th century as well as of the subsequent Phag-gru hegemony a century later. Confronted with the unusual and formidable task of creating a nation and government, the focus soon centered around issues of providing means and ways of safeguarding or protecting the country which in this context meant its underlying fundament, the Buddhist religion.



***31**. Bod khams bde thabs rites conducted in the dKyil-'khor-sdings courtyard or Inner Hall of Jo-khang presided over by the Dalai Lama*
Photo: Detail from Thangka

Large-scale ceremonies for peace and for material as well as spiritual prosperity are well documented from many Buddhist countries, initially from ancient Buddhist India, but as such also from more recent examples such as the *paritta* ceremonies of Sri Lanka or from Thailand to this very day. The *paritta* ceremonies consist of lengthy recitation either of extracts from the Buddhist Canon, or of apotropaic, prophylactic, protective and benedictory incantations made in public.[252] Its objectives were – and still are – to ward off dangers of various sorts and to ensure the protection of living beings, the country and nation as well as to bless the patrons. Albeit in no way so diverse as the latter, in Tibet too such public or national rituals had long prevailed in the past, and often were conducted on a common basis. During the state formation in the 17th century, these scattered or former disorganized ceremonies for the welfare of the nation and the religion received renewed attention. These may neither be considered "welfare" nor do they constitute "programs" *strictu sensu*, but rather reflected a set of unified ritual, recitative or pre-emptive measures taken by central institutions and supported by many hierarchs and individuals staged in order to bring about an idealized state of "happiness" or "betterment" for the country, materially as much as spiritually. This topic is both fascinating and complex and shall only be briefly broached here.

[252] See de Silva 1981 and 1991 (in D.J. Kalapahana, *Buddhist Thought and Rituals*) 139–150. Signally, 'Phags-pa Bla-ma in 1270, along somewhat similar lines, introduced rituals at the Yüan court of Qubilai called "the Suppression of the Demons and Protection of the State." Cf. Franke 1978: 60.

Among the many descriptions or many scenes of mishaps and portents foretold in prophetic *gter ma* writings – containing omens of a social, natural, religious or political order – that visit Tibet and its populations in degenerate times or in times of war or of impending hazards, the overall question of the absence of happiness and prosperity in Tibet – and in particular the reverse scenario: the ideal presence of happiness played a prominent role. In fact, providing answers and solutions, whether long-term or pre-emptive, to these questions constituted the rationale and motive behind much of the prophetic writings of this genre (cf. e.g. Childs 1999). We can retrace many of these topics and issues related to national prosperity (*bde skyid*) in the writings and prophecies related to gTer-ston bZang-po grags-pa and to rGod-ldem (1337–1409 A.D.) and their prophetic and religious service to underpin and legitimate the Mang-yul Gung-thang royal house.

Such portraits and inquiries were on the agenda as detailed in *gter ma* writings and were permanently raised in the writings and foretellings of almost any *gter ston* down through history,[253] right from the oldest of the sort such as those contained in the 12th-century *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*. Recalling that lHa-sa euphemistically was coined the "root and branches of benefit and happiness in Tibet," it cannot surprise that these protective endeavours in the long run became part and parcel of regularly staged, institutionalized "welfare rites or welfare projects for Tibet and the Tibetan populace" later also comprising "rites for the state and religion" (*bod 'bangs bde thabs rim gro, bod khams bde thabs, bod 'bangs bde thabs, bstan srid spyi rim*).[254] It was in this vein that means and ways of suppressing "border armies that intended to rob the happiness of Tibet" (*bod kyi bde skyid 'phrog pa'i mtha' dmag gnon lugs*) perpetually were invented and executed. It is here noteworthy to remark that "happiness" and "prosperity" often was phrased or defined in an inordinarily defensive way or by negative terms, i.e. that happiness prevailed *with the absence* of its antithesis, i.e. sorrow, war, hunger, deluge, sickness, plague and famine, etc.[255]

We understand with little difficulty that this sort of concept of overall happiness, prosperity or felicity in Tibet too found its earliest mentioning, perhaps even had its origin in the early post-dynastic narratives on the perpetuation and fate of Buddhism, formulated and conceptually linked up with the pre-emptive and provident concealment of treasuries in former imperial times as described in the *gter ma* sources related to the origin and survival of the first temples in Tibet (cf. e.g. *rGyal rabs gsal* Chap. XVI; TBH Sørensen 307–11).

Soon after the appropriation of power in lHa-sa in the mid-17th century, the dGe-lugs-pa, once their governmental administration had been fully established and properly consolidated, were compelled to provide ample revenue and funds for the preservation of the Jo-khang. Reports are available how, over the ensuing years, the different governmental agencies and resources such as the rTse-shod phyag-mdzod and the municipal lHa-sa gNyer-tshang, but also the different districts (*rdzong khag*)

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[253] Such expressions and wishes found expression in numerous rituals and prophecies and it had a general character and meaning. More specifically, Thang-stong rgyal-po (*rnam thar* 99.18, 102.2) and mChog-ldan (*rnam thar* 403.2–404.1; 418.3) to mention a few, refer to a list of potential mishaps that could befell Tibet.

[254] In most 14–15th-cent. rNying-ma master biographies such as that of rDo-rje gling-pa, Padma gling-pa, his *thugs sras* Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan and of mChog-ldan mgon-po, etc. such activities were incessantly implemented or endorsed, so also in the biography of Rin-chen phun-tshogs – during his flood protection measure in lHa-sa in 1546, the argumentative phrase *bod khams bde thabs* for his endeavour is also used.

[255] Expressions like *dus ma bde pa* connote much the same as English "unrest" = "war."

in the country levied special taxes or established special endowment funds[256] to meet the expenses of maintaining the Jo-khang national sanctuary and to fund the grand annual *sMon lam* festival.[257]

Among the numerous steps initiated by the new rule in Tibet was the implementation of annual state programs within the frame-work of a ritual state calender (cf. H. Richardson, 1993). *In nuce*, it involved wholesale offerings in numerous selected monasteries throughout Tibet. The appropriate offerings and sacrifices orchestrated in such imperial temples and sanctuaries, as said, indeed became part and parcel of an overall annual state-based ritual program of offerings and supplications instituted by the government and propped by hierarchs and saints and conducted for the general well-being as well as the longevity of the Tibetan nation and people (*bod 'bangs bde thabs rim gro*). It incorporated extensive specific offerings, often lasting over more days, not only at the three key *dharmacakra* temples, but at all twelve (or more) prestigious "supine suppressing monasteries" (*ru gnon*, *mtha' 'dul, yang mtha' 'dul*), some times 31 temples of the Dharmarāja are listed but also to sites associated with Guru Rinpoche (cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: App. I). It also included propitiatiory offerings and prayers to a number of telluric, terrestrial and protective deities (*zhing skyong*) such as gNyen-chen thang-lha and the twelve brTan-ma (cf. e.g. *Sle lung rnam thar* 198b3–5, *et passim*). Decisive for the expansive consolidation of his power had been the extensive implementation of the cults related to an array of important protective deities – these vision-based propitiations in some cases going all the way back to the 1st Dalai Lama and his successors, involving protectors that gradually were incorporated into the dGe-lugs pantheon or were considered personal protector deities of the respective Dalai Lamas. Finally, it involved the running consultation of the key oracular media or *chos skyongs* in Tibet, the gNas-chung, La-mo, dGa'-ba-gdong, bSam-yas and Khra-'brug (sometimes also listing g.Ya'-bzang).[258] Noteworthy again is to reiterate that welfare or happiness in the first place meant to generate a status quo characterized by the absence of threats towards the harmony of the country and people and the elimination of destructive forces.

We shall here restrict ourselves to one such case (out of many) of an external impetus that triggered these precautions. We refer to incidents like the menacing floods threats (already dealt with in great detail in the previous chapter) in 1659 and again 1680 and 1681, when the lHa-sa dikes again were on the brink of being carried away (*lha sa'i chu rags 'chor la khad byung*). It necessitated the enactment of *brtan bzhugs* or longevity and perpetuity prayer rituals for the protection of the Jo-bo rin-po-che once made by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa (see also the latter's *Pho brang Ra sa dang bsam yas gso tshul me chu bye ma'i bzlog thabs*). The path between 'Bras-spungs and Se-ra was blocked due to the heightened flood crest.[259] That very year the 5th Dalai Lama, through visions (*dag snang*)

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[256] Commonly called *jo śāg rnam gnyis kyi mchod rgyun*, *lha ldan cho 'phrul smon lam chen mo'i mchod thebs*.

[257] Chab-spel 1982: 36 (Reprint 1989: 78f.); 1993: 77–79.

[258] Following the establishment of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung,* it not only was the central government who implemented such prayer and offerings for the "well-being of Tibet," but also a host of hierarchs and monks who clearly served under the auspices of the government; so e.g. by the son of A-myes-zhabs, bSod-nams dbang-phyug during a visit to Khra-'brug.

[259] A 11 fols. Ms of his *gSung 'bum* (a copy kept in the Potala Palace Collection) – yet not seen. To quote another incident: in 1755 A.D. large sections of the lHa-sa area again were flooded and extensive protective measures were implemented. The 7th Dalai Lama inspected the considerable damages (*chu skyon*) from the uppermost roof of Pho-brang dmar-po, and it is reported how water-reducing Mahākāruṇika-related precepts from Sangs-rgyas gling-pa and precepts delineated in the basic *tantra* of *Cakrasaṃvara* proved most efficient to halt the water. The same episode was witnessed by the 33rd Ngor mkhan-chen who registers how during the 7th month the river had overflowed the gates of the dike (*rags*

of Thang-stong rgyal-po subsequently initiated the erection of a number of nature-containing stone statues (*rdo lha*) and other reliquaries according to a spiritual or ritual project which became known as *sa gnad gso thabs*, or "key (topomantic) site restoration or remediation." The "terrestrial healing" role and the remedial crusade (also aptly labeled *bstan 'gro phan bde'i sman yon*) implemented by Thang-stong greatly influenced and inspired the court surrounding the 5th Dalai Lama. More concretely, it appears that the flooding incident in 1659 may have prompted the 5th Dalai Lama and his regent to launch the program (cf. also Karmay 1988: 44f., 192–193). Faced with the damages and perplexed as to what to do, the excessive water and flooding that year even led to speculations whether it was the personal (i.e. natal) astrological element of the 5th Dalai Lama (*me khams*, "fire element" – enemy of the "water element") that may have triggered the floods.

The gNas-chung *chos skyong* at that particular occasion urged the hierarch to go into retreat and in front of the statue of Lokeśvara, the object in Potala in front of which traditionally prayers were directed, to reflect over ways and means of providing happiness for the Tibetan subjects (*bod 'bangs bde thabs*). In a vision (during the 4th month of 1659), the high hierarch visually encountered Thang-stong rgyal-po (see above) who delivered him prophetic instructions on *sa gnad gso thabs* or a territorial healing scheme. It appears to have been embedded within the cognitive context of a large-scale ritual project, as it seems, that aimed at erecting or restoring previously existing (i.e. formerly erected by the *siddha* Thang-stong) "nature-containing" statues and reliquaries.[260] The following years such nature-containing relics and images were regularly erected, renewed or repaired throughout Tibet by the government. An wholesale attempt was again made in 1697 (cf. Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 427.10–23, 455.5–15; almost identical in *DL6* 423–28): The sanctuaries set up at different places in Tibet were evidently carved into rocks or erected along banks, made from clay or earth set up as landmark in the territories erected as a sort of natural sancturies to barricade or halt the destructive forces of nature. Often the statues replaced former images that had fallen victim to the ravages of time (earlier flooding). These restitutive means initially aimed at pacifying and redressing natural imbalances (commonly known as *sa dgra*) identified by way of specific hallmarks or configurations in the landscape the negative properties of which were considered to be the source and cause of illness, famine, war, earth-quake and deluge, etc. The basic scheme appears in part to have been inspired from or to have been emulated from the former topomantic depiction of Tibet as a supine demoness.

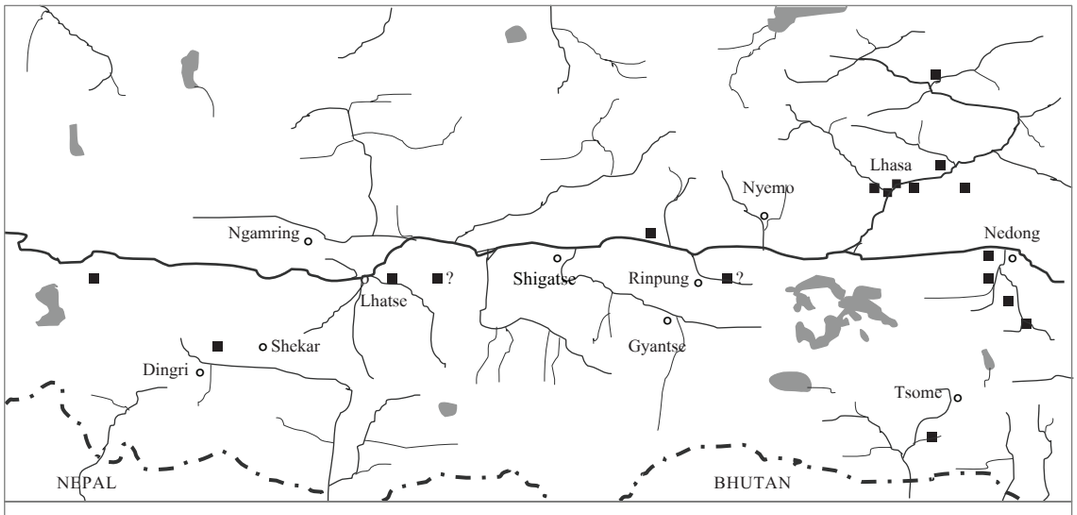
Natural disaster and contingencies remained major impediments towards the fulfillment of national happiness, and not least catastrophic floods haunted Tibet as much as it should haunt numerous other countries and civilizations. They laid bare the perpetual vulnerability of empires and societies. In Tibet throughout all times, it remained a negative and deficient scenario, where the Tibetans rarely succeeded – so it would seem – to come to terms with the ever-recurring flooding episodes. It should not be forgotten that flooding had recurred to ravage the riverlands of Tibet for many thousand of years, and it was only with the emergence of the first traces of civilization

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sgo) and encroached upon the city, the alleys were blocked and only by horse could the low-lying areas be negotiated. Cf. *DL5 III* 195 a3–b4, 241b2–3; *dPal ldan chos skyong rnam thar III* 351; *'Bri gung chos byung* 527.

Another example: In 1627, the 15th Ngor-mkhan Kun-dga' bSod-nams lhun-grub, blessed the local *chu rags*, once the area of Thang-sag close to the Sa-skya seat of Nalendra in 'Phan-yul was flooded; cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* (*kha skong*) 86.

[260] In addition to this, the 5th Dalai Lama received many similar cycles containing precepts on how to avoid dangers and threats of elemental nature, etc. cf. *DL5 gSan yig II* 233a1f.



(Based on *DL6* 423-28 and *Vaiḍūrya ser po* (*VS*) 427.10-23; cf. also *VS* 455.5-15; places which are only listed in *VS* are given in brackets)

The sites south of the gTsang-po from West to East:

- In the mountains north of dPal-khud Chos-sdings-dgon (i. e. the Bo-dong monastery of sPo-rong dPal-mo chos-sdings east of Phad-khud-mtsho; core area of the nomadic principality of sPo-rong) > a stone-statue.

[■ At rGyal gyi Śrī dgon-pa of La-stod [lHo] > a statue of [the wrathul king] Mahābala (sTobs-po-che)].

- Between g.Yas-ru and Ru-lag, at lHa-rtse *rdzong* (*VS*: at the border of Ru-lag Grom-pa rGyang) > statues of the Rigs-gsum mgon-po.

■ ? At Gyer-mda' of lHa-rtse area (location uncertain) > a rock-carved man-sized statue.

[■? At Rong gi brag (?) (i. e. Rong of gTsang ?) > a statue of Vajrakīlaya].

[■ At lHo-brag Ban-pa > restoration of the Sangs-rgyas sum-cu rtsa-lnga].

[■ At 'Phyong-rgyas *rdzong*, in the Tshe-dpag-med temple > statues of Amṛtakuṇḍalin and Dvangs-ma bcud-'dren].

- On the mountain of Shel-brag [in Lower Yar-lung] > a stone-statue.
- At Yum-bu gla-sgang between Yar-stod and Yar-smad > a stone-statue of U-rgyan Padma bdud-'dul.
- At Yar-stod Bar-thang (place of the Fifth Dalai Lama foundation of Chos-sde-'og; see CFS Gyalbo *et al.*, s.v. index; *VS*: sKu-'bum mountain of Yar-stod Bar-thang resembling a fleeing snake) > a statue of the Garuḍa bird.

The sites north of the gTsang-po:

- At the border between [dBus and] gTsang Rong (*VS*: at Thob-rgyal sKam pa-ri) > a clay statue of Avalokita Cittaviśrāmaṇa.
- ■ ■ [= Sites in the lHa-sa Valley]: At dGa'-ba-gdong in sTod-lung on the northern bank of sKyid-chu > statues of Avalokiteśvara with a retinue of two along with a chapel erected to avert any deluge or peril from water. etc.; at Shun gyi Brag-dmar gTe'u-gdong and 'Bras-spungs kyi mDa'-ste (two places known from the lHa-sa Maṇḍala; cf. Graph 1 of App. IV) > two stone-carved sKu-gsum statues (on Shun gyi Brag-rtse in addition a statue of Munīndra bDud-'dul); at lHa-gdong Shan-kha'i rgyab-ri (it refers to the Bum-pa-ri or rDzong-btsan gi ri of Grib) > a statue of Gaganarāja
- In sKyid-shod, at bDe-chen Kha-rab rgyab-ri (probably referring to bDe-chen-rtse) > a statue of Cittaviśrāmaṇa
- In sKyid-shod, at the border between Upper and Lower dBu-ru, at mTha'-rgyas > a bDud-'dul mchod-rten.
- In sKyid-shod dGa'-ldan rgyab-ri > a statue of Mahākāruṇikā (*VS* adds the erection of a Byang-chub mchod-rten at the Phag-mo-'brog gi sPus-ri of dBu-ru-stod, a mountain resembling a wrathful Mongolian)
- At Rva-sgreng Sum-mdo, a statue of the wrathful Vajrapāṇi (*VS*: statues of Rigs-gsum mgon po and sTobs-po-che)

[*VS*: in Khra-'brug and the other dynastic Border-Suppressing Temples > restoration of various statues].

Map 5. The sites of the Sa gnad gso thabs in dBus and gTsang

and with settlements less than fifteen hundred years ago, did it become a matter of human concern and preoccupation. This naturally also held true for the neighbouring countries. Entire districts, townships and sanctuaries in numerous countries were regularly visited by the capers of nature. Tibet's neighbours India and China too abound in stories of natural and apocalyptic catastrophes, and up to the present day flood and drought management has remained on the political agenda. A telling case of some relevance for the Tibetan world may be the parallels encountered in China.

The beginnings of water conservancy and incipient irrigation works in China are recorded to go over two millennia back in time. The engineering (and indeed pioneering) official Li Bing – China's counterpart to Tibet's Nam-mkha'-dpal – as early as 256 B.C. had initiated a water irrigation and flood control project by taming the Min River (a tributary to the Yellow River); his dams, dikes and canals, with some modifications, are still intact to this very day. In commemoration of this true marvel of yore, a "Dragon-Taming Temple" was raised in Dujiangyuan (present-day Sichuan).[261] Throughout Chinese history, like later in Tibet, emperors too usually sought every means available to reduce disasters that were caused by floods. In China, the dragon or water spirit (*shuishen*), master and genetrix of the rivers, had to be controlled or pacified through appropriate propitiation, and just like in Tibet where the subterranean Nāga was considered, this spirit was suspected to cause havoc. But the experience won by the Tibetans in dealing with flood disasters occasionally found its way to China too. This may best be exemplified by an incident in 1782, when a flood again wiped out entire villages along the Yellow River (rMa-chu; as it regularly does even today). lCang-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje was consulted.[262] The emperor was of the firm believe that Heshen, the river-god, held sway over the waters wherefore it was worshipped and propitiated. According to Chinese lore, the lord of Huanghe River, Heshen was considered capable of transforming itself into a dragon.[263] Chu-bzang Qutuγtu (the brother of lCang-skya) was requested to make sacrifices at the river's source. Rol-pa'i rdo-rje accordingly wrote a memorial to the emperor in which he stated that the source of the river was located in the direction of the glacier mountain of rMa-chen, wherefore it was suggested that the "Lord of the Soil" (*gzhi bdag*) of rMa-chen was to be propitiated in a proper manner in order to control the waters. An edict was issued to the effect that this *gzhi bdag* in a pre-emptive attempt was to be worshipped on an annual basis to be implemented upon a state endowment.[264] Devastating floods (Ch. *shuizai*; Hin. *bārh*) that still haunt large areas of main-

[261] Its importance is indicated by the circumstance that it today counts as a Unesco World Heritage Site. China throughout two millennia of dynastic rule around their larger ripian settlements and cities usually accommodated a Directorate of Waterways (*dushuijian*), sometimes also a dike supervisors or reeve (*jiansaoguan*), responsible for dike-repair, etc.; they also had a river conservancy commission (*hedishi*). For a informative survey of floods and droughts registered in China over the last two millennia (206 B.C.–1911 A.D.), see the encyclopaedic *Tushu jicheng* (Sect. IV: *juan* 86–92; 124–130) and the *Qingshi Gao* (Chapt. 40, 43) as discussed in Yao Shanyu (1942), *HJAS* 6: 273–312.

[262] This is based upon Wang 1995: 135–36; *lCang skya rnam thar* 602–03. For the vexing problems, see now also R. A. Dodgen, *Controlling the Dragon*: *Confucian Engineers and the Yellow River in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu 2001). Further reading: for the training of this important waterway in China, see also Klaus Flessel, *Der Huang Ho und die historische Hydrotechnik in China unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der nördlichen Sung-Zeit* (Tübingen 1974); Amelung 2000; for *Heyuanzhi* ("Treatise on the Sources of Huanghe"), e.g. reporting about the 1281 Sino-Mongol exploration conducted under the auspices of Qubilai Qan, see Franke 1994a: 401–416.

[263] Cf. Münke 1976: 124–25.

[264] Cf. e.g. Vishwas S. Kale, *Flood Studies in India* (Bangalore, 1998) and M. Mirza *et al*. eds., *Flood Problem and Management in South Asia* (Kluwer 2003); Liu Guiwei and Wang Jingping, A Study of Extreme Floods in China for the Past 100 years (in: L. Gottschalk, J.-C. Olivry, *et al.*, 1999); the topic more generally, W.R. Aykroyd, *The Conquest of Famine* (London, 1975); E.A. Bryant, *Natural Hazards* (Cambridge, 1991); Lewis, *The Flood Myths of Early China*.

land China and the Indian Continent bear witness to a sheer never-ending battle with nature. In both countries hydrological studies focussing on the environmental dramas – flooding and drought – abound and hydropolitics even today are both of pertinent and essential relevance.



32. *lCang-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje*



33. *Flood Prevention Work of the Yellow River*
Detail of a Map. Wanli Period 1573–1620
Beijing Library

We possess no information whether lCang-skya similarly was involved in lHa-sa too, but throughout the last several hundred years under the dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung*, the number, the size and the form of the lHa-sa embankment or dikes altered just like the form and content of the means to avoid flooding did.[265] It can safely be assumed that the means of protection became increasingly sophisticated. A brief perusal of the *lCags stag zhib gzhung* (1830 A.D. Tax Survey) among others provides a vivid picture of the extent of destruction caused by rain-driven soil-erosion where fields and loose topsoil are carried away by water. During the later spell of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang rule, the running repair of the Jo-rags, incidentally, was normally executed by special corvée labour people (*jo rags rgyag mi*) who served in the estates located along the most vulnerable stretches, in the western and eastern outskirts of lHa-sa area such as Dan-'bag and Rags-kha, etc. Their main task consisted in conducting general dike-repair, to protect the low-lying rural fields from being overflowed or be carried away and to reclaim land for eroded stretches when the flood had receded (*sa zhing chus 'khyer sa tshab*),[266] almost a yearly recurring incident. Throughout the last centuries, however, the overall municipal management in charge of the dikes in lHa-sa and its prophylactic maintenance (*chu skyon sngon 'gog*) was administered by the office of sNang-rtse-shag headed by its mayor (*mi dpon*) who in turn reported to the bKa'-shag the general state of the dikes or major

[265] Informative material also from the dGa'-ldan pho-brang period on flooding and its destruction (*chu skyon*), and other natural hazards have been listed in the recent publ. *Rang byung gnod 'tshe* or Natural Hazard series (lHa-sa 1987); cf. the data presented in the *Chu skyon skor* volume.

[266] Cf. Part I: fn. 574 and Yeh 2003: 225f.

flooding emergencies, and for instance appointing *rags gnyer pa* or "dike reeve or inspectors" to supervise the most vulnerable stretches during spring and summer.[267]

This small essay probably covers no more than the tip of the iceberg in terms of recording individuals and ascetics pre-occupied with managing flood control and with training the river, the incidents that necessitated or required such endeavours however remained sheer endless. We have seen that there were no facile solutions to the dilemma of flood, requiring a repertoire of answers and responses. The aphorism cited at the beginning of this essay informs us of the dire lessons to be learned in Tibet when dikes had not been erected in due time, and the deeper wisdom of the saying is stipulated in the supplementary part of the same aphorism which purports that before misfortune or problems occur preventive action must be taken.[268] Natural disaster management (*rang byung gnod 'tshe bdag gnyer byed lugs*) on a more systematic scale today continues to hold high priority because of the regular incidents stemming from seismic disturbances (*sa yom*), from flooding (*chu skyon, shva 'od*), but also of destruction caused by hail and snow blizzards. Down through history, flooding however remained the main culprit and the main cause for the largest amount of destruction on that score and although by now large stretches along sKyid-chu river today have turned into urban and industrial zones, and the shallow land has become tamed, flooding still wreak havoc and causes the lHa-sa magistrate or municipality considerable problems. It is no exaggeration to claim that lHa-sa has a diluvian history. Today, the sKyid-chu dikes are regularly repaired and expanded, and although dike building in Tibet never, like in so many other fields, constituted any pioneering feats in terms of water or hydraulic technology or in terms of management, the water monster of inundation nevertheless remained – so much we should understand – a century-long curse, compelling Tibetans to the incessant and weary preoccupation – whether ritually or pragmatically – with its training and control; it was a topic that shaped society, the local communities, and governed its politics and thus kept determining the lives of many people.

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[267] Cf. the details in dKon-mchog lha-skyabs 1998: 197–98; *Lhasa Interviews* 2 (see now Tsering Gyalbo 2005: 421–23). The establishment in the 1990's of the Grand Central Canal (*zhonggan*, *dkyil gyi yur chen*), called the "3357" drainage canal that largely replaces the old sand diversion canal (see above fn. 139) and constructed to divert and absorb the water of the M/Nyang-bran and Dog-sde river-arms (*chu lag*) is playing a major role for the adjacent lHa-klu wetland eco-system, the huge inland meadow moor stretching to the north-west of Mt. Potala in the 'Dam-ra area; for details, see Nor-bu tshe-ring and Chos-bzang 1992; rDo-rje tshe-ring 2004; Yeh 2003.

[268] Tib. *rkyen ma byung gong nas bzlog thabs*. This would roughly correspond to our idiom "prevention is better than cure." To reflect this in common parlance – a telling saying encapsulating the experiences in dealing with flooding in lHa-sa as elsewhere, postponement and especially belated repentance often in Tibet was likened to "[building] a dike after the water had overflowed" (*de las 'gyang na chu shor zin pa'i rags dang 'dra*); so e.g. employed by Thang-stong rgyal-po – an ascetic with a life-long commitment to the spiritual and physical "remediation" or "healing" of nature's perils and damage; cf. the biography written by Mon-pa bDe-ba bzang-po, *Thang stong rnam thar* 340.

In Vinaya hermeneutic literature in Tibet, the preventive or edifying example accruing from erecting a dike is emphasized by means of equations like *chu rags kyis chu'i gnod pa spong ba* or *phyi'i spang bya spong ba la chu rags brtsigs pa dang 'dra ba*. Still, on a purely theoretical level and couched in a philosophical vein, the Tibetans – markedly unsuccessful in handling the whims of nature as we have seen, also treasured sayings – occasionally quoted in religious literature – that at least evince a modicum of pragmatic humour, so for example when expressing something superfluous or self-evident, the answer usually could be: "[Against] a mirage, [the construction of] a dike is not needed" (*smig rgyu la chu rags mi dgos*).

APPENDIX III



1. *The seal imprint of the Ta'i situ Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan*

III. THE TSHAL-PA MYRIARCHY

Territory, Appanage Grants and Mongol Patronage

Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod

1. THE MONGOL CONQUEST:
Tibet as Vassal under the Great Mongol Empire (*yeke mongγol ulus*)



***2**. "yeke mongγol ulus"* From a Seal of Güyük Qan in a letter, 1246

The numerically relative small Mongol people, pastoral nomads and hunter-gatherers, conquered with sweeping success and in shortest possible time in the mid-13th century more territories and ruled larger stretches than any power in human history. A clue to their remarkable success can be traced to their capability to bring under their sway other people, by mustering and hence winning for their cause large segments of the nomadic and sedentary populations not least in the heartland of Northern China, but also gradually of subdued people in the vast territories held by them. Their extraordinary military and tactical excellence marked out much of their astounding battlefield triumphs. To this came a truly lucky hand in administrating and organizing the huge logistic resources needed to hold sway over the scattered tribes and vassal peoples, a mobile administration which was based upon the inclusion of multi-ethnic collaboration.[1] At the point of death of Čingis Qan in 1227, the *quriltai* was to follow his injunction and install Ögödei as new Grand Qan of the emerging *Yeke mongγol ulus* or the Great Mongol Empire. The latter faithfully executed the grand political and national schemes of his father to set up an empire. It was Ögödei Qaγan who carried through a census that served as basis for the distribution of appanages. In 1236, he ordered the granting of appanages to imperial relatives and household princes in the newly conquered heartland of Northern China.

During the reign of Ögödei and Möngke all subdued or surrendering states (*il irgen*) were forced to accept the following terms to avoid all-out destruction. The terms included:

I. The local ruler (the coming vassal ruler) was obliged to come personally to the Mongol court in order to accept Mongol sovereignty.
II. Close relatives or sons of the ruler were to be offered as hostages, to be kept by the Mongols.
III. Census registration of the subdued or vassal population and households to be conducted.
IV. Taxes to be levied.
V. Military units to be conscribed and mustered.
VI. Postal relay stations or *jam* to be erected throughout the territories.
VII. A Mongol appointed residential *daruγači* (Ch. *daluhuachi*), a resident judge and inspector to be permanent staffed in the conquered area to ensure proper monitoring.[2]

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[1] See the argumentation in Allsen 1987: 5–7.

[2] The absence of regional judges and overseers (*daruγači*) in the homeland of the Mongols suggest that the office was intended to control conquered vassals only. Much literature on the administration of non-Mongol population has been written. See *YS* 209; Endicott-West 1989: 16ff.; Allsen 1981: 50f.; Farquhar 1990; A. Moestart and F. W. Cleaves, *HJAS* 15: 485–95.

Prior to their confrontations with conquered territories, the Mongols tenaciously followed a strategy of issuing orders or injunction of treats which demanded the unconditional submission of the addressee/foreign people (*qari irgen*), to be brought under their hove. A significant example is the letter of Güyük to Pope Innocent IV in 1246.[3] Normally such Mongol order (*ǰarlıγ*) wisely stipulated the physical survival and the perpetuation of the institutions of the submitted people (*il irgen*) in return for acknowledging the formal suzerainty of the Mongols.[4] For Tibet, there can be room for little doubt that Köden's famous letter of invitation to the Tibetans was an ill-concealed request of surrender, and the summon of a Tibetan church-leader to Mongolia in the 1240's, whatever its historicity, must be seen on this background. The aging Sa-skya Paṇḍita, and his replacement 'Phags-pa, with their year-long confinement as priests at the tents and palaces of the Mongols must be regarded as a case of hostage taking, at least initially, of a vassal, as stipulated by the above terms.[5] As a dependency of the Mongols, it was expected that the submitted ruler, hierarch or his subordinate personally arrived at court to receive or renew their investiture. In the time to come, this rule accounts for the numerous missions of the presiding *khri skor* to the Yüan court.

As in most cases, the Mongols had divided the subdued sedentary population into administrative units of ten, hundred, thousand and ten-thousand.[6] The administration of Central Tibet, i.e. the dBus gTsang districts in the Yüan-Sa-skya period, in other words the organization of the so-called thirteen myriarchies or *tümen*/*wanhu* (*khri skor*) had their immediate precursor in the establishment in Mongolia of the traditional hereditary and personal prince appanage (akin to a *apanagium* or share during the Roman Empire in early European history) and apportionment system (lit. "share [of a hunter's loot];" = [? Ch. *fendi*;] M. *olǰa-yin qubi*, *qubi*; Tib. *bgo bsha'*; i.e. *bgos bshas byas pa'i gtogs lugs*) in Tibet that followed the reform measures initiated from 1251 under the reign of Möngke (1209–59; rl. 1251–59 A.D.)[7] – a property division system of granting private appanage or land apportioning among the imperial princes had started already in the mid-1230's. Enormous stretches of annexed territories and the revenue and levies needed for the still expanding clan

[3] See P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Paupaté*. Revue de l'Oriente Chrétien (1922–23); Voegelin 1941.

[4] Allsen 1987: 64–65; Voegelin 1941 for the illustrative wording of letters to the Pope requiring submission.

[5] For the letter, probably a later fraudery?, from Köden, see Schuh 1977: 31–36, 41.

[6] The decimal system in organizing society was known among peoples and tribes of Inner Asia long before the Mongols. Still. it was Činggis Qan who in 1203 thoroughly introduced the system of decimal organization (10, 100, 1000 – later 10.000 was added) of male adults both inside and outside his bodyguards and each headed by a *noyan* or chief. It helped providing a hierarchical order and it formed the workable basis not only of militia and armies but also of the social organization of the entire population. Militia myriarchies (*wanhufu*) (first estabi. 1277) and militia chiliarchies (*qianhuso*) – the latter often each consisted of ten so-called centurions. See Hsiao, *Military Establishments*, Chap. 1: 9, 22-23; *Secret History* 224; *YS* 98 ; *Un Code des Yuan* 1: xi.

For matter of convenience, we here list common terms for these units:

The ten-thousand-unit or myriarchy: Ch. *wanhufu*; Mong. *tümen*; Tib. *khri skor*.

Head of a myriarchy or a myriarch: Ch. *wanfuzhang*; Mong. *tümen-ü noyan*; Tib. *khri dpon.*

The thousand-unit or chiliarchy: *qianhu*, *qianfu*; Mong. *mingγan* / *mingqan*; Tib. *stong skor* and

the chiliarch: Ch. *qianfuzhang*; Mong. *mingqan-u noyan*; Tib. *stong dpon.*

The hundred-unit or centuries: Ch. *baihuso*, *bohu*; Mong. *ǰaγun*; Tib. *brgya skor*.

Head of centurion: Ch. *baihuzhang*; Mong. *ǰaγun-u noyan*; Tib. *brgya dpon*.

The ten-unit or decurion: Ch. *shihu*, *paizitou*, *paitou;* Mong. *harban*; Tib. *bcu skor*.

Head of a decurion: Mong. *harban-u noyan*; Tib. *bcu dpon*.

[7] The most authoritative study of Möngke's rule and his policies is Allsen 1987. See also Allsen 2001.

families and enfeoffed nobility[8] meant that allotted territories in the environs of the residences or main seats of the leading Tibetan clergy were divided and distributed as grants among the princes of the Mongol ruling or imperial princes, in the first place, to the Toluid line. Möngke's reform aimed at curtailing the excesses or misuse of exacting goods for personal use. It initially did not affect Tibet because this remote area only late was included into the Mongol empire. The 1251 *ǰarliγ* issued by Möngke placed considerable restriction on the acquisition of appanage (*fendi*) by imperial princes.[9] In the new appanage allotment, the distribution to individual Toluid princes and their kin reflected a prior predilection to individual teachers and their specific teaching traditions that had been given to these prince households, although we still lack detailed information. Mongol tradition generally exerted a principle which stipulated that conquered territories were the joint property of the entire imperial house (*altan oruγ*), a common pool of wealth and resources, and merely granted distinct princes and local Qanates specific rights, tax revenues collections or the lordship over segments of the entire territory and its population consisting of tenant families or tax households. Although some measure of information exists for the economics of princely appanages in northern China proper, our knowledge is meagre for the appanages outside this imperial heartland.[10]

We still possess far too little detailed information as to how and on what conditions this new distributive appanage or fief system for imperial relatives and prince lines was enacted *in concreto*, in particularly so what concerns Tibet as vassal and to what extent the implementation of the strict Mongol law was actually effectuated (*hor khrims chags*).[11] Signally, already in 1251, Möngke had placed his brother prince Qubilai in charge of the vast territories of Tibet. The direct influence of Qubilai and his descendants on Tibet should never diminish and in fact remained tangible until the end of Mongol rule in Tibet. We know that in dBus the overlordship of 'Bri-gung-pa and their territories had been allotted to Möngke (and Ariq Böke) and came under his patronage (with his passing and the rule of Qubilai, the 'Bri-gung – Mongol relations eventually turned ominous), Sa-skya-pa came under Godan's patronage, the Tshal-pa under prince Qubilai's patronage, the sTag-lung-pa under the tutelage of the later hapless Ariq Böke (d. 1266), and the Phag-mo gru-pa, the g.Ya'-bzang-pa and the Thang-po-che-ba (i.e. the g.Ya' Phag Thang *gsum* in *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1416) under the patronage of prince Hülegü; yet also minor districts were apparently distributed to members of the princes such the three districts of Rab-btsun, Gru-gu-sgang and Kha-rag that as territorial appanage were allotted to the influential prince Böcheg, half brother of Möngke, whereas lHa-sa (= lHa-pa) 'Brug-pa (incl. La-stod Thang-chung in gTsang) came another brother and confidant of Möngke, namely prince Möke's formal jurisdiction, if only nominally.[12] None of these princes and rulers ever set their foot in Tibet.

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[8] A key person behind the complicated distribution of appanages was the loyal Širi Qutuqu (ca. 1180–1260), who had been appointed Judge (*jarγuči*) of North China followed by Bujir (Ch. Buzhier). The apportment was initiated during the reign of Ögödei made in the wake of the first population census in 1234–35. Recipient were princes of imperial blood (*zhuwang*), princesses (*gongzhu*), imperial son-in-laws (*fuma*) as well as dignitaries and enfeoffed (fief-holding) nobility (*touxia guanyuan*). See P. Ratchnevsky 1966, 1993: 86; Holmgren 1987; P. Jackson 1999.

[9] Ratchnevsky 1972: Vol. 2: 72–73.

[10] See Allsen 1987: 85–88.

[11] In Tibetan sources, one usually distinguishes between the period prior to and after the implementation of the Mongol law in Tibet or its absence. The only comparative material how these imperial appanages were administered is given in Endicott-West 1989: 89-124; cf. also Biran 1997: 7–14. It is not fully clear to what extent the subjugated areas in Tibet were administered in the same way as on the mainland or in other conquered territories for that matter. For the economic structure of the Mongol dynasty; see Schurmann 1967.

It certainly was no coincidence that a Tshal-pa teacher who initially had served the Mi-nyag rulers (cf. App. I), later was invited from Central Tibet to the Mongol camp where he became the personal tutor to most of the above-mentioned princes that stemmed from the all-dominant Tolui line in particular by becoming teacher to their mother, the powerful Tolui-widow Sorqoqtani Beki (cf. *GT* 30b; Part I: fn. 388). His name was Yar-lung-pa (*alias* Gung-thang-pa) Grags-pa seng-ge and the activities and the crucial presence of his at the tent of the Mongol rulers – during his second sojourn in the Eastern borderlands that possibly covered the period from 1235 to 1240 – no doubt smoothed the way for the remarkable goodwill among the Mongols that the Tshal-pa enjoyed and thus account for the later inclusion of some of the above-mentioned territories into the Tshal myriarchy. During the tenure of the secular Tshal-pa rulers of dGa'-bde-dpal and sMon-lam rdo-rje of the ruling mGar clan (and who at the imperial court doubtlessly were seen as a parallel to the role of their ancestor figure Minister mGar at the T'ang court some 600 years earlier) enjoyed amicable relations to Qubilai and his princely scions. The comparatively extensive Tshal-pa myriarchy would suggest that the mGar-family as a family domain indeed had received the myriarchy as hereditary lords.

The Tibetan fief-holders or appanage grant-holders in Central Tibet enjoyed a modicum of discretionary or local executive power independent of the local *daruγači* or of the imperial court. Tibetan sources during this early spell occasionally refer to the *wanhu* or *khri skor* administrative system (so *Rlangs* 110.6), evidently here a retrospective attribution. The actual establishment of this key organization within the Yüan-Sa-skya administration most probably should be situated to *ca*. 1260/1264 A.D., following the accession and election of Qubilai as the rightful Činggisid ruler or paragon Great Qan and more readily as first Yüan emperor when a comprehensive administrative reorganization of the Tibetan districts was implemented. It replaced the former princely appanage system outlined above. It has been claimed that the date of the basic census (1268) was the point when the final organization of "the thirteen *khri skor* of Tibet" was enacted (Petech 1990b: 58). This statement is however not in all cases tenable; so g.Ya'-bzang for instance appears to have officially received the *khri skor* diploma in the early 1290's only (CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 97) and the same holds true for the Yar-'brog district. The individual (agriculturally based) household units (*hor dud*; Ch. *hu*) constituted, as is well-known, the smallest administrative unit and the distinct number of *hor dud* served as basis for the assessment and imposition of the tax revenue ensured from the *khri skor* districts (in the sources often contracted as *dmag khral las gsum*: military tax (= indicating the man-power and cost for upholding military emergency forces on standby), the revenue and tax tribute of agricultural products (usually a tithes or 10% levy) and various labour services (to

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[12] Cf. e.g. *Rlangs* 110–11 where it is mentioned that the distinct *khri skor* were the private property (*sgos bdag*) of the four Mongol prince lines; *Grags pa 'byung gnas don chen* 449–50 = *Rlangs Po ti bse ru* 386.3–387.3; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 893.3f., 1416.11–13. Prince Böcheg (Tib.: sBo-lcog) and prince Möke (Ch. Muge; the eighth son of Tolui) – both half-brothers to Möngke and Qubilai – mentioned in some sources, were generally unknown to Tibetan history and their appanages and holdings in the remote area of Tibet are unusual and if reflecting historical fact, it may basically have been nominal. La-stod Thang-chung area and the monastery of Thang-chung was located in present-day gNya'-lam (also written sNye-nang) district, in the Tshong-'dus *xiang* (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 473).

In fact, we are only at the beginning of appreciating the numerous (and partly still unknown) bonds to different Mongol princes established by the Central Tibetan hierarchs. So, for instance, the *Thog rdugs spring yig* consists of letters (possibly prior to 1250) to different Mongol princes issued by the 4th gDan-sa-mthil throne-holder (rl. 1235–67), such as to Prince Hulahu (Hulegü), Cho-ma-'khar (Chormaqai), Mo-mgo (Möngke) – all devotedly addressed as *bodhisattva*.

ensure a workable infrastructure and an intact communication system).[13] Both management and leadership of the myriarchies were conferred upon already existing religious-hegemonic centres (with the temporal ruler carrying the administrative responsibility as *khri dpon*); in Central Tibet it included the above-mentioned Tshal-pa, the 'Bri-gung-pa, the sTag-lung-pa and the three centres under the Hülegü appanage (i.e. g.Ya' Phag Thang), in addition to the rGya-ma-pa, the Bya-yul-pa and the ruling house of sNa-dkar-rtse in Yar-'brog, whereas the aforementioned sTag-lung-pa – according the *Deb dmar gsar* – did not hold the official *khri skor* diploma; questionable too is the myriarchic status of Thang-po-che (see for more details, Petech 1990).

2. THE TSHAL-PA MYRIARCHY

Among the thirteen myriarchies recorded for Central Tibet proper (and three *khri skor* for Khams), our knowledge of the Tshal-pa *khri skor* currently appears to be best documented. It was *dpon chen* Rin-rgyal-ba (i.e. Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan), who 1254 or 1255 A.D. was appointed to the secular throne and who later became the first Tshal-pa Myriarch or *khri dpon* (M. **tümen-ü noyan*; Ch. *wanfuzhang*). He apparently (albeit not firmly corroborated, a later Tshal-pa embellishment?) participated in the military expeditions of Qubilai in 1259 and arguably – if the sources can be trusted – distinguished himself as a strategist, wherefore he was richly rewarded. If for no other reason, it strengthened the good name and well-earned repute that Tshal already enjoyed at the Mongol court through the former service of Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge. Rin-rgyal-ba should return to Tshal Gung-thang in 1261, showered with imperial presents including what in the chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama is designated as the Tshal-pa *khri skor gyi 'ja' sa* or imperial decree or diploma, which proclaimed that a certain number of village districts (*yul grong*) in Central Tibet as *mi sde*, that is as lay tax-yielding communities (in the sense of a *gzhi*[*s*] *kha*, or estate) administratively adhered to the Tshal-pa. The list in *GT* counts over 40 such "*mi sde units*" (= **01**–**44** of Map 1, Part I); *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 6a1–2 speaks about 41 *mi sde* together known as *Tshal pa'i mi sde chen mo*.

The figures cannot in all cases be fixed more precisely, inasmuch as the number of the names of these occasionally also can be read as two (neighbouring) districts or communities (like for instance Lo Byang-ji, sKul 'Ching-ru, lHa 'Brug, etc.). The majority of these is situated in the above delimited area of sKyid-shod and Ngam-shod (Introduction; Chap. 4), the remaining ones refer to districts in 'Phan-yul, Byang, sTod-lung and the western and eastern lHo-kha. A few of the remaining toponyms are mentioned in the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama (*Bod kyi deb ther* 107), where it is said that the distribution of the territories by the imperial decree was linked with the obligation of renovating dilapidated temples in the areas.

With the list in *GT* we nevertheless are dealing with an unique document that allows us, equipped with more precise geographical knowledge and with a broad history of the individual areas, rare glimpses into the genesis and structure of a myriarchic territory in medieval Tibet. We shall argue that the information provided nevertheless fill an important gap concerning the question of a rough distributive extent of the structure and environment of the Central Tibetan territories in the 13–14th century. Still it must be adduced that our attempt constitutes a reconstruction, we are bereft of detailed and precise information as to the exact distribution and extent of the Tshal *mi sde* – even

[13] Cf. Petech 1990: 49ff.; for the tax and levy system during Yüan, see Schurmann 1967.

more we still lack details as to the nature and economical relationship of these individual units throughout this period. Regarding Tshal, comparable data are only available concerning the Phag-mo gru-pa *khri skor* (with the 12 *gzhis kha* forming the core Phag-gru myriarchy, mainly locatable in and around the Yar-lung area), and in part we also possess stray data concerning the g.Ya'-bzang-pa, both myriarchies, as already pointed out, that were administrative zones attached to the former Hülegü appanage.[14]

From the description of the administrative organization in *rGya bod yig tshang* (hereafter *GY*), we can conclude that the management of the Tibetan districts under the Yüan-Sa-skya regime was not covered by the myriarchies alone, it also included minor independent hegemonies. The list enumerates the following administrative units of dBus:

[1] 'Bri-gung bod-'brog gnyis (the agricultural and pastoral areas of 'Bri-gung, registered with 3630 *rtsa* [*ba'i hor*] *dud*)
[2] 'Tshal-pa (3700/3702)
[3] Phag-mo gru-pa (2438)
[4] g.Ya'-bzang-pa (3000)
[5] rGya-ma-ba incl. Bya-yul-ba (5850)
[6] sTag-lung-pa (500)
[7] Upper and Lower bSam-yas (registered with merely 62 [*hor dud*]).
[8] 'Ching-phu-ba (merely 8 [*hor dud*]).
[9] Upper and Lower rDo (the valley east of bSam-yas, 70 [*hor dud*]).
[10] dGung-dkar-ba (= Gong-dkar) incl. 'Phrang-pa (70 *rtsa ba'i dud chen*; fundamental great [*hor*] *dud*; 1 *dud chen* = 25 households, which with 70 *dud chen* would yield an unrealistic number; the entry is therefore most probable to be read as 70 households)
[11] lHa-pa (600 *hor gyi dud chen*; read: 600 households)
[12] Gru-gu-sgang of Yar-gtogs-pa (in the environs of Gong-dkar and gZhung, 232 *hor dud*)
[13] Kha-rag[s]-pa (due north-west?) of Yar-'brog; 88 households).
[14] Rab-btsun-pa (225).
[15] 'Brug-pa (150).
[16] Thang-po-che (150) (*GY* 300.9–301.5; to be attached to dBus is also the Ya-'brog leb ni bcu-drug, = Yar-'brog [17] (750 *hor dud*) mentioned at another place in *GY*).
[17] Yar-'brog (750 *hor dud*).

[14] According to the description in *Rlangs* 110.11f., the territory of the Hülegü appanage in the lHo-kha region (there were also some estates in mNga'-ris) included Mon Lug-mgo-steng (in present-day mTsho-na) and the neighbouring districts of sNyal *stod smad* (= Upper and Lower gNyal), Gyu-shul (= Gru/Gro-shul), Lo-ro dkar-nag and g.Ye-chung-ba in g.Ye-che-ba (*sic*) (usually g.Ye-chung denotes the northern (smaller) part of g.Ye-yul, g.Ye-che refers to the part south of lHa-rgya-ri); further, in the western and central lHo-kha region the districts (*ru ba*) around Yar-'brog gnam-gsum and the Yar-lha Sham-po (the first is listed in *GT* as Tshal-pa *mi sde*), the districts around Khrab Ye gangs-leb (in Yar-'brog area?), mChod-rten-gling (in Yar-'brog area), sTod-tshan (?) and lCags-rtse Gri-gu (i.e. the district around the Gri-gu lake). Further: Thang-po-che (in 'Phyong-po), 'Phyong-rgyas, 'Phyos (in lower 'Phyong-po), Mon-mkhar (and?) Phyin

As indicated earlier, among the districts listed here alongside with areas generally known as proper *khri skor* (nos. 1-6, 17), we encounter some that we usually find registered in the edict of the Tshal-pa, namely the lHa-pa and 'Brug-pa (= lHa 'Brug in *GT*), 'Phrang-pa (= 'Phrang-po/'go), Kha-rag-pa, Rab-btsun-pa and 'Ching-phu-ba (? – probably (sKul) ['']Ching-ru in the list of *GT*). Most of these names we have already met as territories belonging to the distinct appanages of the Mongol princes. The above toponyms refer to districts or territories in sKyid-smad and in the eastern and western part of Yar-'brog (below Map 1).

Worthy of mention under these separate territories are in particular the estates of lHa and 'Brug, which largely refer to parts of present-day Chu-shul county in sKyid-smad. 'Brug stands for the gTsang-pa rGya-ras foundation of 'Brug-dgon in gNam, lHa stands for the ruling house of the lHa-pa issuing from the (Kha-rag) gNyos clan, which in the 13th century formed one of the most powerful domains in Central Tibet (cf. App. II for details). Behind each of these foundations originally stood the powerful rGya and the gNyos clan. The main residence of the gNyos clan was Bur in sNye-thang of Chu-shur district and in the Gye-re valley, where the once-imposing Gye-re lha-khang was established by rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa and his nephew. A contentious neighbourship should long reign between the lHa-pa and 'Brug-pa in the late 12th until at least mid-13th century, triggering occasional warfare between them, whereas Bla-ma Zhang, just like the 'Bri-gung founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po, entertained amicable relations to either seats. lHa and 'Brug initially had been part of the appanage of prince Möke, the half-brother of Qubilai and this may account for the subsequent donation of these *mi sde* territories to Tshal, once Qubilai became the souvereign ruler of all Mongols (from 1260). The precise background for the inclusion of these important local hegemonies into one single administrative district, however, is still not entirely clear.[15] Prior to the inclusion or fusion of these areas into a *mi sde* under Tshal, we are informed that the Tshal-pa and 'Brug-pa were enmeshed in armed warfare in the mid-1240's (e.g. *gNyos rabs* 47.1) and the same 'Brug-pa in turn are reported involved in warring skirmishes with the neighbouring lHa-pa in the mid-1250's. In the wake of their post-1260 appropriation of the 'Brug *mi sde* territory of sKyid-smad sanctioned by the Mongols, the relationship between the Rva-lung main seat and the Tshal Gung-thang again developed and close spiritual and economical bonds prevailed between the seats (it should be recalled that the relationship between both founders gTsang-pa rgya-ras and Bla-ma

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(=? Bying, east of Mon-mkhar rNam-sras-gling), mKhar-ltag (~stag) Do-bo (?), sPrags te (= sPrags and rTe'u-ra in gNyal; see Czaja 2006), 'Ol[-kha?] sNa-nam Zha-lnga (elsewhere 'On sNa-nam Zha-lnga), sGo-gdong, east of bSam-yas, Shong-bhe (~sde), east of lHo-brag, and the agricultural and pastoral areas (*bod 'brog*) of Ba-shi (?).

The 12 *gzhis kha* of the Phag-gru *khri skor* established by the *khri dpon* rDo-rje-dpal (*Rlangs* 122.11) were located in Zangs-ri (= the *gzhis kha* Pho-brang-sgang), in 'On (= *gzhis kha* [Tshong-'dus] Brag-dkar), in Rong, at the entrance to g.Ye-yul (= *gzhis kha* Chad-dkar), in Yar-lung (i.e. the estates of sNe'u-gdong, Ha-la-sgang and sNa-mo), in 'Phyong-po (the estates of Thang-po-che gling-smad, 'Phyos *gzhis kha* and (?) Mon-mkhar bKra-shis-gdong [exact loc. uncertain]) and in the area south and east of Yar-lung (lCags-rtse Gri-gu and mChod-rten-gling, see above). The location of the *gzhis kha* rGya-thang remains unknown. For details on the establishment of the Phag-gru *khri skor*, see now Czaja 2006. On the g.Ya'-bzang *khri skor* (with its core territory in Yar-stod), see CFS Gyalbo *et al*., *passim*.

[15] In the rendition of the *khri skor bcu gsum* listed in *gNas rnying skyes bu rnams kyi rnam thar* (early 16th cent.), which constitutes an interesting supplement to the *GY* (cf. Vitali 2002), the lHa-pa (erronously written lHa-sa) are registered as a *khri skor* of dBus in an unusual way. After listing the myriarchies of mTshal, Phag-gru, rGya-ma-pa and 'Bri-gung-pa, the text incongruously adds: "Bya-yul-pa and sTag-lung-pa together with lHa-sa (read: lHa-pa), these three constitute two *khri skor* [*sic*]." (tr. Vitali 2002: 103, fn. 22).

Zhang had been close). The 5th until the 7th throne-holder of Rva-lung (*ca*. 1270's until 1347 A.D.; cf. Part I: fns. 465–468) served provisionally as stewards at Gung-thang and, arguably to be seen as a form of 'Brug revenue delivered to the powerful Tshal polity, where they proffered substantial food distributions and charity in form of large quantities of butter-lamps to the local *gtsug lag khang* and to the Tshal monk body.

With some reservation, sTag-lung-pa (no. 6)[16] too may be counted as an administrative part of Tshal-pa; here, however, it must be stipulated that the above figures for sTag-lung refers to the minor district direct under the jurisdiction of the ruling Ga-zi family and their monastic mother seat in Upper 'Phan-yul. The core part of this monastic center in the Byang district is in the sources (such as the informative *sTag lung chos 'byung*) alluded to with the three districts of sPras, Dar-yul, and Rong (all part of later lHun-grub county) that traditionally were counted as the heartland of the sTag-lung patrons and where they had their secular mansions; among these, two districts namely sPras und Dar-yul, are in particular registered in *GT* as Tshal-pa *mi sde*. Noteworthy, the relationship between the respective founding figures Bla-ma Zhang and bKra-shis-dpal had remained quite amicable – as relationships mostly were in the pioneering bKa'-brgyud-pa founding epoch – and the latter is recorded as a donor of rich presents to the Tshal seat in around 1198 A.D. However, later – and prior to the Yüan-time distribution of the *mi sde* territories – we also find reference to military incursions from the side of the Tshal-pa towards the sTag-lung-pa, so in the lawless and unruly 1250's, which must be assessed on the above background (cf. e.g. *sTag lung chos 'byung* 292, 297). Conversely, Tshal-pa's loss of the areas of Dar-yul and sPras to the sTag-lung-pa may have taken place in the 1370's (after the break-down of the Yüan empire), and following the defeat of Tshal to the new rulers, the Phag-gru, during the tenancy of the 9th sTag-lung throne-holder (cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 570). It can be generally assumed that the Tshal-pa rulers throughout most of the 13th century were regularly engaged in warfare either in order to defend prior appropriated *mi sde* territories under their sway or, conversely, in order to stake ownership of or to capture new land. The sTag-lung-pa – located on the northern periphery of Central Tibet – in the coming centuries wisely refrained from nourishing overly hegemonic aspirations for the Tibetan heartland around lHa-sa, contrary to the aspirations nourished by the ambitious 'Bri-gung-pa (see App. II above). The 'Bri-gung-pa, initially under the stout support of Möngke, should become a major inner-Tibetan opponent to Sa-skya in the late 13th century.

We still do not possess any firm knowledge as to the background why precisely most of these specific *mi sde* areas were included under Tshal, or why some territories indeed were extensive in size, others relative small (in fact merely covering one or more village-settlements). One clue surely rests with the circumstance that a number of the Tshal-pa *khri skor mi sde* earlier were held by different Mongol princes as princely appanage allotted to them, so e.g. aside from the core part of Tshal *mi sde* under Qubilai's patronage, the *mi sde* Rab-btsun, Kha-rag, the lHa[-pa] and 'Brug as said were held by Böcheg and Möke (both Qubilai's half-brothers), and Qubilai surely had taken over these territories by 1260 or 1264 A.D., since it was he who in 1251 as prince had been given the province of Tibet as overall fiefship. This may also account for the transfer of the sTag-lung appanage to Tshal. It is likely that most of these appanages eventually was donated and included under the Tshal-pa jurisdiction in the famous and much-coveted edict granted to Rin-rgyal. On the other hand, some *mi sde* clearly reflect territories which had either submitted themselves, had

[16] So e.g. *gNyag ston gdung rabs* 98 lists the sTag-lung *khri skor*.

been appropriated forcefully or had sworn patronage on a *mchod yon* basis to the Tshal-pa prior to 1250 A.D. The nature of the submission of territories clearly requires further research, but individual cases like the destruction of the Sle'u-chung dgon-pa through the mKhar-chu-pa (both subsequently registered as *mi sde* under Tshal; see below) seem to suggest that the submission may have been anticipated by military activities that entailed the concomitant destruction of local religious institutions. This circumstance may have served as a prerequisite for the subsequent inclusion of a given territory.

It can be assumed that the data given, like those offered in *GY*, refer to the period prior to 1300 A.D., and hence reflect the status quo of a specific period, wherefore they may carry no firm validity for the entire phase of the Yüan-Sa-skya regime. It was in the wake of this dissolution that Tshal – who made no triumphant figure during the political and military skirmishes in this later Yüan period (see Petech 1990) – commenced losing most of their revenue-generating *mi sde* territories. We know that the data in numerous concrete cases contradict the Tshal-pa edict of *ca*. 1261, in which it, so e.g. in *GT*, is related that the edict during all the succeeding *dpon chen* each time and in this very form was re-confirmed by the imperial court. This no doubt was a matter of formal confirmation, and by no means did it necessarily reflect historical facts. In accordance with the same list, the number of Tshal-pa *hor dud* is said to amount to 3702, a figure which must be upwards corrected, provided the following estates listed in *GY* (i.e. no. 8, 10, 11, 13–15) are included. According to this calculation, Tshal (including sPras and Dar-yul) comprised over 5000 (agricultural) *hor dud* units. Taking into account the total number of 44 *mi sde* units, it in average amounts to *ca*. 120 households per unit. To compare: According to local informants, the Grib valley (formerly a Tshal *mi sde*) due south of lHa-sa originally comprised 60 families, which were divided into three *grong tsho* (village communities); it thus represented one of the minor Tshal-pa areas (= no. 44). The size of the individual estates was fluctuating, between eight and up to several hundred *hor dud*, as may be gathered from the list in *GY*.

It remains unclear how we should estimate those Tshal-pa *mi sde* units that refer to entire regions, all the more so since the name of some of those also are listed in connection with other myriarchies. So for instance the estates of g.Ye-gNyal-Dvags gsum, three regions that in particular were associated not only with g.Ya'-bzang-pa, but also with 'Bri-gung-pa and with Bya-yul, or the (complex unit of) *mi sde* known as Yar-'brog-sgang-gsum, which is listed as part of the Hülegü appanage (fn. 14) and which arguably was located within the (later) Yar-'brog *khri skor*. It may be surmised that here distinct or individual settlements within the large regions carrying the same name were meant (we may refer to the example of Dvags-po; see Part I: fn. 424).

One of the larger Tshal-pa estates was the "sTod-lung *phu mda*'," an area which not least was and still is associated with the Karma-pa (seats at mTshur-phu), yet according to our present knowledge, the historically important monastic estate was in the Yüan-Sa-skya period not vested with any official district administration and it may be surmised that these monastic estates were under the Tshal administration. It most obviously already at that point was under the jurisdiction of the Tshal-pa *khri skor*, as alluded to in *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 15a4–6, where the 3rd Karma-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje on behalf of Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje received title and diploma in 1332 (see also Petech 1990: 86–87). For the verification of these critical Tshal-pa estates, we deplorably lack adequate comparative material and data from the neighbouring hegemonies and polities. As

with most other *mi sde*, for sTod-lung too, detailed information on minor areas within the *mi sde* occasionally can be registered, so e.g. sKyor-mo-lung of sTod-lung comprised landed estates (in total covering 100 *hor dud*) distributed with Ram-pa (30 *hor dud*), gZhong-pa [lHa-chu] (24 *phu dud*) and Beng [= Brang]-gzhong (46 *hor dud*); see Table V. 8.2 and *sKyor lung chos 'byung* 44f.

Less known appears the history of rGya-ma and the similar-named *khri skor* with its seat in the fortified complex of rGya-ma khri-khang (see Table V.10, Fig. 29). The rGya-ma valley is in the sources also known as [Yar] sNon or rGya-ma sNon (~ gNon). sNon also surfaces as one of the Tshal-pa *mi sde*; the latter sNon, however, appears to refer to the sNon (also sMon), the small valley due south of gSang-phu, -mda' in sKyid-smad. Some information on the territorial extent of rGya-ma can be gleaned from the distribution of the dependencies adhering to the Rin-chen-sgang main seat (see Part II: App. V, Table 10).

Informants from Mal-gro mention the height of La-mo as the approximate border to the Tshal-pa of sKyid-shod and the Mal-gro gTsang-po river once constituted the border between the rGya-ma-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa, a circumstance that on its side led to a contentious relationship between these polities. The relationship between the 'Bri-gung founder and Zhang had been amicable, but throughout the 13th century 'Bri-gung had been less successful, contrary to Tshal, in forging bonds to the Mongol court and especially to Qubilai. A major reason rested with 'Bri-gung's strenuous connections to Sa-skya. The rGya-ma-pa kept claiming, at least until 'Bri-gung's temporary downfall in 1290 (at a point when the Tshal-pa and rGya-ma-pa acted as allied to Sa-skya) that the districts of Bya-yul (and in fact more districts in lHo-kha, including Kong-po; cf. Part I: fn. 424) adhered to them. The rGya-ma-pa with their spiritual center or mother seat at Rin-chen-sgang (*Sangs rgyas dbon ston gyi rnam thar*; Hor-khang 1994) entertained traditionally close relations with Bya-yul, and according to *GY* it is not surprising that Bya-yul is listed in connection with rGya-ma (above no. 5). The relatively large number of *hor dud* (5850) allow us to conclude that with these figures the larger areas of the lHo-kha district in question (e.g. Byar, Dvags, gNyal) evidently were counted as part of the Bya-yul / rGya-ma administration, and not to the 'Bri-gung-pa, Tshal-pa or to the g.Ya'-bzang-pa, whereto these areas occasionally are also associated. These districts *in toto* formerly adhered, at least formally, to the Hülegü appanage (fn. 14), of which the Phag-gru saw themselves as rightful inheritor, at least this is what may be concluded from the description given by *ta'i si tu* Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (so *Si tu bka' chems* in *Rlangs*). The energetic Phag-gru *khri dpon* of the 14th century found themselves incessantly challenged and entangled in conflicts with the neighbouring myriarchies, in particular with the g.Ya'-bzang-pa (and the Thang-po-che-ba), but also with the Tshal-pa, who demonstrated their presence in the very heart-land of the Phag-gru with their *mi sde* of 'Phyong-po and rGyas-sman (Part I: fn. 425).

Disregarding these somewhat imprecise data as to a number of *mi sde*, it is to some extent feasible to gain a clear picture of the myriarchic territory of the Tshal-pa. A glance at the Map (below Map 3 and Map 1 of Part I) demonstrates that in the district of sKyid-shod (stretching out between La-mo and Chu-shul and in particular in the environs of lHa-sa) through a juxtaposition of *mi sde* to a large extent formed a coherent area, which altogether allow us justifiably to designate the Tshal-pa as "the Lords of sKyid-shod." With some reservations this also applies to the neighbouring Ngam-shod area. Beyond that, the territorial division reflects a veritable "patchwork territory,"

according to which the additional *mi sde* are spread out over different areas and districts and, as we may see, occasionally well within the core area of other myriarchies. A major cause for the lack of an effective administration of these areas and certainly an incentive for incessant conflicts with neighbouring hegemonies – aside from the general corruption and ineffiency prevailing – were the archipelagic structure behind the territorial distribution of these *gzhi ka* or *mi sde*. The outcome was sheer endless military and court disputes so emblematic of medieval Tibetan politics. Lacking an extensive network of alliances and legal agreements, conflicts were pre-destined to take place, exhausting all parties involved.

Looking for the origins of these territories, it soon becomes clear that the borders of the myriarchy only to a minor extent overlap with the expansion and dissemination of the Tshal-pa as religious school (i.e. the Bar Tshal, sTod Tshal, etc.). Neither from the missionary presence of the Tshal-pa in East-Tibet, nor from West-Tibet can any notable territorial claim be observed; the Tshal-affiliated monasteries and hermitages here far more became integrated into the local political context, surviving there at the mercy of local patrons and rulers. These areas merely constituted "Tshal-pa land" as long as the transfer of presents and donations kept flowing from these branch monasteries and dependencies (and not least from their local patrons) to the monastic mother seat in sKyid-shod. This sort of revenue was not based upon any sound economical or fiscal basis, but merely reflected the given supraregional, ideal conditions, a circumstance that also had some bearings on the highest patron and authority – the imperial court. In Central Tibet too, to which the myriarchic territories were limited, no causal connection between the existence and the location of the *mi sde* territories and the expansion of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa can be drawn. Additional districts in which a number of Bar Tshal monasteries can be localized (like Kong-po and Mal-gro) were situated outside the proper myriarchic borders. On the other hand, not all *mi sde* districts included the presence of a Tshal-pa branch institution. Still, territories naturally were based upon the processes behind the expansion of a religious throne, and it had been, so it appears, closely linked up with the activities of the founding figure.

In hindsight, we can conclude that the affiliation of the majority of *mi sde* territories to the monastic centre can be dated back to the time of Bla-ma Zhang and his personal pupils. A number of *mi sde* territories can be seen as a war trophy, the outcome of the achievements of the (in part violent) expansion – garbed as *'dul ba* or "conversion" actions – of the Tshal-pa pioneers in the 1170–80's. A number of *mi sde* districts are mentioned in connection with Bla-ma Zhang's fightings in Central Tibet (like in Grva, Dol, 'Phrang-po, Sle'u-chung, mKhar-chu) and finally a part of the *mi sde* surely represents donations to Tshal of former appanage districts. The sources do mention other war-scenes like gDos-pa (in sKyid-shod), lCang-rgyab (i.e. lCang/lJang of sKyid-smad) or 'Ol-kha, which however should later not surface as Tshal-pa estates. Did these areas constitute battlefields where Tshal-pa was defeated? Representatives of local ruling houses from areas of Central Tibet, in particular Grib, from Kha-rag, 'Phrang-po and bSam-yas were war companions – or brothers in arms – to Zhang and his lieutenant Dar-ma gzhon-nu. With the exception of bSam-yas (see above) they were registered as Tshal-pa *mi sde* districts and it can be surmised that we in a narrow sense are here dealing with districts that originally constitued the homelands of Zhang's *dānapati*.

Closely linked up with the process of the pacification and conversion of the land we should mention the measures (for the first time chronologically mentioned by Bla-ma Zhang) for the ritual sealing

of the territory (*ri rgya klung rgya*; *lam rgya*; cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 808; *Deb sngon* 836). It originally describes a physical barrier or delimitation drawn along Buddhist-ethical criteria set up in order to protect animals and living beings (mostly in form of a hunting ban), but both formed and served, at the same time, as a political mechanism to delimit the religious sphere of influence and allow access to resources (see also most recently the example of the g.Ya'-bzang *lam rgya*, which were defined by way of the connection to eight former *phyi dar* temples in g.Yo-ru; CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 78–80, 221–225). We are deplorably bereft of the distinct names of the Tshal-pa *lam rgya*, yet it may be surmised that they – similar to the case of the g.Ya'-bzang-pa – refer to strategically significant areas and / or spiritual sites of the master himself; accordingly they were located in the district of Zhang's *sgrub gnas* (foremost in Tshal and the sGrags area; Part I: fn. 62) or in the border areas of the "lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone" (sTod-lung-mda', Dog-sde, Nyang-bran, Ba-lam, Grib), districts that later surfaced as Tshal-pa *mi sde* (Part I: Map 1). As already indicated, the activities of Bla-ma Zhang and his group must be seen in connection with the pacification of and mediation in the warring conflicts between the different *phyi dar* groups in the 12th century. It is certainly no surprise to see that in numerous Tshal *mi sde* we encounter the presence of former *phyi dar* temples and communities of the 11th century.

In the depiction concerning the appropriation of Tshal *mi sde*, one should not rule out the circumstance that a number of temples and religious and landed estates often were vacant in this period and the tradition of donating vacant seats and territories to a reputed master was common-place, tendered with a view to the hope that the religious center and its surrounding area would thereby witness a revitalization. We have already mentioned areas where the Tshal-pa presence or relationship is less evident, like for instance g.Ye, gNyal, Dvags or the districts of Ya[r]-'brog. Unclear is also the history of the Tshal-pa *mi sde* estates in Phyong-po or rGya[s]-sman. In question of the *mi sde* of Grva, Dol and gZhung (three districts, commonly treated as a geographical unity, in northern lHo-kha regularly frequented by Zhang and his group), age-old clan connections to Zhang sNa-nam (i.e. Bla-ma Zhang's family lineage) may have played a role; the sNa-nam clan had been awarded with the three areas as appanage in late dynastic time according to later sources (Part I: fns. 11, 15, 423), the original sNa-nam clan territories in Central Tibet were located in sTod-lung-mda'.

Territorial gains secured by the Tshal-pa that probably fell in post-Bla-ma Zhang times took place under the 3rd *dbon* / *dpon sa* Ye-shes 'byung-gnas (tenure *ca*. 1227–1230), when "many settlements" (*yul grong*) of sKyid-smad were conquered. These areas are defined or referred to by way of the still nebulous toponymic or hegemonic concept of *srid ma bzhi bu brgyad* i.e. "Dominion of the Four Mothers and Eight Sons." It remains unclear to which Tshal-pa domain this conquest or annexation refers, but arguably the above-mentioned lHa 'Brug of sKyid-smad.

We can conclude that the borders of the later myriarchy refer back to the founding phase of the monastic residence. The edict issued in their favour thus roughly [re-]confirmed a territorial or manorial estate structure already prevailing prior to its issue. The particular structure is to an appreciable extent nothing but the footprint once set down by the early Tshal-pa and by their charismatic founder, visible traces that had been left behind in their search for land and resources to fulfil their ambitious and zestful religious ideal of erecting a polity.

Once the *khri skor* was established, the actual extended division of each myriarchy into minor units of chiliarchies and centurions etc., we can adduce from numerous decrees and edicts, albeit only a fraction of these have come down to us. A large number doubtless will be available once hitherto sealed archives in Tibet will be opened. We can adduce that a flurry of correspondence throughout all the myriarchies was issued in order to provide for the upkeep, the administration or the enforcement of law. A number of such unique documents have been published in recent years (see Everding 2006) and for the Tshal-pa *khri skor*, we fortunately can avail us of two such rescripts (kept in archives in lHa-sa). The Tshal-documents are dated to 1337 and 1338 respectively, issued under or in the name of the redoubtable 9th Tshal-pa *khri dpon* sMon-lam rdo-rje (1284–1346 A.D.) and his son who ruled conjointly with him, the 10th *khri dpon* Kun-dga' rdo-rje (1309–1364). The texts, issued in their names either under an inspection tour or in Gung-thang proper are characterized as so-called *gtam* or local rescript[17] which admonished a number of transgressors to refrain from misappropriating access to land, water and grassing (*sa chu rtsva gsum*) and to refrain from misusing rights adhering to the territories of Lo-phu dgon-pa (i.e. the territory of ancient Nyen-kar in present-day sTag-rtse county; cf. Introduction, fn. 7; Part I: fn. 411) under the jurisdiction of Tshal. The rescripts stipulate the consequences to be meted out to those who continue violating the privileges and rights of the monastery.

Tshal-pa Rescript of 1337 A.D.

rGyal po'i lungs gis |
smon lam rdo rje'i gtam |

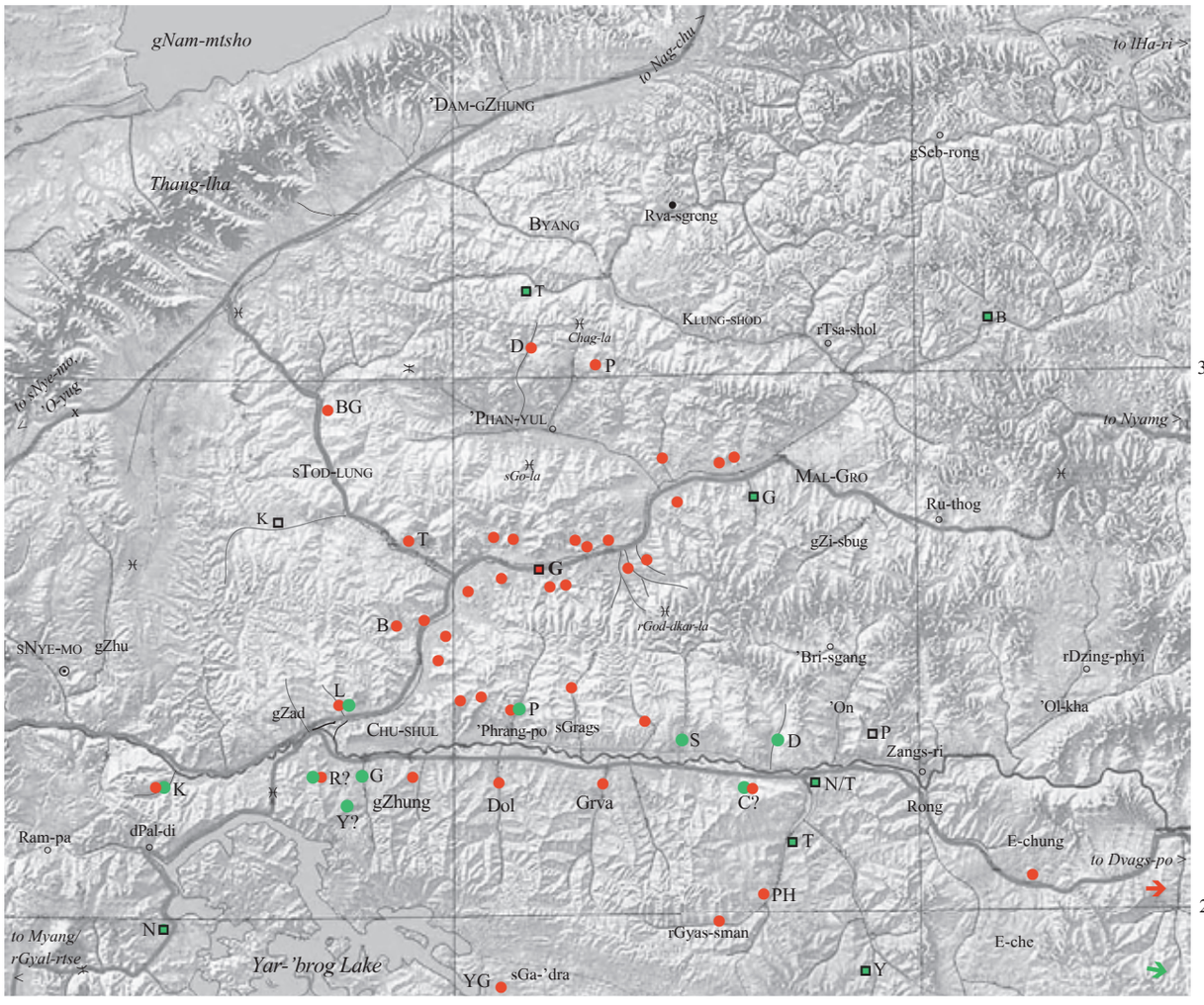
mtshal pa la gtogs pa'i chen po dbon rgyud dpon skya yul gyi gzhis kha ba tha sdud 'grim 'drul byed mi | mdzo rta gsan pa | lha sde | mgo'a lung pa | mi sde rnams la zlo ba | lo phu dgon pa ba 'di pa lugs dang mthun par sdod pa la | khong dang sngar nas dbang pa'i sa chu rtsva gsum ci dang ci 'phrog ma 'then | sngar btags pa'i bzhin yi ge la log pa byed na khrims lugs bzhin rtsa ra byed pa gseb tshangs la svogs khrims dang 'gal ba'i bya ba mi byed | glang lo zla ba lnga ba'i tshes bco brgyad la Yung bu mdar bris.

Tshal-pa Rescript of 1338 A.D.

rGyal po'i lungs gis |
kun dga' rdo rje'i gtam |

mtshal pa la gtogs pa'i chen po dbon rgyud | dpon skya sa yul gyi gzhis kha ba | tha sdud 'grim 'drul byed mi | mdzo rta bsan pa | lha sde | mgo lung pa | mi sde rnams la zlo ba | lo phu dgon pa ba 'di pa | lugs dang 'thun par bstod pa la | khong rang dang sngar nas dbang pa'i sa chu rtsva ga de ci dang ci ma 'phrog ma 'then | sdad btags pa'i 'dod mchu' slong khro dang | phyug lug la khyu 'dzin skyi 'khrul brdal po spus sgyur ma byed | sngar nas med pa'i khral dang rtsva shing 'u lag ma len | dbang che dang she mong ma brtson par bde'a bar bsdod du bcug | 'di skad zlas bzhin yig ge log pa byed na rtsva ra byed pa yin | 'di pas kyang rang la i btogs pa'i bzhan gi gseb tshangs la svogs khrims dang 'gal ba ma byed | stag lo zla ba bcu gcig pa'i tshes bcu bzhi la gung thang nas.

[17] For the technical terms and their use in Tibeto-Mongol diplomacy, see Everding 2006.



Sigla and Abbreviations:

● = districts and estates in *GY* ● = the Tshal-pa *mi sde* in *GT* (see also Sat-Map 1)

■ = centre of myriarchy ●● = Tshal-pa *mi sde* which in *GY* are listed as unrelated districts

■ **G** = Tshal Gung-thang ■ G = rGya-ma Khri-khang (centre of the rGya-ma *khri skor* = rGya-ma *dang* Bya-yul in *GY*);

■ B = 'Bri-gung (centre of the 'Bri-gung *khri skor* = 'Bri-kung bod-'brog gnyis in *GY*)

■ S = sTag-lung (monastery and district [*GY*]) ■ Y = g.Ya'-bzang (centre of the g.Ya'-bzang *khri skor*)

■ T = Thang-po-che (*GY*; also listed as *khri skor* or *-stong-skor*) ■ N/T = sNe'u-gdong-rtse (centre of the Phag-gru *khri skor*)

■ N = sNa-dkar-rtse (centre of the Yar-'brog *khri skor*; *GY*: Ya[r]-'brog *leb ni bcu drug*)

□ P = gDan-sa-mthil (spiritual centre of the Phag-mo gru-pa) □ K ='Tshur-phu (centre of the Karma-pa)

● BG = Byang sGal-sde tsho-lnga ● D = Dar-yul ● P = sPras ● T = the Tshal-pa *mi sde* of sTod-lung

●● K = Kha-rag-pa (in *GT* and *GY*) ●● L = lHa-pa and ●● B = 'Brug-pa (i.e. Tshal-pa *mi sde* of lHa-'Brug)

●● P = 'Phrang-po (~pa) (*GT* = 'Phrang-pa in dGung-dkar *dang* 'Phrang-pa of *GY*) ● S = bSam-yas phu-mda' (*GY*)

●● R? = Rab-btsun-pa (in *GT*; unrelated estate in *GY*; exact location unknown) ● D = rDo'i phu-mda' (*GY*)

●● G = dGung-dkar (i.e. Gong-dkar; *GY*) ● Y? = Yar-gtogs-pa'i Gru-gu-sgang (*GY*; exact location unknown)

●● C? = sKul [']Ching-ru (Tshal-pa *mi sde* in *GT* [= 'Ching-phu-pa of *GY*?]; exact location unknown)

● PH = 'Phyong-rgyas (i.e. 'Phyong-po in 'Chong-po [and?] rGyas-sman of *GT*; see Part 1, fn. 426)

● YG = Yar-'brog sGa[ng]-'dra (= part of the Yar-'brog sgang-rnam-gsum of *GT*?) ➔ = Bya-yul (*GY*; not inserted on the map)

➔ = the eastern Tshal-pa estates of gNyal Dvags (in E gNyal Dags of *GT*); not inserted on the map

Map 1. The administrative districts (and district centres) of dBus during the Yüan-Sa-skya period as listed in GY and the Tshal pa mi sde of GT (see also Part I: Map 1)

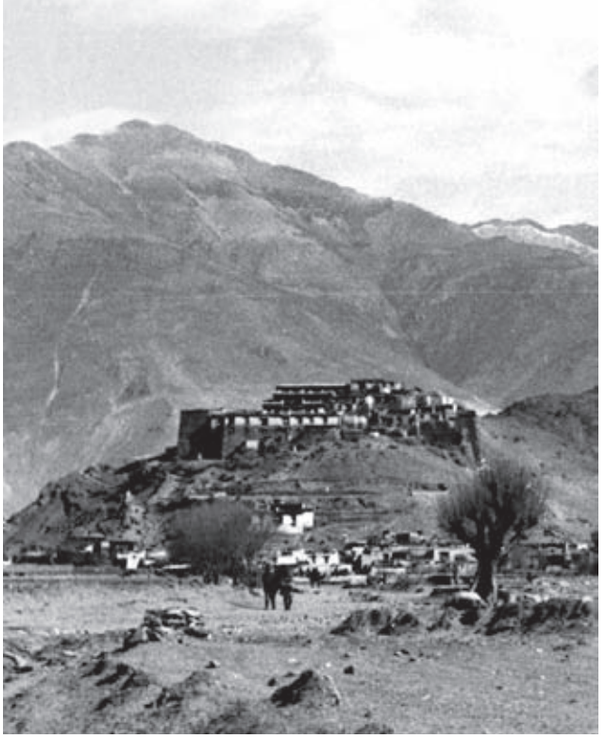


***3**. Qubilai Qan, the first Yüan Emperor and a patron of Tshal Gung-thang*



***4**. The seal of a Tibetan myriarch. The example of the 'Bri-gung khri skor seal*

***6**. The Phag-gru khri dpon and later sovereign of Tibet Ta'i si tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan.* The statue made of 'medicinal clay' is kept in the Potala





6

***5**. sNe'u gdong-rtse. The palace which in the later history served as seat of the lHo-kha governor (lHo spyi khyab) goes back to the founding phase of the Phag-mo gru-pa khri skor and in the 14th cent. became the power base of the Rlangs Phag-mo gru-pa rule*

Photo: Schäfer 1939. Courtesy Bundesarchiv Koblenz

APPENDIX IV



1. *'Phrin-las rgyal-po alias Pehar in his monkey manifestation (see below fn. 116)*
The stone-head (H = *ca*. 22cm) is kept in Lo dgon-pa, Upper sKyid-shod (2007)

IV. IN THE GARDEN OF THE WHITE MARE

Encounters with History and Cult in Tshal Gung-thang

Guntram Hazod

1. INTRODUCTION

In Tshal Gung-thang it is claimed that the *rgyal po* Pehar (Pe-har), the protector from Tshal, advised Bla-ma Zhang to build his monastery (Tshal Yang-dgon) on a mountain. Zhang ignored this and "built it near the sKyid-chu, in the same [topographical] position as the Jo-khang." This decision, which was intended to signify a conceptual comparison with the lHa-sa shrine is considered in the local tradition to be one of the "three mistakes" of Bla-ma Zhang (below fn. 86). At the same time, the episode indicates a basic conflict between the Tshal-pa founder and the protector Pehar, whom we also encounter in later contexts of the Tshal-pa history. Here one has to be aware that in the local accounts the name Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang often stands for the Tshal-pa community as a whole, as if the fate of the history of the monastic centre is embodied in the figure of the founder. A conflict between "Zhang" and Pehar is also supposed to be the background to the Gung-thang fire of 1546, which allegedly was perpetrated by Pehar as an act of revenge.

How are such accounts to be read? What role does Pehar play, who here apparently withdraws himself from his protective function with regard to the monastic centre? Such questions are simultaneously basic issues related to the meaning and function of the "cultic tradition," in the area of which such accounts should be categorized. In a condensed form, they convey a construction of history whose details the bearers of the oral history often do not know (at least not any longer). Like a myth, they form a coded memory of history and a document that often can be understood only through a knowledge of the broader historical context.[1] There are several such forms of recollection and traces of memory in the accounts on Tshal Gung-thang that indicate particular turning points in the religious and political history of the monastic centre. The story of the setting fire to Gung-thang is one of them.

The following chapters deal with various aspects of the cultic history of Tshal Gung-thang, which are to be found in the traditions of the protector gods and other forms of symbolic representation around the founding figures of Tshal Gung-thang. Several elements of a cult specific to Tshal-pa have survived into the present day (and are to some extent still observable on site) inasmuch as they

[1] Traditions such as that of the Pehar account are part of an "oral literature" that does not necessarily come from the field of an oral tradition in the narrower sense. The chronicles and historiographical literature are full of oral accounts that they quote and occasionally the authors themselves in their own descriptions follow the methods of oral literature, which is characterized by condensation and quasi-mythologization (on the meaning of the term oral literature, see e.g. *ESCA* 404). Conversely, local oral traditions reproduce descriptions (and interpretations) of events that originated at the writing desk of a historiographer. In this case, they convey the interests of a superior institution and power that at some time in history intervened in a particular (cultic) account and dominated it. Historical analysis of local stories of this type therefore necessarily always lead to a question, the answer to which is usually not to be found in these stories themselves: whose voice is talking in these (or better, through these) accounts?

were continued after the incorporation of the monastic centre into the lHa-sa central government (17th cent.), even if in a modified form and enriched with elements from the later (lHa-sa) history such as can be seen in the important annual festival of the Gung-thang Flower Offering. This also includes some significant references to the older lHa-sa and an adaptation of certain elements from the royal period, so that in such traditions we ultimately also find the connection to a much "broader history."

Linked to a discussion of these interconnections between history and cult are questions of the religious geography of the lHa-sa valley and questions related to the older historical context of this part of sKyid-shod as well as of the Tshal-pa districts in a narrow sense. Thus, it will be revealing to follow here the history of the old (partly now obsolete) toponyms of Tshal, such as the place names of Tsha-ba-gru, Ngan-lam, rTa-mo-ra or of Tshal itself, which we here shall call the "Garden of the White Mare." It relates to the mount of the Bla-ma Zhang disciple Dar-ma gzhon-nu, warrior and co-founder of Tshal Gung-thang and the first in the line of the secular rulers of Tshal.

The first point we turn our attention to is Grib – as we know, the country of the Tshal-pa *dpon chen* of mGar – who followed the ruling lineage of Dar-ma gzhon-nu in the 13th century.



***2**. The Grib valley in the evening sun as seen from lHa-sa* (2002)

2. GRIB AND THE LHA-SA MAṆḌALA ZONE

Grib, the valley due south of lHa-sa, is the home of the local god and powerful lHa-sa protector Grib rDzong-btsan. His mountain residence is the sKyid-shod Grib rDzong-btsan gi ri, a foothill of the holy Bum-pa-ri, one of the cardinal mountains of the lHa-sa valley (fn. 11). The locals say that it was once the custom if one approached lHa-sa from the west to dismount from one's horse at rKyang-thang, a plain to the west of the city, and salute the god of Grib. As a sign of respect, the bells were also removed from horses and pack-animals. A later Dalai Lama is supposed to have ignored this rule, as a result of which his horse threw him from the saddle at rKyang-thang. It was then decided to bring the wrathful Grib rDzong-btsan down from his mountain seat. A temple that was no longer visible from lHa-sa was built for him, and since then the god has lived here in his peaceful form. The story relates to the time of the Eighth Dalai Lama, who came from gTsang and had his soul temple in sKyid-rtse (~-tshal) klu-sdings, adjacent to rKyang-thang.[2] In 1790, in Grib, he founded the Tshe-mchog-gling (the monastery built for his tutor Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, later classified as one of the lHa-sa'i Gling-bzhi; cf. Smith 2001: 174f., 312). Apparently this was associated with a particular pacification of the wrathful god of Grib, connected with the building of a separate temple.

The present-day Grib rDzong-btsan lha-khang (also called rDzong-btsan *sku mkhar*) is a new building that has been built higher up on the eastern side of the valley. The ritual custodianship of this temple is traditionally taken over by the *bla ma* from the neighbouring Tshe-mchog-gling.[3] For the inhabitants of the valley, Grib rDzong-btsan is the *yul lha* (territorial god) of their land, the settlements of which were originally divided into three – today four – *grong tsho* (village communities) across which the households are distributed (originally 60 families it is said). Each *grong tsho* has its own *yul lha*, whose places are identified with one of the mountains on the western side of the valley.[4] Alongside the common *yul lha* rDzong-btsan, there is also a central *klu* (water spirit), the Pho-rog lci-med, from whose residence it is said all water comes and to whom all the family *klu* are subject.[5] The residence relates to the large irrigation pond in the middle of the old orchard of Pho-rog gling-kha (see below).

Grib rDzong-btsan is under the specific care of 12 men, the *sku tshab*, who act as assistants or acolytes to the god during the annual festivals, in particular the Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa* (below Chap. II.1). The position has long been passed down through the same twelve families, who like the others among the 60 families trace their roots back to the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po. This was also the time when their god came to Grib. It is said that rDzong-btsan was a present

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[2] Cf. Richardson 1993: 91, 97. Also sKyid-tshal klu-sdings. The temple houses the Dalai Lama's birth god (*khrungs lha*), which is Li-byin Ha-ra, a divinity who appears both in connection with Pehar as well as with Tshangs-pa dkar-po. Incidentally, in post-16th-century period, sKyid-tshal klu-sding (in rKyang-thang) was both the location where arriving guests were received and parting guests were seen off by their official lHa-sa hosts. Cf. also sMin-skyid bSod-nams stobs-rgyas 1991: 15.

[3] The monastery does not contain an image of the god, however there is supposed to be an image of the (old ?) wrathful form of Grib rDzong-btsan in the Tshe-mchog-gling monastery of Dharamsala.

[4] A-ma-la (= *yul lha* of the first and fourth *grong tsho*), Kyi-gling ltad-ma (second *yul lha*) and Zhang-lha rgyal-po. The *grong tsho* (and *yul lha* sub-units) are under the three *rgan po* (elders) who elect the Grib *spyi can*, the chief or headman of Grib, every six years.

[5] The name may derive from *pho rog nor bu* (*bya rog nor bu*, identical with *pa yag rtsa pa*), a form of the Aquilaria agallocha Roxb medicinal plants (*a ga ru* or *lci med*); cf. TMM 142a, 157a, b, 126a, 299b.

from the Chinese princess Wen-cheng (Mun-chan Kong-co/jo), who was brought to Tibet by the great councillor mGar sTong-btsan yul-zungs (d. 667) as a bride for the Tibetan emperor.[6] After his arrival the god is then supposed to have settled on the "lHa-sa'i Grib kyi rDzong-ri," after which the deity is named.[7]

The rDzong-btsan-ri rises on the eastern side of the valley above the sKyid-chu. Behind it lies Bum-pa-ri. According to the locals the name comes from the the fact that Kong-jo hid a *bum pa* (vase, one of the *aṣṭamaṅgala*, Eight Auspicious Signs), or, as the textual tradition purports, because the mountain resembles a vase. This refers to the well-known story of the geomantic classification of the lHa-sa landscape initially designed by Kong-jo,[8] in which, among other things, the *aṣṭamaṅgala*

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[6] In 641 A.D. She died in 680 A.D.; according to a local account of sKyems-stong of Dvags-po, she is said to be entombed in one of the *bang so* of the grave field of Sleb in sKyems-stong (see also fn. 70).

[7] For a representation of the Grib story, see also Tsering Gyalbo 2005: 350f.; cf. also *Grib btsan rdo rje mchog gtor chog (GTs* 6a–b). In this prayer text, rDzong-btsan is described as a divinity of the *btsan* or *klu btsan* type, who in his function as a Buddhist protector has the title of *Dus gsum rgyal ba'i bstan bsrung chen po srid gsum srog bdag rDzong btsan dgra lha'i rgyal po*, "rDzong-btsan, the King of the Warrior Gods who functions as Great Protector of the Doctrine of the Jina of the Three Times and who is a Master of Life in the Sphere of the Three Worlds;" *GTs* 2b1; cf. also *Tshangs pa mchod bstod* 73af. In the same prayer text he is also addressed as Grib-btsan, a divinity known from the lists of the *btsan rgod 'bar ba spun bdun*. Another list mentions the sKyid-shod rDzong-btsan. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 171–74.

A Grib-btsan is, among others, in the circle of the protectors of the gNam-mtsho area, with its home on the *sribs* (shadow) side of the lake (i.e. the Sribs/Grib-la gdong-can shore side, which lies in the shadow of gNyan-chen Thang-la; Bellezza 1997: 63, 120). Grib also occupies the north-facing, shadow side (*grib*, *sribs*) in the lHa-sa valley. Under the name sKyid-shod rDzong-btsan Zangs-khrab-can (the "rDzong btsan of sKyid-shod with the Copper Harness"), he appears in the group of the "*gzhi bdag* of the four great forests" (Shing-chen-bzhi'i gzhi-bdag) (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *op. cit.*, 265f.). Within sKyid-shod the deity appears among other things in connection with the Phag-mo gru-pa outpost of Bye-ri sTag-rtse-rdzong (Part I: fn. 542), which is given in *DL6* 424.8 as rDzong-btsan-po Byi (= Bye)-ri sTag-rtse. The account of the bringing of the rDzong-btsan from China is related to the story of the Chinese protector god Guanyu (a manifestation of the legendary General Guandi; d. 219 A.D.) whose practice and worship is said to have entered Tibet in the 7th century. In this context, rDzong-btsan is addressed as Zhang-blon rDo-rje bDud-'dul, a deity who is described as the Tibetan form of Guanyu (cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 167).

Grib represents only one of several places associated with the story of the deity's arrival in Central Tibet. The other seats include Yar-lung Shel gyi brag-phug (i.e. the Shel-brag-ri), 'Phyes kyi lHa-lung btsan-mkhar (perhaps referring to Phyos in lower 'Phyong-po), Kong-po Bu-chu lha-khang, sPug-ri Phug-mo-che-lung (in eastern Ya-lung) and rTse-chen-brag (i.e rTse-chen in Myang-stod?). In Yar-lung, the deity belongs to the protector gods of Khra-'brug (led by the divine couple Tshangs-pa dkar-po and dMag-zor rgyal-mo) and, with his seat on Mount Shel-brag, it holds at the same time a significant position in the religious landscape of the lower Yar-lung valley. See TF Sørensen and Hazod, *op. cit*., 167, 268ff. In Bu-ch[ung] (like Khra-'brug, one of the the supporting temples of the lHa-sa Jo-khang, which were built according to the geomantic guidelines of the Kong-jo), rDzong-btsan is one of the temple *srung ma*,* and entrusted with guard of the temple treasure (accordingly the deity is here depicted with the key of the *gter kha*). In this western part of central Kong-po (i.e. the right side of the lower Nyang-chu, where Bu-chu is located), two further places associated with rDzong-btsan are to be found: according to the locals, he resides on a mountain in Upper rDzong-btsan, a small valley to the north of Bu-chu (in the lower part of this valley a modern cemetery is located, where rich Chinese people from Ba-yi (the capital of the sNying-khri Prefecture) used to be buried, a possible reference to rDzong-btsan in his manifestation of Guanyu). Further to the east, in Jo-mo rdzong (opposite Ba-yi), the Jo-mo *yul lha* called A-pho gDong-btsan is identified by the locals as Grib rDzong-btsan (see also below fn. 21).

* I.e. Dam-can rDo-rje legs-pa, Kong-btsun De-mo, *ma mo* Ekajāti, gZa' Khyab-'jug (Rāhula), rDzong-btsan (Zhang-blon rDo-rje bdud-'dul), bTsan-ma bcu-gnyis.

[8] Kong-jo's role as the wise woman and *nag rtsis* geomancer is an invention of the later Srong-btsan sgam-po vita

are configuratively associated with several prominent parts of the landscape on the four sides of the valley. Grib represents the southern horizon of this "lHa-sa Maṇḍala" Zone,[9] which is marked by four protective mountains. In the earliest model, alongside the mountain of Grib, Shun gyi brag to the west (rock of Shun; a foothill of the dGe-'phel-ri behind 'Bras-spungs),[10] Dog-ste lHa-ri to the north (between Nyang-bran Pha-bong-kha and Dog-bde) and a mountain to the east, variously referred to as Ba-lam Grum-pa-ri, Ngan-lam Gron-pa-ri or Grog-po-ri. This eastern demarcation of the field or zone is less precisely identifiable. The name Ba-lam, however, makes it clear that the fourfold field stretches as far as the core area of the middle of the sKyid-chu riverland and also includes the area of Tshal Gung-thang. A number of other toponyms are mentioned in connection with Kong-jo's instructions for the pacification of the area, which by and large can all be located in the vicinity of these mountains (Graph 1; Map 1).[11]

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literature and the position rather apply to the second Kong-jo, i.e. Kim-sheng Kong-co, the alleged consort of Mes Ag-tshoms and presumably actual founder of the Ra-mo-che temple, who arrived in lHa-sa (at the place "Deer Park of Ra-sa") in 710 A.D. See most recently TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 172f.

[9] There is no evidence in the literature of the term lHa-sa Maṇḍala as a synonym for the lHa-sa valley but in the geomantic classification it is exactly this design that is meant. It represents something like the (concentric) extension of the lHa-sa'i *dkyil 'khor mthil/steng*, the latter a designation for the inner courtyard of the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. In the literature, one occasionally finds the form lHa-sa *sa dpyad* also used in the sense of a geographical term relating to the greater lHa-sa district (cf. App. II: fn. 93; Hazod 2004: fn. 3).

[10] On the Shun cave complex, namely Shel-dkar sgrub-phug, an important pilgrimage site in the Newar Buddhist tradition of Kathmandu, see Akester 2000; see also App. II and Table V.7 in this volume.

[11] The details of the various places vary in the sources. With regard to this tradition one can distinguish between two versions: the related versions of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* (*MK* 215b2–222a5), *Ka khol ma* (*KK* 213.2–215.11) and *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (*NC* 234.5–235.9), and the largely identical details in the *rGyal rabs gsal* (*GS* 132.3–133.14) and *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (*KG* 221.2–222.7), on which the Fifth Dalai Lama orients himself in his *Bod kyi deb ther* (*BD* 38.20–39.23) ; cf. also his *lHa ldan dkar chag* (*HD* 2002 ed., 5.20–6.12; Akester, in Alexander 2005: 286f.). In addition, see the somewhat less detailed account in *mKhas pa'i lde'u chos 'byung* 277f., 281. The classical description can be summarized in four sections, on which the list of toponyms in Graph 1 is based.

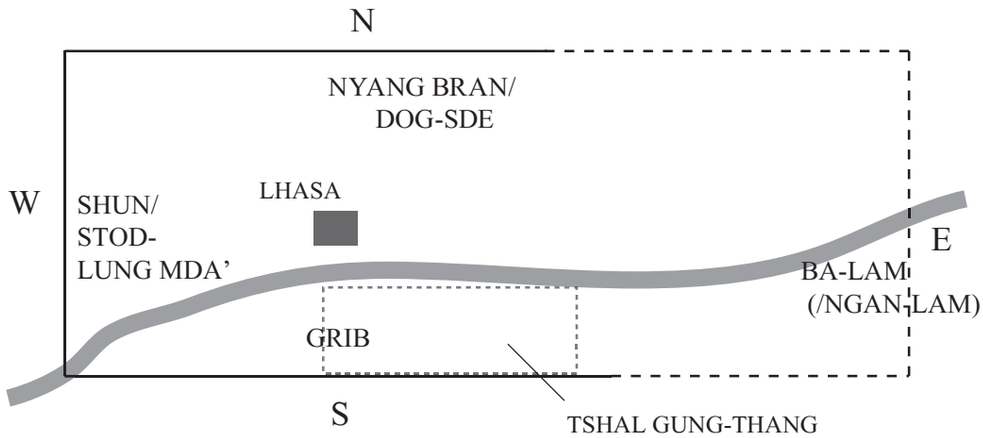
A The establishment of the area as centre and periphery (= the hills of lHa-sa and the place of the Jo-khang and Ra-mo-che in the centre, plus the four mountains on the sides; according to Kong-jo's *sa dpyad* examination the whole area is occupied by hostile powers (*sa dgra*) embodied in various types of *lha srin sde brgyad*, which converge here. The neutralization of these sites by means of placing particular symbols – *caitya*, jewels, lotus, phallus, stone lion, *i.a.*) changed them into auspicious sites (the appropriate emblems are displayed on the Jo-khang pagoda roof; cf. Richardson 1998: 235).

B The geographical allocation of the *aṣṭamaṅgala.*

C The identification of the four astrological animals of the Chinese tradition (as is known, the lHa-sa *sa dpyad* (*Ls*) does not follow here the Chinese model (*Cm*) of the four cardinal animals; *Ls*: grey tiger (E), turquoise dragon (S [= g.Yu-'brug sngon-mo = sKyid-chu [*alias* Kyi-chu sngon-mo, *KK* 313.8]), red bird (W), black turtle (N); *Cm*: spring dragon (E), summer bird (S), autumn tiger (W), winter turtle [N]]).

D The naming of the four ore-mountains around lHa-sa.

The listing of Graph 1 follows the description in *GS* (and *KG*), the details of the other versions are given in brackets. It should be noted in this connection that the different names within one geomantic group do not necessarily also respectively mean the same place. One example of these inconsistencies concerns group *B* of the eastern toponyms where we have the names Mal-grong gi *rgyab ri* (identified by Akester (in Alexander 2005: 293) with the mountain of the Re-chung/phyung-ri nunnery north-east of lHa-sa), Brag-dkar[-brag] (= presumably the site of Brag-dkar-zhol; see Part I: fn. 542), gDos-pa'i brag (location unknown, but see Part I: fn.124) and Ra-ka'i brag; the latter is the northern ore-mountain and hence wrongly placed here. On the particular places, see the numerous references in TBH Sørensen 253–261; see



EAST

A *a)* Ba-lam Grum-pa-ri (*var.*: Ngan-lam Gron-pa-ri; Grog-po-ri) = place of hostile forces (*sa dgra*) resembling an upright water demon (> it should be countered by a conch shell)
b) Bye-ma-lung-stod(~ri) (*var.*: Byang-stod Se[ng]-phug; Sros-pa'i ri), in the [S]E = genitals of a (black) *srin mo* (> it should be countered with/opposed by a *linga* of Maheśvara)
c) Ban-khos Gung-bu-ri(~Bang-ba-ri, Bun-ba-ri [loc. in Shing-tshang) = mountain resembl. a *caitya*

B Mal-grong gi [rgyab]-ri (*var.* gDos-pa'i brag; Brag-dkar na'i brag [*sic*]; Ra-ka'i brag) = [eyes of the] golden fish (*gser nya*; **suvarṇamatsya* [= eye of Buddha; the tongue (= lotus) is placed by the sources in the western or southern places; exception *NC*: *shar* rTsibs kyi ri)

C dGa'bo/mo-gdong[-'og-ma] (*var.* Bye-ma-ri) = Grey Tiger of the East (*stag skya bo*)

D Jo-mo Ze[-ze] (*var.*: Dog-te sGo-phu [= the norther toponym Dog-te, hence wrongly placed here]) > iron

SOUTH

A *a)* Grib-mda' (*var.* [sKar-chung]) g.Yug-ma-ri = black scorpion (> opp. by a Garuḍa Ke-ru [*stūpa*]; the Ke-ru ([b]Se-ru, Ka-ru) *stūpa* is also ass. with the North or with the place of dGa'-ldan gyi tshal/mtsho; *MK*; *KK*; cf. note 42 of App. II)
b) Grib kyi *rgyab ri* (back mountain of Grib) = heap of jewels
c) Gla-ba-tshal (of sKar-chung [S/SW]) = assembly of the *'dre* (and *the'u rang)*

B *a)* Grib kyi 'khyag-khrom (*var.* Grib Se-sgrom; Grib kyi 'Khyugs-rum; 'Phan-dar-ri; sPyan-ri; lDong-btsan-ri) = [sound giving] conch (*dung*; **śaṅkha*)
b) Grib rDzong-btsan-ri (i.e. a part of Mount Bum-pa-ri) = vase (*bum pa;* **kalaśa*)
c) rDzong-btsan-ri = lotus (*padma;* the latter also associated with other directions)
d) [g.]Yug-ma-ri (of sKar-chung or Grib-mda' [= a mountain due west of Grib) = knot (*be'u;* **vatsa*)

C [sKyid-]chu (*var.* gTsang-chu/chab) = turquoise-blue dragon (*g.yu 'brug sngon mo*)

D lCags-kha-ri > gold

WEST

A *a)* Shun gyi brag (*var.* Shun gyi brag Te'u[-rtse) = black demon on the guard (> opposed by a stone *caitya*) (*var.* = [mountain in the west] = black frog and black demon on the guard > *mchod rten* Se-ru/Ke-ru)
b) sTod-lung Brang-phu'i ri = bowl (*dung phor*)

B *a)* [sTod-lung-mda'] Bran[g]-phu'i spang (*var.* 'Phan-dkar (*sic*); *HD*: rMog-lcog *brag ri* [acc. to Akester, it refers to the mGon-po-ri mountain in sNye-thang]) = victory banner (*rgyal mtshan*; **dhvaja*)
b) sTod-lung-mda' Brang-phu'i spang = wheel (*'khor lo*; **cakra*)
c) mDangs-mkhar gyi brag (*var.* Deng(~gDomg)-mkhar/dkar gyi ri/brag) = tongue of the fish/lotus

C Shun gyi brag [te'u] (Shun gyi brag-dmar rTe'u-gdong; gDong-mkhar gyi brag) = red cock (*bya dmar po*)

D La-gdong-ri (~brag) (*var.* Shug-pa-gdong; lHo-stengs; La-stod(~rtog); Da-dong) > silver

NORTH

A *a)* Mountain between Nyang-bran and Dogs-[s]te (~[b/s]de)) = elefant in battle (> opp. by a stone lion)
b) dGe-te (~Dogs-te) lHa-phu'i ri (var. Dogs-ste lHa-ri) = disclosing lotus (*padma kha phye ba*)

B Nyang-bran 'Phan-dkar gyi ri (behind Se-ra monastery) = umbrella (*gdugs*; **chattra*)

C [Nyang-bran] Pha-bong-kha = black tortoise (*rus sbal nag po*)

D Dog-sde Ra-ga'i brag (i.e. the site of the Ra-kha-brag hermitage in Dog-sde) > copper

CENTRE ('O-thang lake = heart blood of the *srin mo gan rkyal* etc.)

Graph 1. The toponyms of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone

also Chab-spel 1989: 197; *HSLG* Vol. 6, *passim*; on the *sa dpyad* system, see the anthology *Sa dpyad phyogs sgrigs* 1996. For a discusion of the eastern toponyms, see most recently Hazod 2004.

The descriptions of the lHa-sa *sa dpyad* chronologically precede the account of the *srin mo gan rkyal* border-suppressing temples, which in their classical form of twelve plus one temple are to be seen as it were as an extension of the lHa-sa *maṇḍala*. These accounts certainly essentially form a product of the early post-imperial period, even if there may also be older models whose beginnings, however, are rather to be connected with the early 8th cent. and the history of the second Kong-jo (Kim-sheng Kong-co) than with the founder phase of the 7th cent. (cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 171ff.). The (post-dynastic) authors of the lHa-sa *sa dpyad* are not known, but they are all apparently to be assigned to the circle of representatives of the Avalokiteśvara (and Srong-btsan sgam-po) cult, which established itself in lHa-sa in connection with the re-occupation of the central temple. Here, the group of the lHa-sa *sde bzhi*, a term that relates to four religious communities and/or institutions around the central lHa-sa temples and, according to its name, itself reflects an early representation form of the quadripartite model of the lHa-sa *sa dpyad*. Occasionally, lHa-sa sde-bzhi also appears as a synonym for lHa-sa or the lHa-sa Maṇḍala zone (cf. the form Dog-te sGo-phu (a toponym of the northern cardinal area) of lHa-sa sde-bzhi; see App. II: Chap. 1 of the present volume and Sørensen 2003). The lHa-sa *sde bzhi* repeatedly appear in the sources in connection with the political events immediately before the foundation of the Tshal-pa, among others also in allusion to their connection with the Avalokiteśvara practice. As a place of spiritual practice, Grib evidently played a prime role, as did Grib rDzong-btsan who (together with dPal-ldan lha-mo) functioned as one of the primary lHa-sa protector in this period (see fn. 26).*

As far as the four cardinal territories of the lHa-sa *sa dpyad* are concerned, there is apparently a connection here with the local political structures of the lHa-sa valley. In the 11th cent., Ba-lam (or Glag[s] Ba-lam), in the imperial period the leading district in this section of the sKyi[d]-shod, formed a settlement of the Yum-brtan *brgyud*, likewise in Grib, before a branch of the mGar from lower sTod-lung occupied the land (see below; above and beyond this, the lower sTod-lung is considered to be an ancient territory of the sNa-nam (later Zhang's paternal lineage), namely Brang (also known as sNa-nam Brang) and gZhong (cf. the *dbang ris* list in *KG* 187), although nothing more precise is known about the local political role of the clan in the 11th and 12th centuries). Shun, the cardinal mountain in the west, is considered to be the ancestral mountain of the gNyos, the lineage behind the gNyos hegemony in lower sKyid-shod (see App. II.; Table V. 7). No similar political connection is known for the north (Dog-sde/Nyang-bran) in this period. It is worth mentioning, however, that the Jo-mo Ze (Zi-ze) mountain east of Dog-sde, which is geographically positioned to the north as well as to the east, is evidently identical with the *lha* (territorial god and ancestral deity) of the old pre-historic principality of sTod[-lung]-ro (see below fn. 61, 62). The geomantic selection of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala toponyms here perhaps follows the tracks of an older political history of the country (see Hazod 2004).

A later classification speaks of the lHa-sa'i Ri-chen-bzhi (or dBus kyi Ri-chen-bzhi, also 'Phags-pa'i Ri-bzhi) which to some extent refer to other mountains that serve the same function, namely the marking of an external protective zone around lHa-sa and its temples. These are sMin-drug rdza-ri (south east of Grib; it is seen as a manifestation of the Pleiades; cf. e.g. Karsten 1995: 124), Chos-rgyal Bla-ri (or Bum-pa-ri, in the south west), mount Jo-mo Zi-Zi in the east (opposite Gung-thang) and the above-mentioned dGe-'phel-ri (another tradition has Jo-mo Zi-zi [E], sMin-drug rdza-ri (S), dGe-'phel dBu-rtse (W), lHa-sa dBu-rtse (N) (i.e. Dog lHa-ri of Graph 1); cf. e.g. *HSLG* Vol. 4: 1; *dMangs srol* 585; Hazod 2004: fn. 13). The border mountains are *bla ri* (*chos rgyal bla ri* or also "*bla ri* of the Tibetan people," see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 483) and considered the abbot of bTsan-ma goddesses (companions of the Ha-sa protectress dPal-ldan lha-mo), whose leaders (rDo-rje Grags-mo rgyal and rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma) were associated with the institution of the bsTan-ma oracle with its residence next to 'Bras-spungs; see Havnevik 2002 and below fn. 101). This categorization of the four outer mountains finds its concentric continuation, so to say, in a range of topographical and architectural groups of four in the immediate and external surroundings of Jo-khang, such as the

- "Four plains of lHa-sa" ([lHa-sa'i] *thang bzhi*) (i.e.'O-brgyal-thang [S], sKu-'bum-thang [E]), Tshes-gsum-thang [N], rKyang-thang na-kha [W])
- "Four Ridges of lHa-sa" (lHa-sa'i *sgang bzhi*) (Thal-spungs-sgang, g.Yul-kha-, Sa-sbog and rJe-'bum-sgang); for the latter see Alexander 2005: 259–270
- "Four Springs" (*chu mig bzhi*) (gTun-khung chu-mig, 'Ja'-tshon chu-mig [N], Khang-dkar- and Drang-srong chu-

One comes across an early indication for this geographical classification of the 11–12th century in two well-known stories: The story of the arrival in lHa-sa of the princess (and "wise woman" Kong-jo), who appeared from the four points of the compass like a tetra-goddess, and the story of lHa-lung dPal-gyi rdo-rje, who after the assassination of King Glang-dar-ma magically disappeared or vanished towards the four points of the compass simultaneously.[12] In these stories, the toponyms of the coming and of the flight are largely in the area of the external zone of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala. They refer to the four "gates" through which one enters the holy field and can leave it again.

One of the western toponyms that is mentioned with the arrival story of Kong-jo is the plain of Dan-'bag (Dan-'bag-thang; *Maṇi bka' 'bum* 215.2ff.; it refers to the area around gNas-chung and is identical with the place where Pehar (*alias* rDo-rje grags-ldan), sent from Tshal, later appeared (cf. Part I: fn. 574). The above-mentioned "salutation place" rKyang-thang belongs to Dan-'bag (cf. the form Dan-'bag rKyang-thang-sgang; Part I: sub-note of 574); it also represents one of

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mig (elsewhere listed as gTon-khong-((~ gTing-khung), lKugs-pa-, rGya-nag- and Khang-dkar chu-mig)

- "Four Hollows" (*sbug bzhi*) ('O-stod/'dod-sbug [E], [g]So-ra-, sMin-drug- (or gTugs-rva-sbug) and Klu-sbug)
- "Four Treasure/Ore [Mountains] of lHa-sa" (lHa-sa'i *gter kha rang byung bzhi*) (Dog-sde Ra-ga'i brag [copper], Dog-sde sGo-phu (near 'Phan-po sGo-la) [iron], La-dong gi ri [silver], lCags-po-ri [gold]; cf. Graph 1, D)
- "Four Bridges" (*zam pa bzhi*) (sMon-grong zam-pa, bsKal-bzang-, 'Dod-'jo- and g.Yu-thog zam-po)
- "Four Great Embankments of lHa-sa (lHa-sa'i *rags chen bzhi*) (Jo-bo-rags [E], Thog-btsegs-rags [S], Chos-rgyal-rags [W], Bye-ma-rags [N] (see App. II) up to "Four Willows" (five with the central willow tree in front of the Jo-khang), "Four Flagpoles [of the Bar-skor]" (*dar chen bzhi*) and "Four Corners [of the Jo-khang]" (*zur bzhi*) and still more (see *Nang rig* 270–72; *dMangs srol* 582f.; bsTan-pa sgron-me 1999; see also Yeh 2003: 534, *passim*).

There are similar classifications (known from the dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung* period) in various religious or administrative establishments (originating from different periods), such as the Rigs-gsum lha-khang *bzhi* (Chos-'phel 2004: 31f.; later extended to eight shrines; cf. Alexander 2005: 91–100), the bTsan-khang *bzhi* (used as oacle temples; cf. bsTan-pa sgron-me 1999; Alexander 2005: 173f.) or the Gling-bzhi monasteries (originally founded for the Dalai Lama's tutors) and the Las-khungs bzhi (cf. bShad-sgra 1991) etc. Some of these places represent particular stations in the course of the annual lHa-sa festivals (cf. Karsten 1995; Richardson 1993). A particular form of revitalization of the lHa-sa *sa dpyad* is the establishment of the *Bod kyi sa gnad gso ba'i thabs* (means (statues, *mchod rten* etc.) for restoring key points of Tibet), a comprehensive ritual and territorial-political programme from the early phase of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung* period, which builds on early models, however. Within dBus, most of the known key sites relate to places in the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone (such as Shun gyi Brag-dmar, Bye-ma-ri, the mountain behind lHa-gdong Shan-kha (= rDzong-btsan gyi ri in Grib), dGa'-ldan rgyab-ri (='Brog-ri), etc.; cf. *DL6* 423–428; *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 427; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 90–92; App. II of the present volume).

* Cf. here the story of the Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa sKyer-sgang-pa Chos kyi seng-ge (1154–1217 A.D.)+ in *Deb sngon* 863.13f. and *Shangs pa bla rabs* 123f.: in the search for Avalokiteśvara instructions, he comes to lHa-sa and to the lHa-sa *sde bzhi* (in the 1170's), who refer him to 'Phags-pa lCe-sgom [Shes-rab seng-ge], a master of the Thugs-rje chen-po practise and active in Grib. His seat there was a "small hut" (*spyil chung*), that sKyer-sgang-pa could see from Brag-lha Klu-phug gi thang (the latter possibly does not refer to the well-known cave temple in lHa-sa, but here stands for Klu-sbug, a position south-west of Jo-khang, which is mentioned in another context with a visible perception of Grib rDzong-btsan; see below). The small hut is possibly a forerunner of the above mentioned Grib rDzong-btsan temple; or perhaps more precisely it refers to the ancient Grib-mda' lha-khang mentioned as the site where a Khasarpaṇi statue commissioned by Klu-mes was kept before it was later brought to the gTsang-khang lho-ma *alias* Byams-pa mched-bzhi lha-khang), i.e. the southern principal chapel of the lHa-sa gtsug-lha-khang. See *lHa ldan dkar chag* 28.7–12 (2002 ed.). The same chapel houses the Ra-ma rGya-mo image (see below).

+ He is named after the monastery of sKyer-sgang which was the residence (and foundation?) of his uncle 'Bal Tshad-ma-pa, where later Chos- kyi seng-ge served as (the 2nd?) abbot (cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 163). The monastery is identified with the place of the later nunnery of Rva-skor-dgon in Upper sTod-lung. See Chos-'phel 2004: 112.

[12] On the various versions of these stories, see TBH Sørensen 243; 431–435 and below fns. 15, 17.

the lHa-sa'i thang-bzhi (i.e. the western plain rKyang-thang na-kha; fn. 11) and thus should be listed among the groups of entrance toponyms. The southern approach area of the emanational Kong-jo was Grib,[13] the northern was the 'Phan-po sGo-la pass (in Dog-ste). The eastern toponym, however, is less precisely identifiable.[14]

Of dPal gyi rdo-rje's four escape routes, the sources unanimously give Grib as the "real" place where the hero – disguised as a black demon – disappeared.[15] In Grib-mtsho (i.e. the pond of Pho-rog gling-kha?), he is then supposed to have removed the black dye so that horse and rider appeared in white again. The name rTa-dkar-la, "White Horse Pass," at the end of the valley is supposed to refer to the appearance of the white horse.[16] As we know, the pursuers later found dPal gyi rdo-rje again in Brag Yer-pa, his meditation site north-east of lHa-sa, where the whole story started. It would be more likely that the escape route went through a northern or an eastern "gate" and not in the opposite (i.e. southern) direction. But here the route apparently follows a mythical geography in which Grib is ascribed to the underside and darkness, whose protection the killer of the sinful king (Glang-dar-ma) was seeking.[17] The two manifestations of the white and black heroes are the *lha* gNam-thel dkar-po and the *bdud* Ya-zher-nag-po; behind these stands the bSam-yas protector Pehar,[18] whom lHa-lung dPal-gyi rdo-rje, the abbot of bSam-yas,[19] brought along, as it were, for his enterprise. We will return to this Pehar presence in sKyid-shod later.

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[13] Or bSe'i sgron-ma which correponds to Grib Se-sgrom of Graph 1.

[14] The toponyms Mal-dro'i Zur-phug, rGya-rab-kha (rGya-mo-rab) and mKhar-sna'i-gdong are mentioned in this connection. Zur-phug is the gZi-sbug valley in eastern Mal-gro (cf. Hazod 2003); rGya-mo-rab perhaps means the site of bTsun-mo-tshal (see fn. 28); mKhar-sna-gdong is mentioned in *rGyal rabs gsal* as the place where the mKhar-brag lha-khang is located, a temple ascribed to Srong-btsan sgam-po's wife Mong-bza' Khri-lcam and a site which is also closely associated with King Mes Ag-tshoms and his period; its exact location in the lHa-sa valley remains uncertain; see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 18; 199; on mKhar-brag, see also TBH Sørensen 243, 592–594.

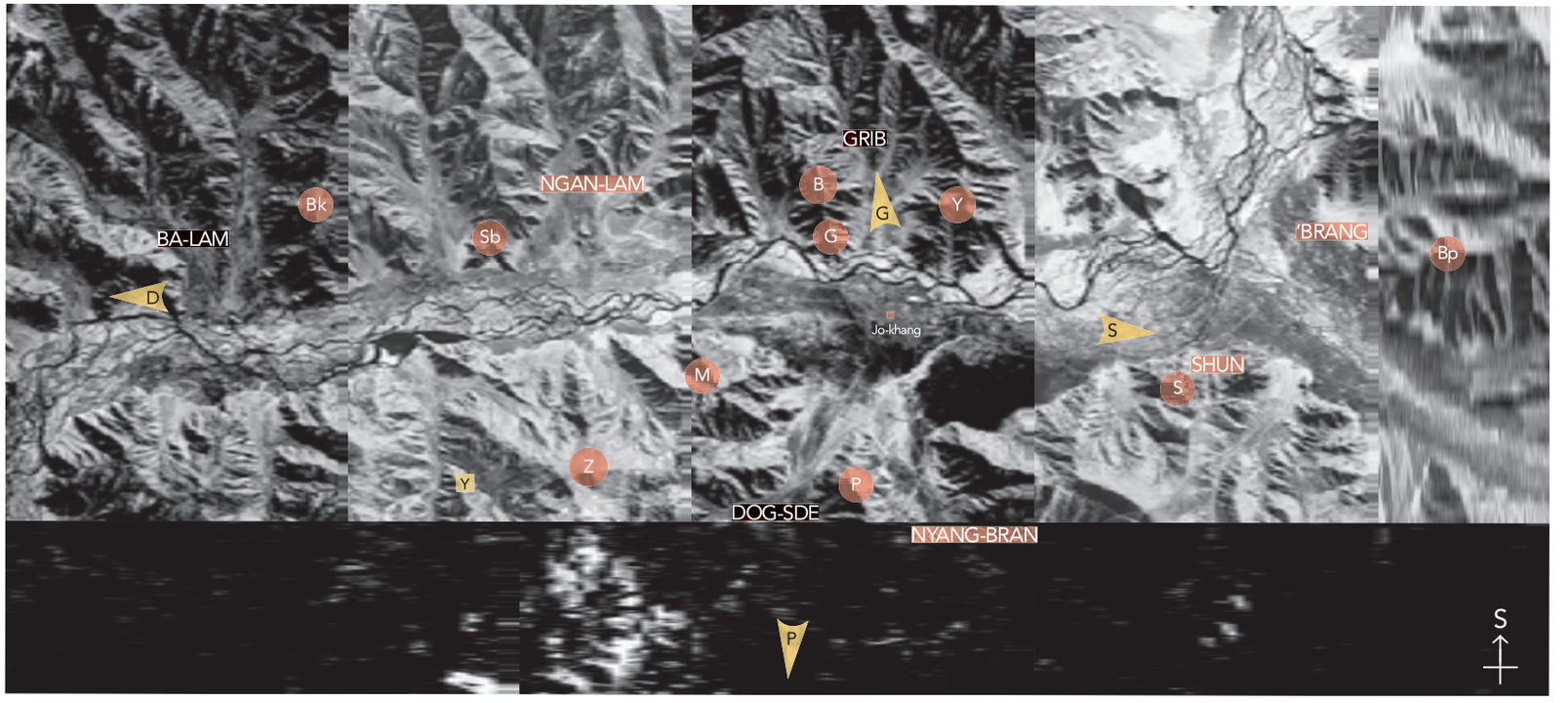
[15] Also Grib bSe-sgrom gyi phu (fn. 13); see also *HSLG* Vol 6: 48–50; the other sites are given as dGa'-mo-gdong (E), Shun (W) and mDongs-mkhar-gdong (N) (the latter appears to refer to gDong-mkhar in lower sTod-lung, hence wrongly placed here; it is usually 'Phan-po sGo-la which represents the northern zone). See Map 1. There exists also the tradition which only speaks of three locations: Drang-srong Srin-po-ri'i sna, Grib bSe-sgrom gyi phu-ru/phur, and the not closer identified Than/Thal-mo rdo-ring. See Hazod 2004: fn. 49. A site related to the dPal gyi rdo-rje legend in the lHa-sa valley is the lHa-lung ri-khrod behind gNas-chung-ri (see Chos-'phel 2004: 56f.). As already noted by Sørensen (in TBH 433), the various names of the black and white manifestations of lHa-lung mentioned in the sources refer to Pehar, the protector of lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje's monastery (i.e. bSam-yas).

[16] According to the local popular etymology, the name Grib also comes from this story, from disappearance into the twilight (*hrib hrib*).

[17] Here perhaps geographic circumstances are mixed with the mythographical conception of a light-dark dichotomy. A (visualized) *maṇḍala* forms the framework of the tale that significantly has its origin in Yer-pa. As the life-pole (*yaṣṭi*) of the Ra-sa'i 'Phrul-snang, it is the ideal place for the spiritual entry into the lHa-sa *maṇḍala*; as argued elsewhere (Hazod 2004), the latter should also be read as a "Glang-dar-ma *maṇḍala*," supported by the fact that in the vicinity of at least three of the four refuges there are Glang-dar-ma places (i.e. Glang-so in Brang-phu, the site rGyal-po Glang-dar-ma in lDan-ma (below fn. 90) and the Glang-dar-ma hill in lower Nyang-bran; Fig. 4a, b; App. V: Fig. 50) that may be connected to this story. This may be the background behind the fourfold appearance of the hero, who kills the *chos rgyal* in the centre (i.e. in front of the Jo-khang), briefly appears on the four sides, to disappear again "unseen in the darkness" as the locals of the four areas tell the pursuers (the version in *lDe'u 2* 368 mentions the "old woman" (*rgan mo*) here, behind whom we can suppose there is a manifestation of the (tetra-) *lha mo*). See Hazos 2004: 36f.

[18] Cf. TBH Sørensen 432, 434; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 97–98.

[19] TBH Sørensen 431.



Sigla:

Red circle = cardinal mountains related to Kong-jo's *sa dpyad* classification:

S = Shun gyi brag — **Bp** = Bran[g]-phu-ri (exact location unknown [inserted at Tshe-ring-ri of sTod-lung-mda']) — **P** = 'Phan-dkar-ri — **M** = Mal-grong-[rgyab-]ri (exact location unknown; see. fn. 11) — **Z** = Jo-mo Zi-zi — **Bk** = Ban-khos-ri — **Sb** = Srin-mo brag-phug (= Byang-stod Se[ng]-phug?) — **B** = 'Bum-pa-ri — **G** = Grib rDzong-btsan-ri — **Y** = Yug-ma-ri

Yellow arrow = sites related to lHa-lung dPal gyi rDo-rje's four "escape routes":

G = Grib bSe-sgrom-phu — **S** = Shun — **P** = 'Phan-po sGo-la (see fn. 15)

D = rDzong-ri [*alias* sNgon-po-gdong-ri, in lower lDan, close to the site "rGyal-po Glang dar-ma;" fn. 17) (= dGa-ba-gdong?)

[**Y**] = Brag Yer-pa (see fn. 17)

Map 1. The lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone (based on Corona Satellite 1970)





3a, ***b***. *lHa-lung dPal-gyi rDo-rje kills the "sinful king" at lHa-sa Jo-khang and escapes his pursuers by crossing the sKyid-chu and to seek refuge in Grib* (Details of a *thangka*)





4b. *The "Glang-dar-ma hill" in Lower Nyang-bran (cf. also App. V: Fig. 50)*

4a. *The rDzong-ri (alias sNgon-po gdong-ri) and the place "rGyal-po Glang-dar-ma" (= x) in Lower lDan (Upper sKyid-shod). The sites of the eastern entry zone of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala are related to the (eastern) esacpe route of lHa-lung dPal gyi rDo-rje*

On the return journey to Tibet, the minister mGar sTong-btsan yul-zungs and the young princess are supposed to have fallen in love.[20] In Grib it is said that the jealous king then banned his minister to Grib for three years. The place where the minister stayed relates to a remarkable old ruin in the village above Tshe-mchog-gling. The locals call it mGar-tshang (the mGar house; below, Fig. 5). Next to it (to the west) there was a second ruin, which has now disappeared. The two buildings were the summer and winter palaces of the minister's family. In the period of his banishment, a black bird regularly appeared bringing the minister *gtor ma* as food, which were put down on the roof of the Jo-khang. The still current custom of the inhabitants of Grib buying specially prepared *gtor-ma* at the Jo-khang every year, which they then take home to eat, must be seen in this context. They do this because "this is a meal blessed by *blon po* mGar." They are thereby expressing their bond to the great minister of the king, a bond considered by them to be just as close as that with their *yul lha* Grib rDzong-btsan.

[20] On this legend, see TBH Sørensen 242.

To our knowledge there is no reference in the sources of a relationship of the great councillor's family with Grib, and probably these associations have their origin in the post-dynastic history of the country.[21] At the beginning of the 12th century, a branch of the mGar lineage that goes back to

[21] In his function as chief administrator of Tibet proper, sTong-rtsan yul-zungs (sTong-btsan yul-bzungs), a descendant of the central Tibetan branch of the mGar clan (App. V: Table 1.2), is mentioned in connection with various dynastic places; in the region of dBu-ru these include *inter alia* places in and around sNying-drung (sNying-grong in 'Dam-gzhung county), in Mong of Upper sTod-lung, the place 'Gor-ti (location unknown; perhaps identical with the Sho-ma-ra of dBu-ru-lung, see Introduction), or Ris-pu where the minister died (the latter probably refers to the Ris-phu opposite the dynastic residence place of Mer-k[h]e in dBu-ru-lung); see Hazod, 'King Mer-khe'). For the period of his sons, Bya-tshal of sGregs (~ sGrags) is mentioned as the home of the mGar, presumably one of several settlements of the clan in the imperial period (cf. Richardson 1998: 34). The *Blon po bka'i thang yig* 436.17 gives Ba-gor [of sNye-mo] as the home of the lineage of the "five mGar ministers" [of the imperial period]; it is also mentioned in the mGar *gdung brgyud* representation in *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* as the seat of a mGar descendant of the 8th cent. who occupied here the post of a *yul dpon* (see App. V: Table 1.2). One tradition has sTod-lung Ram-pa (west of sKyor-mo-lung, Part I: fn. 369, Fig. 70a) as the birthplace and family seat of the sTong-rtsan yul-zungs, presumably a projection of later circumstances. According to *GT*, Ram-pa is the place where the brother line of rGyal-le settled in the 12th century.

The mGar clan is first mentioned in the sources in connection with the principality of Ngas-po (later 'Phan-yul), where a minister came from this lineage. The village mGar-yul in the Ra-ma valley of Upper 'Phan-yul where ruins described by the locals as the residence and birthplace of *blon po* mGar perhaps go back to this ancient mGar presence in 'Phan-yul (Fig. 7). This mGar-yul is also locally described as the place where the minister started his mission to invite the Chinese Princess to the Tibetan Court (at that time Srong-btsan sgam-po had his residence at the neighbouring place of the later Ra[g]-ma Byams-khang; the area corresponds to the ancient Za-gad district where the 'Phan-yul Zal-mo-sgang (Za-mo-ra) is to be located, the latter known as the place where Srong-btsan sgam-po passed away; see Part I: fn. 670; Hazod, 'King Mer-khe', fn. 18). There is a range of mGar places in the local tradition of Central Tibet (m/'Gar-grong, mGar-yul, mGar-lung). Some of them are described as the birthplace and/or residence of the minister, as in 'Phan-yul, or they are described as former workshops of the smith (*mgar*) sTong-btsan.

- One tradition places the birth of the minister in Kha-rag, the border district of dBus-gTsang, where a mountain called Blon-po-ri is specified as the "*blon* mGar gyi *bla ri*" (see bDe-chen sgrol-dkar and Tshe-rdor (*eds.*) 1988).
- *rGyal rtse rdzong lo rgyus* 52 mentions that mGar sTong-btsan was born in rGyang-ro of Myang-stod in gTsang. The later is known as the place of the imperial [r]Gyang-ro dPal-chad (~ dPal-tshab) temple (TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 193, 207) and most probably refers to the rGyang-bu lha-khang situated close to Sa-ma-mda' (south of Khang-dmar) in southern Myang-stod. see also *Myang chos 'byung* 66, *passim*.
- In Mong-che, the eastern section of the Upper Mong valley (in sTod-lung), where paths lead to 'Phan-po, there is a lake locally described as the soul lake (*bla mtsho*) of the mGar lineage (Akester, pers. communication; the Upper Mong valley is also known as the home of the Mong-bza' Khri-lcam, the wife of Srong-btsan sgam-po; the afore-mentioned royal residence of Ra-ma is not far from the Mong–'Phan-po border). At the entrance to the Mong valley, near the Chu-bzang monastery, there is the village of mGar-tshang (Fig. 8), where in the garden of a house a derelict dwelling is described as the former smithy of the later minister (the anvil is supposed to have been kept in Chu-bzang and was later destroyed). The house where the minister was born was in lDing-kha (opposite Chu-bzang), a village below the Sa-skya monastery of the same name, lDing-kha-dgon (found. by Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan), which is located on the plateau above the valley of lDing-kha-chu. The place is considered to be the minister's summer seat (cf. also Chos-'phel 2004: 117; lHag-pa chos-'phel 1989); a cave with a spring above the monastery is supposed to be the "Srong-btsan sgam-po cave" (in our estimation it here possibly concerns not just a historical mGar (and Srong-btsan sgam-po?) place, but more generally a not yet identified residence and/ or assembly place of the imperial period (and perhaps listed under another name in the *Annals*). The ruins around lDing-kha-dgon may go back to an older building stage of the monastery, while the castle ruin of rDzong-sgo on the opposite rDzong-phu-ri (seat of the *yul lha* (and god of the lDing-kha oracle) rTa-shug rgyal-po) is perhaps evidence of the older history of this place). Alongside the sites of Mong, lDing-kha and the above-mentioned Ram-pa, the



5



6

***5**, **6**, **7**, **8**. Four "mGar sites" of Central Tibet which are associated with blon chen mGar and his lineage:*
5: The mGar tshang of Grib (2000)
6: mGar khang village in eastern Mal-gro
7: mGar-yul in 'Phan-yul (with the ruins of the mGar palace on the mountain)
8: mGar-tshang in upper sTod-lung (close to lDing-kha dgon, blon chen mGar's summer residence)



7

8



sTong-btsan yul-zungs settled in Grib. This was during the time of the descendant rGyal-le, the father of mGar rGyal-ba 'byung-gnas, who had his seat in Grib gSer-khang. He became one of the fellows and "sons" of Bla-ma Zhang and one of his principal patrons. It is said that he called the master to Grib gSer-khang in order to carry out a ritual for his wife in order to help in the birth of an heir.[22] This is mGar Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub (b. *ca*. 1185), later the fourth Tshal-pa *dpon chen* and the first from the mGar lineage (App. V: Table 1).

The internal political structure of the early Tshal-pa has clear parallels to the circumstances prevailing in the 7th century: we have a founder figure, Bla-ma Zhang, who is an incarnation of Srong-btsan sgam-po and with the take-over of lHa-sa to a certain extent also entered into the inheritance of the Chos-rgyal, and we have the clan of mGar, which assumed a ministerial position in relation to the religious throne that led to the office of a secular ruler of Tshal. It seems that Grib's living association with the old mGar family of the 7th century reflects later circumstances.

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area (previously described as mGar-lung) around the present-day mGar village in lower sTod-lung is associated with the minister clan (close to this mGar village the remains of an ancient burial ground are to be found; Knut Kaiser, personal communication.)

- In eastern Mal-gro (in Dvags-pa *xiang* sit. in the Mal-gro gTsang-po valley east of Mal-gro Gung-dkar) is the village of mGar-khang, where two families live who say that they are descended from mGar, who had his smithy here. At the hill Rin-chen nor-bu behind the village there are the remains of a former castle or dwelling that according to the locals belongs to the history of the ancient mGar-khang (Fig. 6). The historical significance of this place is also underlined by its immediate proximity to Mal-gro Ba-rab, known as one of the dBu-ru *bon po 'du gnas*, which is to be identified with the village of Ba-rab; it lies west of Grib-so (Srib-zur in *XD I* 35/2), the village behind the "mGar-khang ruins" (Ba-rab became a branch settlement of the early rGya-ma-pa of the dGyer line; it is *inter alia* known as the birthplace of Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston; see App. V: Table 10).
- One tradition speaks of the mGar-tshang chen-po *gsum* (Three great mGar houses/settlements [of Central Tibet]) which in lHag-pa chos-'phel 1989: 48f. are described as major seats of the mGar lineage in the period when the mGar served as minister of the ruling house of Ngas-po [Phra-sum]. The three houses are the mGar-tshang/khang of Upper sTod-lung, the Mal-gro mGar-tshang and the bSam-yas mGar-tshang in bSam-yas. The same article mentions the ruins of a mGar gyi *pho brang* in 'Phan-yul.

'Phan-yul, sTod-lung and Mal-gro form three of the classical entry areas to central sKyid-shod and the lHa-sa valley and in the history of these mGar places one must also bear in mind that, similar to the case of Grib, there is a closer connection with the story of the legendary arrival of the Chinese Princess, even more so as "Kong-jo places" are also reputed to be in the surroundings of these sites (in the case of 'Phan-po, this relates to a place north of mGar-yul, in the case of Mal-gro a place in eastern gZi-sbug, the valley south-east of Ba-rab). According to our surveys there are further eastern Kong-jo places in the areas of Zho-kha *rdzong* (Brag-gsum-mtsho area of rGya-mda' county) and indirectly also in Jo-mo-rdzong of Kong-po, where Grib rDzong-btsan resides; here he is linked with the A-mo Jo-mo, after whom the valley is named and who, as in the lHa-sa valley, belongs to a sister group of three *lha mo* (see below). The name of the Gar monastery (sGar grva-tshang *alias* Jo-mo-dgon) situated close to the ruins of Jo-mo *rdzong* is understood by the locals in the sense of a tent (*sgar*); possibly, however, it is evidence of a no longer known local variant of a mGar – rDzong-btsan story, which also exists among others in Yar-lung; cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 271f.; above fn. 7. There are a number of Kong-jo (and mGar) places in eastern Tibet that are linked in the narrow sense with the legendary Tibet journey (in Dar-mdo county, in Nags-shod or sPo-bo; cf. Ri-dbang bstan-'dzin 2002; *dMangs-srol* 579; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 53).

[22] The motif in which the religious master helps his patron to ensure the continuation of his line with the aid of a ritual is also found among other early local rulers. See the example of the Bug-pa-can-pa in Upper Yar-lung (CFS Gyalbo *et al.* 193).

2.1 Grib rDzong-btsan marries the Gung-thang lha-mo – The Gung-thang Flower Offering

The alliance between Grib and Tshal has its particular expression in the Flower Offering (*Me tog mchod pa*) held on the *sa ga zla ba* (middle of the fourth Tibetan lunar month), which supposedly goes back to Bla-ma Zhang.[23] The ceremonial union of the god of Grib with the protective goddess of Gung-thang, dPal-ldan lha-mo 'Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma, forms the central part of the Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa*. Here is a summary of an observation of the three-day festival in May 2001:

1st day:

Morning: The big rDzong-btsan statue is festively dressed in the Grib rDzong-btsan lha-khang (equipped with a helmet decorated with flags, weapons, horse, horse armour, etc.). The twelve *sku tshab*, who function as assistants and bearers of the god during the festival, are responsible for this. Months before they had sworn an oath to adhere to particular fasting and purity rules, which are in force until the end of the festival. This is necessary "in order to be able to carry the god."

Afternoon: The arrival of the four *bla ma* from Tshe-mchog-gling; one *lha bsangs* is set fire to on the verandah and after a ritual cleansing of the men (washing of hands and drying over the embers of the *lha bsangs*; Fig. 13, 14), the statue is carried out to the noise of large trumpets. A device inside the horse makes it possible to carry the heavy statue and get it moving. Accompanied by drums and cymbals, a brief dance of the divinity begins before which the twelve men prostrate themselves one after another and show their reverence (Fig. 15).

The statue is later placed under the roof on the north side next to the entrance, in front of which there is a small altar where a beer sacrifice was made calling on the *'jig rten gyi lha* (Fig. 16).

2nd day:

In the early morning the route out of the temple is decorated as a "*dkar thag,*" i.e. two stripes drawn on the ground with white chalk and partly decorated with flower motifs (Fig. 22). The route is additionally marked by bundles of juniper which are later set on fire.

Bla ma from Tshe-mchog-gling recite prayers inside the Grib lha-khang. Outside, on the verandah, the *lha bsangs* smokes*;* next to it, the big *gtor ma* of the Grib rDzong-btsan is set up. The twelve men, now in their festival dress (Fig. 12), are served with beer by the women of the village.

After a beer offering in front of the statue, the god is taken out of the temple courtyard to the sounding of the great trumpets and begins its way down to the first stopping point. As with each of the total of four major stops on the way to Gung-thang, each time a brief ceremony is performed by the *bla-ma* as well as a dance of the god and vast amounts of beer brought by the locals are spilt over a transportable altar. On the first stop the great *gtor ma* is divided by a *bla ma* and distributed among the twelve men. The stations en route are each surrounded by villagers, who come along in order to bring *dkar thag* for the god and his custodians as well as beer

[23] It is supposed to have been introduced based on the tradition of the Sutra Basket Offering, one of the "Three Basket Offerings" of the dynastic period, which were distributed over the three primary temples of lHa-sa, bSam-yas and Khra-'brug (see Part I: fn. 519 and TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 290). bsTan-pa mkhyen-rab (1995: 43) dates the introduction of the Gung thang *Me tog mchod pa* only in the 14th cent. In *GT* it is first mentioned in the mid-14th cent. It was later incorporated in the ritual calender of the lHa-sa Central Government. There is a brief description of the festival in Richardson's *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year* (1993) and in bsTan-pa mkhyen-rab's article "Gung thang me tog mchod pa'i gar 'cham sgyu rtsal" (1995).

offerings. The leader of the twelve deputies is responsible for the beer offerings. His attribute is a large *mda' dar* arrow (Fig. 18).

The "ride" to the third stopping place, near the lower village of Grib. Here a truck is waiting, onto which, after the usual prayers and offerings, the divinity is loaded (together with the twelve men, drums, etc.).

The route (accompanied by drumming) leads down to the sKyid-chu past the lHa-gdong Shan-kha bridge to the road to Gung-thang. The road is lined by locals and pilgrims from lHa-sa who are walking to Gung-thang. The truck repeatedly stops so that the men can accept the numerous *dkar thag* that are handed to them (Fig. 23). In return, they hand out blessed white ribbons.

There are then two longer stops in the villages of Shan-kha and lCags-grong, which belong to the immediate district of Tshal Gung-thang (see below). As with the previous stations, vast amounts of beer are spilt. [The new Pehar temple is in lCags-grong; the old one was in Tshal. Previously on this day the gNas-chung oracle priest and a delegation from 'Bras-spungs and lHa-sa came to the Pehar temple, which served as their quarters until the 16th day].[24]

From lCags-grong the track goes on to Gung-thang, where in the meantime the village streets are full of crowds of onlookers. In the Gung-thang temple the Gung-thang lha-mo has already been festively decorated the day before and brought out from its place in the mGon-khang and set up on the eastern side of the 'Du-khang in front of an altar [previously its place during the festival was in the now destroyed Byams-pa-khang (in the eastern annex) in front of the great Maitreya statue].

While the Grib rDzong-btsan and its following is drawn along an intersecting road in the direction of the temple, the lHa-mo is taken out of the temple. They meet at the crossroads to the temple street. There is a dance of the two divinities, which in these days hold something like a holy wedding (Fig. 24). The Gung-thang lha-mo then leads the "groom" into the temple, where the two divinities, after their dance in the courtyard (and in the 'Du-khang) are taken to their respective places, the lHa-mo in the east, her partner in the west of the 'Du-khang (previously he was housed in the Zhal lha-khang in the western annex).

3rd day:
The culmination of the *sa ga zla ba* used to be a masked dance in the dGe-lugs-pa tradition of lHa-sa and Tshal Gung-thang, which nowadays, however, is no longer staged. Instead, the monks stage the famous Padma 'od-'bar opera, which goes on into the afternoon (Fig. 27).[25] A

[24] The delegation consisted of one representative and one general manager from 'Bras-spungs, the head discipline officer from bDe-yangs grva-tshang and one leading head of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang – a total of 30. Cf. bsTan-pa mkhyen-rab 1995.

[25] bsTan-pa mkhyen-rab 1995 gives a list of the masks of the traditional *gar 'cham*, which fall into eleven groups:

1 Zhva-nag gser-skyem bco-lnga (The Fifteen Black Hat Dancers Performing the Golden Beverage Offering).

2 Khro-bo bcu-gcig (The Eleven Wrathful Ones).

3 Shva-ba-bzhi (The Four Stags).

4 Zhva-nag rnga-'cham bco-lnga (The Fifteen Black Hat Dancers Performing the Drum Dance).

5 Khro-bo-bcu (The Ten Wrathful Ones).

6 Dur-bdag-bzhi (The Four Lords of the Cemetery).

7 sGo [srung-]ma-bzhi (The Four Door-Protectors).

8 A-tsa-ra-brgyad (The Eight Atsara).

9 rGyal-po sku-lnga 'khor-tshogs-bcu (The rGyal-po sku-lnga and Followers, altogether ten = the five *rgyal po* [emanations of Pehar] plus rDo-rje dregs-ldan [Pehar's chief minister], *gnod sbyin* Tse'u dmar-pa, *sgo srung*

chain of devotees with offerings (primarily butter, canisters of beer, and the *dkar thag*-s) streams into the temple, where there is a great crush in front of the two statues, and where homage is paid to each of them. On the previous evening, on the western side, another, separate altar with *gtor ma* was set up, representing the protective deities relevant to Grib and Tshal Gung-thang, with the three, Chos-rgyal (= *chos rgyal* Pehar), lHa-mo and Grib rDzong-btsan at the centre. Following the direction of the *skor ra* (circuit route), the route taken by the pilgrims first goes to the Grib divinity and the altar in the west, where the 12 men are gathered, and then to the Gung-thang lha-mo, where the elders of Gung-thang, dressed in their festival clothes, have been grouped since the morning.

In the morning, during a theatre interval as well as at the end of the opera, the statues are taken into the courtyard, where the divinities dance together (this time for longer and to a complex choreography – a dance where the two figures alternately move towards and away from each other, in the process walking through all four compass points in a circular movement). This time the Grib divinity leads the lHa-mo into the temple. [Richardson writes that the *'cham* traditionally ended with the symbolic sacrifice of a *linga* image and the statues are then brought in front of the large appliqué *tangka* (*gos sku*) (a work from the 14th cent., *GT* 38a). The appearance of the gNas-chung oracle possessed by Pehar then began, who at the end of his dance performance led the statues in a procession around the *gos sku*].

4th day:
The Gung-thang lha-mo is brought into the mGon-khang and Grib rDzong-btsan is led out of the Gung-thang to the wailing of the village women and taken back to Grib in the truck. The last station is Pho-rog gling-kha, the above-mentioned grove with the central irrigation pond in the central Grib valley, in which the above-mentioned *nāga* Pho-rog lci-med lives. After a brief sacrificial ceremony, the statue is taken home to the Grib lha-khang .

The festival displays several significant characteristics of a Tibetan wedding celebration. The 12 men are here reminiscent of the delegation of "clan brothers" who lead the groom to the bride's house. The *sku tshab* chief's arrow symbolizes the male side in the Tibetan wedding ritual and is the instrument with which the bride is transferred to the patrilocal residence. At this point it should be remembered that the minister mGar journeyed to China equipped with an arrow and appeared before Kong-jo with it (cf. TBH Sørensen 227–28). The *dkar thag* drawn on the earth symbolizes the marital bond uniting the divine couple. At the same time, this marriage concerns the joining of two places, Grib in the west and Tshal Gung-thang in the east.

Thog-btsan and the two A-tsa-ra acolytes of Pehar).

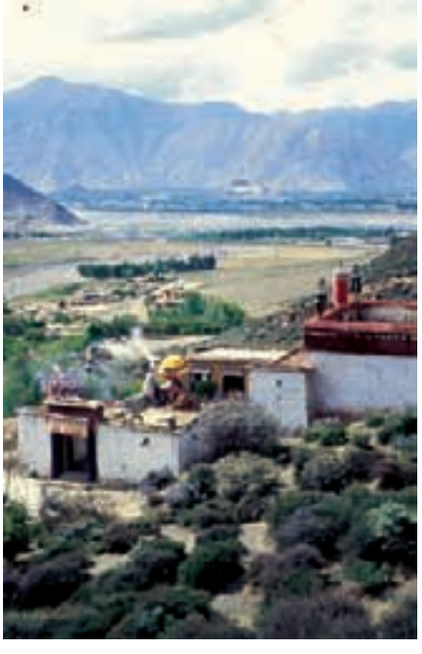
10 lHa-mo 'khor-tshogs bco-lnga (The Goddess and the Retinue, altogether Fifteen = lHa-mo dMag-zor rgyal-mo plus the bsTan-ma bcu-gnyis and the two Mahākāla assistants (*las mkhan*) Chu-srin and Sen-ge gdong-can).

11 mGon-po 'khor-tshogs-bcu (The Lord [Mahākāla] and the Retinue, altogether ten = The Raven-faced Mahākāla plus [his animal-faced] acolytes.

The dancers were traditionally monks from Tshal Yang-dgon. One month later the group used to appear in gNas-chung, in connection with the 5th Month fesival 'Dzam-gling spyi-bsangs. See the description in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1976: 28–29; cf. also Richardson 1993: 94–95.



9. *The Gung-thang lha-mo 'Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma*





10, ***11***. *Grib rDzong-btsan lha-khang, the residence of rDzong-btsan chen-po (11), the deity of the mGar land of Grib*



12



13



14



15



16

***12**. Preparation of the ceremonial dress of rDzong-btsan by a member the sku tshab bcu gsum (12 representatives of of Grib and its yul lha Grib rDzong-btsan during the Me tog mchod pa)*

***13**, **14**. Ritual cleansing before the deity is carried out from its residence*

***15**. Prostration of the statue-bearer before the statue*

***16**. Chang offering in the evening (first day of the 2001 festival)*



***17**. The 12 sku tshab of Grib on the veranda of the Grib lha-khang in the morning of the 2nd day*



***18**, **19**. The head of the sku tshab group escorting the deity to Gung-thang (2nd day).*





20, ***21***. *Prayers and offering ceremonies at the stop-overs on the way to Gung-thang*



21



23. *The deity and its convoy on a track is welcomed by the local people lining the streets*



22. *Flower decorations of the route to Gung-thang (2nd day)*



***24**. In Gung-thang: The Gung-thang lha-mo festively dressed meets her "groom" outside the temple*



***25**, **26**. The statues are taken into to the main hall of the temple where they willl remain the following two days*

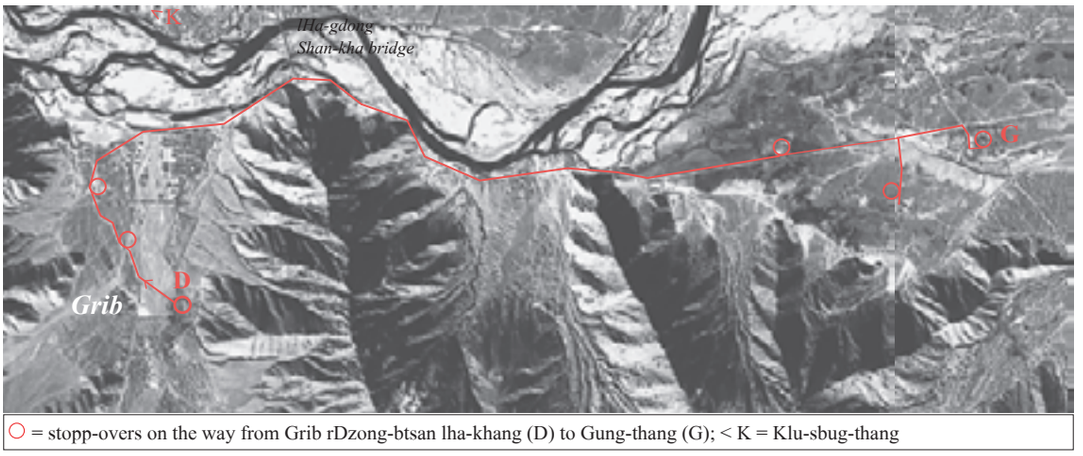




***27**. Scene of the Padma 'od-'bar opera (3rd day).*



***28**. Dance of the divine couple (Gung-thang lHa-mo and rDzong-btsan)*



○ = stopp-overs on the way from Grib rDzong-btsan lha-khang (D) to Gung-thang (G); < K = Klu-sbug-thang

Map 2. From Grib to Gung-thang (based on Corona Satellite 1970)

2. 2 The lHa-mo Sisters



***29a**. The clay image of Ra-ma rGya-mo in the Jo-khang*

***29b**. Offering at the "Ra-ma rGya-mo lha-khang"* (2001)

The fate of the Gung-thang protectress, who only sees her husband for a brief period is associated with the history of the three dPal-lha sisters of lHa-sa. It is said that the mother, dMag-zor-ma (i.e. dPal-ldan lha-mo dMag-zor rgyal-mo), once wanted to have her daughters married and urged them to find a husband. The mother's favourite child, the peaceful dPal-ldan lha-mo (who is sometimes the elder and sometimes the younger of the sisters in different versions) wanted a matrimonial union with Jo-bo, whereas the other two sisters both fell in love with Grib-rDzong-btsan and chose him as their husband. One of the two is the wrathful dPal-lha-mo, who lives together with the first sister in the dPal-ldan lha-mo chapel in the south-eastern corner on the first floor of the Jo-khang (above this, in the roof chapel, is the seat of the mother; cf. Richardson, "The Jo-khang" 253–259).[26] The third is the fierce dPal-ldan lha-mo 'Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma of Gung-thang. As she cannot see her husband from her place (in contrast to her sister, whose location in lHa-sa is within view of Grib) Grib rDzong-btsan is brought to her once a year.[27]



In the local tradition the daughters of dMag-zor-ma include another, fourth *lha mo* alongside the three dPal-lha sisters; she is the youngest, who was supposedly treated in a stepmotherly way by the mother and came away empty-handed in her search for a husband. This is Ra-ma rGya-mo, an embodiment of the divine goat[s] who according to legend transported the soil from 'Phan-yul for the drainage of the lHa-sa Lake.[28] The four *lha mo* should be regarded as a unit – more precisely as a splitting of the *one* dPal-ldan lha-mo, who is embodied not least in the "fourfold manifestation" of Kong-jo (see above).

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[26] The dPal lha-mo and Grib rDzong-btsan function jointly as the invitors of Dvags-po sGom-tshul to lHa-sa (approx. mid-1150's). See App. II: fn. 31. A possible earlier evidence is the mention of the two in *Rva lo rnam thar* 262.7–8.

[27] It is also maintained that because of her thoroughly fierce nature, she was locked up indoor the whole year by her parents. Only on *sa ga zla ba* does she drop her wrathful mien, which allows her to meet her chosen one. This metamorphosis relates to the opening of the veil over the face of the statue on the 14th day of the month, and its veiling again on the 16th. bsTan-pa mkhyen-rab (*op. cit.*, 44) speaks of three meetings of the two deities within one year.

[28] Cf. e.g. *Ka khol ma* 269.17–18; see also TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 55f. Ra-ma rGya-mo (also Dung-rtse Ra-ma rGya-mo or Ra-ma rGyal-mo, Goat Queen) has her place of worship at the south-east corner of the Jo-khang, where in the *sa ga zla ba* month in particular, queues of pilgrims form every day to prostrate themselves and to make prayers (Fig. 29b). A clay figure of the goat is in the gTsang-khang lho-ma (or Byams-pa mched-bzhi lha-khang (south side, ground-floor; Fig. 29a). The name rGya-mo (= the spelling in *lHa ldan dkar chag*) perhaps relates to the eastern place of the advent of Kong-jo (i.e. rGya-mo-rab, ford of rGya-mo), possibly identical with bTsun-mo-tshal which according to the locals is to be read as rGya-mo bTsun-mo-tshal, "Garden of the Chinese Queen," who stopped here on her way to lHa-sa (cf. Hazod 2002); a similar Kong-jo site is related to the village rGya-mo situated in lower Ram-pa, the mGar place at the western entrance zone to lHa-sa (see Part I: fn. 369 and above fn. 21).

The relationship of rDzong-btsan with the lHa-sa lHa-mo (the second sister) is alluded to in another festival, the dPal-lha'i ri-khrod, held in the 10th Tibetan month (see Richardson 1993: 110–113; *dMangs srol* 303f.). It starts on the 14th day of the month with a presentation of dPal-lha-mo on the roof of the Jo-khang, accompanied *inter alia* by a specific *gtor rgyag* ceremony (scattering of dough cakes, here stylized as *mdos* thread crosses) and a performance of the dPal gsol-ma (group of ladies who praise the lHa-mo). Later the image of the goddess is taken to the main temple of the ground floor, where it spent the night in front of the Jo-bo chapel, facing the Jo-bo Rin-po-che. The next morning – interrupted by several halts – the statue is taken around the Jo-khang by monks from the rMe-ru temple.[29] At the north-eastern of the four large flagpoles of the Bar-skor, the Karma-shag oracle previously joined in with a special trance performance.[30] After a half circuit, the route leads to Klu-sbug south of the Jo-khang,[31] from where the statue is finally carried back into the temple. The halt at Klu-sbug allowed the Grib rDzong-btsan, who according to Richardson's description was previously always taken out of his temple at this point, to see his beloved.[32]



***30**. The "Mother" dPal-ldan lHa-mo dMag-zor-rgyal*

The sacrificial cakes scattered in this connection, perhaps relate to the above-mentioned story according to which a raven brought *gtor ma* from the Jo-khang as sustenance for the *blon po* mGar. Behind the raven one may see a manifestation of the (raven-headed) Mahākāla, whose followers include the dPal-ldan lha-mo. A Mahākāla image is embroidered on the front on the broad cape of the lHa-mo statue (Richardson, *op. cit*. plate on p. 112). It is said that the original stone image of the wrathful dPal-ldan lha-mo is a *gter ma* discovery of Bla-ma Zhang,[33] who had his place of meditation in the Jo-khang (in the Chos-rgyal sgrub-phug) (i.e. one of his seven *sgrub gnas*; Part I: fn. 62).

This union between Grib and lHa-sa is presumably an older (pre-Tshal-pa) story (see fn. 26); but Bla-ma Zhang's presence here is evidence of the general restructuring of the cultic relationship of

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[29] I.e. rMe-ru rnying-pa, one of the rGyal-po sku-lnga temples of lHa-sa and seat of the gNas-chung Pehar-lcog oracle during the latter's stay in lHa-sa. On this site, see most recently Alexander 2005: 103–24; see also *HSLG* Vol. 6: 69; Chos-'phel 2004: 26f., Tsering Gyalbo 2005: 395f., and Part I: fn. 459.

[30] The deity of the Karma-shag oracle priest is Bya-khri spyan (~mig)-gcig, "minister" of the *sku'i rgyal po* Mon-bu-putra, the eastern representative of the rGyal-po sku-lnga group (see below fn.104). He has his own chamber in the Jo-khang. On Karma-shag bTsan-khang, see Alexander 2005: 183–90; Richardson, *op. cit.*, 256.

[31] One of the lHa-sa'i sbug-bzhi (above fn. 11). On Klu-sbug[-thang], see Karsten 1995: 122, fn. 35; Richardson 1993, s.v. index; see also the sub-note of fn. 11 and Yeh 2003: 553f. It is known as the point from which the Glud-'gong rgyal-po (the human substitute sacrifice in the sMon-lam festival) traditionally left lHa-sa (by boat over the river and then through Ra-ma-gang towards bSam-yas). Cf. e.g. *HSLG* Vol. 6: 129.

[32] Richardson 1993: 111. Here he mentions the Tshe-mchog-gling temple, which the locals of Grib do not confirm, however.

[33] Cf. Richardson, *op. cit*., 110; *dMangs srol* 303. In *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 56b6–57a6 there is mention of the installation of a dPal-ldan lha-mo (image) in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang by Bla-ma Zhang in the 12th cent., perhaps a reference to the dPal lha-mo stone image.

the lHa-sa area, which followed the foundation of the new monastic centre. The removal of the dPal-lha sister to Gung-thang and the annual visit of the place by Grib rDzong-btsan (whenever this event may have been institutionalized) are an expression of this. It has its counterpart in the political marriage which was once established between the patrons of mGar from Grib and the religious throne of Tshal.

3. TSHAL AND GUNG-THANG

3.1 The Tshal Gung-thang District: A Brief Description

Tshal and Gung-thang are the names of two settlements in present-day Tshal Gung-thang district (*xiang*; Tib. *shang*), with the administration office in Gung-thang village. This lHa-sa sub-district also includes the out-of-the-way settlement area of Grib, which shows that the modern rural administration has apparently taken over the ancient historical connections.[34]



***31**. Tsha-ba-gru situated at the foot of Mount Tsan-dan-ri*

Bla-ma Zhang's birthplace in Tsha-ba-gru, which the locals call his mother's house,[35] is marked today by a small cairn in a field near the settlement of lCags-grong (Fig. 31; Map 2), a union of what was originally two villages, lCags-ri shar-ba and Grong-lcags byang-ma. The old road to lHa-sa (more precisely to [lHa-gdong] Shan-kha, the old ferry station for crossing the sKyid-chu to lHa-sa) ran behind the fields of this birthplace house. (The name of the present-day Shan-kha

[34] See *HSLG* Vol. 6: 172; *Xizang Dimingzhi I*: 13–14. The territorial unit of the two districts, Grib and Tshal, is also spoken of in a local oral account from Tshal. It says that the area between Tshal and Grib was once covered by a huge snake with its head lying in Grib, which was overcome by the Tshal-pa founder. Bla-ma Zhang beat the monster "by means of the Jo-bo [i.e. Buddha] statue from the Grib temple and divided it into a northern and southern part." The northern half is said to represent the area north of the Tsan-dan-ri (Fig. 30) (= the area of Tshal Gung-thang), the southern half the area south of the mountain, i.e. the zone of Zhal, sKam-pa-lung (fn. 36) etc. including Grib. Zhang did the taming fom the "Grib temple" (see sub-note of fn. 11), a fact which makes it reasonable to see the ritual related to the deity of Grib, in other words to see the snake as a form of rDzong-btsan and the land it represents as the land of the mGar, Zhang's patrons.

[35] Not seldom with religious foundation figures one finds that the birthplace and place where the future hero grew up are described as the house of the mother (see for example the case of g.Ya'-bzang-pa, where there is mention of a house (and village) of the mother and the village of the father; CFS Gyalbo *et. al.* 203). One may see here a reference to a form of uxorilocal residence rule in the generation of the parents. In the case of Bla-ma Zhang, it also suggests that Tsha-ba-gru was a settlement area of the (paternal) lineage of his mother, which one source gives as Shud-phu, known as one of the leading lineages in the lHo-kha Region (see Part I: fn. 15).

village derives from this site of the ferry station, where Thang-stong rgyal-po erected the lHa-gdong Shan-kha iron bridge in the 1430's or 1440's; see Part I: fn. 685). Beyond rise the mountain chains of the Tsan-dan-ri and the lCags-rdo-ri, which close off the valley plain in the south.[36] On a rock next to the old lHa-sa road at the foot of Tsan-ldan-ri, the young Dar-ma-grags (Zhang's birthname) is supposed to have waited for his mother (previously a nun) whenever she was on a pilgrimage to lHa-sa. The stone with the imprints of the boy's foot and knee is today in front of the new rGyal-khang (Pehar house) in lCags-grong village. The simple temple contains images of Klu-btsan, Pe-har, Guru Rinpoche and rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma. The last of these functions alongside Pehar as the *yul lha* of Tshal Gung-thang.

Equally, there are images of these two in Yang-dgon, with the dMag-zor rgyal-mo additionally being placed at g.Yu-sgron-ma's side. The chief *srung ma* of Yang-dgon is Ts[h]e-dmar-pa (rTsi'u dmar-po), of whom it is said that he was fished out of the sKyid-chu immediately behind Tshal.[37] The monastery lies in the northern part of the present-day Tshal village. Immediately to the north east, the ruins of the one-time Pehar lha-khang is found. To the left of this was the hermitage of Tshal-sgang Chos-spyil (of which there is today no trace). Likewise in Tshal village is the more or less preserved dBus-gling monastery (early 14th cent.) and the derelict rGyud-smad grva-tshang (to the west) as well as the *khri dpon* palace, to which only a small mount of rubble still carries witness.[38] The place lies approximately 200m south east of Yang-dgon. Next to it there is a small *mchod rten*, which the locals call the birthplace of Pehar (Pe-har *'khrungs yul*). Behind Tshal village there are still more fields before the banks and the marsh zone of the sKyid-chu begin. On the other side of the sKyid-chu rises the Jo-mo Zi-zi mountain, one of the lHa-sa Ri-chen-bzhi (above fn. 11).

A few kilometres east of lCags-grong the Gung-thang village is located. It is the location of the once powerful gTsug-lag-khang, of which only the central building is still to some extent preserved, the large annexes (*glo 'bur*) are empty or dilapidated. The present-day walls are the remainder of later building phases that followed the devastating fire of 1546 (below Chap. 5). The rooms are limited to the 'Du-khang (with the central altar of Rigs-gsum mgon-po), the Pho-brang chen-mo (with a (new) Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po statue and new images of rGva-lo, Zhang and Dar-ma gzhon-nu) and the mGon-khang. The last of these contains the statues of the two chief protectors, mGon-

[36] In the mountains behind, in the area of the brTan-ma lha-mo dBu-skra-ri ("mountain resembling the hair of the brTan-ma lha-mo") there is supposed to be one of Bla-ma Zhang's meditation caves, not more precisely given in the texts. Here, too, lies the important quarry of sKam-po-yung (sKam-po/pa-lung), a small valley east of Grib where probably the Bla-ma Zhang foundation of sKam-dgon is to be located. Cf. Part I: fn. 522.

[37] The statue is flanked on the left by an image of Phyag-rdor. To the right of this are images of Zhang, Śākyamuni, Gu-ru sNang-srid zil-gnon, Pehar, dMag-zor rgyal-mo and rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma. The semi-derelict monastery (like dBus-gling) is no longer in permanent operation and is closed most of the time. The rest of the old images include, among others, paintings of the Fifth Dalai Lama (flanked by the two Tārā and with rDo-rje grags-ldan (Pehar's chief minister) and dPal-ldan lha-mo in the foreground), of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang (in the middle of bKa'-brgyud masters) and murals of rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma and the *srung ma* dPal-ri (Pha-ri) Thog-btsan-pa to the left and right of the entrance. On Thog-btsan-pa (also rTa-mgo (horse-headed) Thog-btsan), one of Pehar's acolytes, who like other protective deities of Tshal appears in the Gung-thang *'cham* (note 24), see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 123, 132, 453. Monks from rMe-ru rnying-pa call him a minister of rDo-rje grags-ldan (= Pehar) and *srung ma* of lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje. Nebesky-Wojkowitz (*op. cit*., *ibd.*) notes, that this deity (and minister of the sKu-lnga group) also was occasionally consulted by the gNas-chung Pehar-lcog oracle.

[38] The rubble comes from a *stūpa* that was built on the site of the earlier "Khri-dpon *khang*" (see Part I: Fig. 36).

po phyag-bzhi-pa and Gung-thang lha-mo with entourage, including the powerful chief acolyte Bya-rog gdong-can and Kong-btsun De-mo.[39] Compared with the religious site of Tshal, Gung-thang was the larger complex with the site of the sKu-'bum chen-mo and numerous other largely vanished *stūpa*, as well as the important colleges of sGom-sde gZims-khang-shar, Chos-khri-lcog (or grva-tshang) and Chos-'khor-gling. Only from the last of these a few wall remains (in the garden of a private house; see Part I: Fig. 29–30).



***32**. Bla-ma Zhang's stone-umbrella in Zhal. In the background the Byang-mkhar mountain* (2001)

Not far to the south east is Zhal village, at the exit from a valley enclosed by the mountains Changulhari (sPyang-khu lha-ri?) and Ri-sgo to the west,[40] and to the east by the Byang-kha mountain range. Towards the end of the valley rises the sMin-drug rdza-ri, the southerly of the lHa-sa'i Ri-chen-bzhi, which approximately forms the southern boundary of the traditional Tshal-pa district too.[41] Not far to the south of Zhal village, a rock known as the "stone umbrella" of Zhang marks the traditional route that leads from here past sMin-drug dza-ri to sGrags (Fig. 32). In this area, in particular in Upper sGrags and in the surroundings of the Byang-mkhar mountain, lie most of Bla-ma Zhang's mountain retreats (Part I: fn. 62); one of the most important of them is the Byang-mkhar ri-khrod, which the local *ghzi bdag mo* by the name of Jo-mo sMan gcig-ma once gave to Zhang and his companion Dar-ma gzhon-nu.[42] High up on the southern side of Byang-mkhar-ri, the monastery, later developed as a permanent monastic settlement, is now abandoned. In Zhal village there is a new Byang-mkhar ri-khrod of a later date, which is looked after by nuns. It contains images of the "Three Jewels of Tibet" (Tsong-kha-pa, Phag-mo gru-pa and Bla-ma Zhang),[43] of rGva-lo, Zhang and Dar-ma gzhon-nu, and a statue of the *srung ma* Thog-btsan-pa (fn. 25, 37, 106). A goddess called the Badzra (*Vajra, *rDo-rje) lha-mo functions as the *yul lha* of Zhal, behind whom presumably the [rDo-rje] sMan-gcig-ma stands.

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[39] On the Gung-thang temple, see the descriptions of *GT* and Part I: Graph 2. There are traces of older paintings in the one-time Maṇi lha-khang (not mentioned in *GT*). An older mural of rGva-lo, Zhang and Dar-ma gzhon-nu is found in an eastern niche above the altar of the Rig-gsum mgon-po (below Fig. 39).

[40] The Ri-sgo at the entrance to Zhal (see Map 2) is also simply referred to as the "small mountain" (*ri bo chung*) and thus could be identical with the Ri'u-chung mentioned in *GT* 21a as the site where the Zhang disciple Kha-rag-pa 'Dul-ba-'od was ordained (in the presence of Bla-ma Zhang). The site is probably identical with the otherwise not more closely identified Zhal gyi Re'u-chung-dgon mentioned in Zhang's autobiographical writings, which again appears to be identical with the site of Ngan-lam Ri-chu[ng] ring-mo (Ngan-lam gyi Re-chung ring-mo) mentioned in other sources (cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 641.11; *sNa phu rnam thar* 17a1-2 [= 33.1-2]). On Ngan-lam, see below.

[41] *Xizang Dimingzhi I*: 14a: 29°33'N 91°11'E.

[42] Byang-mkhar, chronologically the first of Zhang's seven retreats (*sgrub gnas bdun*), is the setting for the story of the footprint of Zhabs-rje 'Gro-don-ma, a kind of foundation stone of the Tshal-pa tradition, with footprints of the enthusiastically dancing Bla-ma Zhang and his then still young assistant Dar-ma gzhon-nu; the dance was an expression of the triumph over the attacks by the local *gzhi bdag* from lHa-sa and Grib who had gathered here along with the mGon-po Beng.

[43] Bod Nor-bu rnam-gsum; cf. e.g. BA Roerich 711; App. I.

The Byang-mkhar mountain divides Zhal from the Kri (also dKri) valley to the east, which corresponds to the Sri in earlier sources. It is often mentioned in compound with the neighbouring Zhal valley, i.e. the Sri Zhal of Ngan-lam (see below), where *inter alia* several temples of the 'Bring *tsho* have been located.[44] At the eastern entrance of Kri, the Srin-mo brag-phug mountain towers, whose north-western side according to the locals resembles the vulva of a *srin mo*. It appears to be identical with the Byang-stod Se[ng]-phug, one of the eastern toponyms of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala, which is described as having the same external characteristics (Graph 1; Map 1 and Map 3).[45] The mountain is locally also known as dPal-chen rGva-lo brag-phug, named after rGva-lo brag-dgon, a temple or retreat site of Bla-ma Zhang's yogic teacher (rGva-lo gZhon-nu-dpal), which was located at the foot of the mountain.[46] The settlement of dPal-lding (the main village of Kri, to which the Srin-mo brag-phug belongs) is traditionally considered to be the eastern boundary of the Tshal Gung-thang district.

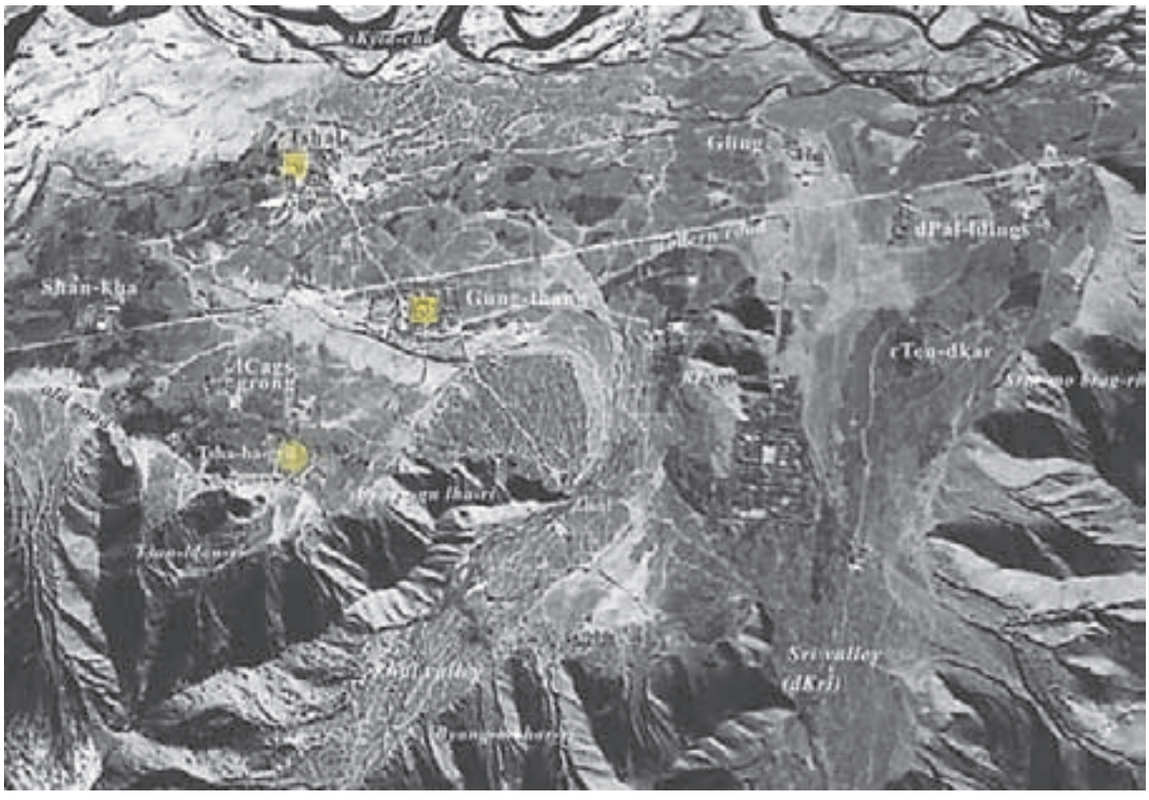


33. The Byang-mkhar mountain between Sri and Zhal as seen from rTen-dkar in lower Sri. In the background the sMin-drug rdza-ri

[44] Such as the Sri'i rGya-phibs, where Atiśa is reported to have sojourned for two weeks on his way from bSam-yas to lHa-sa; see App. V: Table 6.

[45] It is the Seng-ri brag-khug (= phug) in the *Xizang Dimingzhi I*: 14a: 29°34'N 91°14'E.

[46] Some traces of ruins close to Denkhar (rTen-mkhar in *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 14a; geograph. position: 29°31'N 91°14'E), the village due south-east of dPal-lding, are identified as the spot of the former rGva-lo temple. As mentioned (Part I: fn. 259), a Sri-zhal is given in the sources as the place where the Seng-ge-rgyab is located, the retreat closely associated with the rDzogs-chen master 'Khrul-zhig Seng-ge rgyab-pa (*fl.* first half of 13th cent.). It can possibly be identified with the Srin-mo brag-phug (*alias* Seng-phug). On Sri and Zhal, see for more details the references in fns. 413, 414 of Part I.



Map 3. Tshal, Gung-thang and Tsha-ba-gru
Photo: Corona Satellite 1970

3. 2 Traces of Yore: Old Names of Tshal Gung-thang

3.2.1 'Bum-thang, Tshal[-thang] Bye-ma-can, Tsha-ba-gru [of bTsan-'bangs-sa] and rTa-mo-ra

The name Gung-thang originates with Mi-la ras-pa, so the locals believe. What is meant is an allusion to the land of Mi-la's birth and the place of his activity in West Tibetan Mang-yul Gung-thang, the area of the later sTod Tshal school. Originally the area was called 'Bum-thang, and it is said that a vase containing holy ingredients was once buried here. The place possibly corresponds to lHa-sa'i 'Bum-thang, which is mentioned as one of the early Bon-po *gter ma* sites.[47] The name Tshal is also supposed to derive from the history of 'Bum-thang. It is said that in connection with this ritual Bla-ma Zhang threw down his coat from a place on the mountain behind as an offering; a small piece (*tshal pa*/*bu*) of the coat came away and was carried by a gust of wind to the present-day Tshal, hence the name.[48]

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[47] Cf. Dondrub Lhargyal 2000: 434. This 'Bum-thang of Tshal is not identical with the sKu-'bum-thang from the group of the lHa-sa'i *thang bzhi*. *Nang rig* 272; sMin-skyid bSod-nams stobs-rgyas 1991: 16.

[48] There are also other (local) traditions concerning the origin of the name, such as the one where it is related to *bza' tshal* (greens or vegetable (seeds) which fell from heaven during Bla-ma Zhang's sojourn in the retreat of Phur-bu-lcog in Dog-bde, or it is read as short for Lum-bi'i tshal (Lumbini, Buddha's birthplace). Cf. Chos-'phel 2004: 78f.

In the sources, Tshal is ocassionally also written mTshal (= vermillon). Often the spellings (mTshal, 'Tshal, Tshal) interchange within one and the same text. Tshal in the sense of "grove" or "garden" very frequently appears as a component of old place names (with the evident significance of a cultivated and settled district (differentiated from the wilderness). One of the numerous imperial "Ts[h]al toponyms" registered in the *Annals* is Ngan-lam Tsal sar-pa which could be the origin of this "garden/grove" territory east of lHa-sa (see below). In any case, certain is that the place name existed before the foundation of the monastery. Several references in the sources make it clear that Tshal was a larger area and included the present-day Gung-thang. Tshal Gung-thang (in the sense of Gung-thang *of* Tshal) is one of the early forms of reference to the Gung-thang *vihāra* (*Mar lung pa rnam thar* 80a1). The Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po pho-brang of the Gung-thang temple was built on the Tshal-thang Bye-ma-can (Sandy Plain of Tshal) (in fulfilment of the prophecy in the *gDams ngag 'bogs pa*; *GT* 57a, Part I: fn. 737). In Gung-thang, Bye-thang chen-mo denotes the place of the colleges (Chos-'khor-gling and Chos-khri grva-tshang), once surrounded by trees, southwest of the temple, where formerly the inauguration ceremony of the Tshal *dpon po* was held (Part I: fn. 475). Bye-ma-lung is one of the eastern lHa-sa Maṇḍala zone toponyms, however, that cannot be more precisely defined geographically.[49]

Alternative toponymic terms for the place of Tshal Yang-dgon, according to the *bKa' rgya ma* (one of our earliest records), are Tshal rTa-mo-ra and Tsha-ba-gru, both toponyms which probably were known in sKyid-shod long before the Tshal-pa.[50] According to *GT* (43b), the monastery was built "in the north-eastern section of Tsha-ba-gru" (*GT* 43b), which also means that Tsha-ba-gru originally described a larger area extending beyond the place now marked as Tsha-ba-gru (= the house of Zhang's birth). The same is true of the rTa-mo-ra place name, a toponym that, as it seems, fell out of use soon after the foundation of Tshal Gung-thang. It is repeatedly mentioned in the biography of Mar-lung Byang-chub seng-ge (*alias* Mar-sgom) and the *rNam thar phyi ma* (the Zhang biography composed by Mar-sgom). From the early 1170's, Mar-sgom was a pupil of Zhang and a witness to the foundation of Yang-dgon (1175) and the Gung-thang temple erected twelve years later.[51] The place of the Yang-dgon monastery is given in *Mar lung pa rnam thar* as rTa-mo-ra mTshal, or also as 'Tshal rTa-mo-ra or rTa-mo-ra'i *dgon pa*. The Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po statue (*alias* lHa-chen dPal-'bar dbang-phyug), the principal support (*rten*) of the Gung-thang temple, is here called mTshal rTa-mo-ra'i lHa-chen dpal-'bar [dbang-phyug].[52] rTa-mo-ra, the "corral of the mare," thereby describes an area corresponding at least to an extension of the present-day Tshal plus Gung-thang.

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[49] It represents a variant form of Byang-stod Se[ng]-phug, which we have identified as the Srin-mo/Se-ri brag-phug, the eastern border mountain of Tshal Gung-thang. Further "sand-" toponyms associated with places east of lHa-sa are *inter alia* to be found in the forms of Bye-ma gNam-mthong-ri (a mountain in the area of sMin-drug rdza-ri (in Tshe-brtan dge-legs 1994: 17, it is mentioned in the compound of three mountains east of sKar-chung and Grib: sKam-pa Shar-ri, sPang-sgang-ri and Bye-ma gNam-thong), or the castle mountain of Bye-ri sTag-rtse-rdzong (at the entrance to Zhogs on the right bank of the sKyid-chu; App. V: Fig. 62–63).

[50] Both are "horse toponyms:" rTa-mo-ra = "corral of the mare." Tsha-ba-gru is explained in a story related to events of the 8th cent. as the "corner where the king's horse became hot" (see Chap. III.3 below). rTa-ra (rTa-mo-ra, rTi'u-ra) as a place name is to be found in different areas of Central Tibet and appears *inter alia* also as a term in the bSam-yas *sa dpyad*. A related form is *rta mchog tshal* ("garden of the best horse") which is connected with the mythography of the river or the gTsang-po/Brahmāputra, respectively (see below, Chap. IV.2, and fn. 108).

[51] On this source, see Table V.4: note 2.

[52] *Mar lung pa rnam thar* 70b2–3, 75a5, 79b1; cf. also *rNam thar phyi ma* (*ZhK III* (KA) 231b.3).

The *dBa' bzhed* (3a) speaks of a residence (*pho brang*) lHan-dkar rTa-mo-ra. Srong-btsan sgam-po is supposed to have had his residence here, while his Chinese wife had her seat in lHa-sa Ra-mo-che. To our knowledge, this entry is not found in this form in any of the other sources. Usually in this connection, the lHa-sa Jo-khang (Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang) or the residence on the dMar-po-ri is given as the king's seat. *Pho brang* lHan-dkar (in the later literature also lDan-dkar/mkhar) is one well-known residence in Yar-lung, which here, however, can probably be excluded as the Srong-btsan sgam-po place.[53] Provided this *pho brang* refers to a place in the lHa-sa valley, it may relate to the above-mentioned place of rTen-mkhar (fn. 46), which belongs to [Tshal] rTa-mo-ra. On the other hand, the connection between Ra-mo-che and Kong-jo rather points to the story of the second Kong-jo (above fn. 8), and here (as in other cases) Srong-btsan sgam-po assumes the position of Mes Ag-tshoms, who resided in Yar-lung lDan-mkhar, while Kim-sheng Kong-co/jo regularly came to Ra-mo-che (to her temple).[54]

Alternative references for Zhang's place of birth are Tsha-ba-gru of lHa-sa, Tsha-ba-gru of Gung-thang, of dBu-ru, of sKyid-shod, of Ngam-shod (on this, see Introduction), of dGos,[55] Tsha-ba-gru of Ngan-lam, or – according to the *rGya blon ma*, one of the oldest reference – Tsha-ba-gru of bTsan-'bangs-sa. The latter evidently points to the existence of a former royal site (i.e. "[meeting-]place of emperor and subjects") in this area, unless this description relates in a more general sense to the old lHa-sa or is an allusion to the future Bla-ma Zhang, who is also titled as *brtsad po* in the sources (see Part I: fn. 12). A toponym of particular historical-geographical significance is Ngan-lam.

3.2.2 Wandering Toponyms: Ngan-lam [Ral-gsum] in 'Phan-yul and sKyid-shod and the *rdo ring* of [Ngan-lam] Sri

Ngan-lam is an old clan-name[56] and it is known as a place in 'Phan-yul as well as in sKyid-shod, where, however, (in contrast to 'Phan-yul; see below) today no traces of this name can be found anymore.[57] In the lHa-sa *sa dpyad*, Ngan-lam represents a variant form of Ba-lam (cf. Ngan-lam

[53] Post-dynastic sources give lHan-dkar (lDan-dkar) (of Yar-lung) as the birthplace of Khri-lde gtsug-brtan (b. 704). The local tradition does not confirm this, but speaks of the king having built this palace (CFS Gyalbo *et al.* 90). According to the *Dunhuang Annals*, rGyal-gtsug-ru (the birthname of the king) was born in Kho-brang-ts[h]al, which is possibly to be located in sTod-lung (*GT*, Part I: fn. 258).

[54] See TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 18. One important lHa-sa residence (and temple) of the Mes Ag-tshoms period was the still not more precisely identified lHa-sa mKhar-brag, which according to one of the sources was situated to the east of lHa-sa (above fn. 14).

[55] In *ZhK* (*KA*) 245b4 Bla-ma Zhang gives his *yul* as *dbus kyi dbu ru chu bzang* / *dgos kyi tsha ba gru*, i.e. Tsha-ba-gru of dGos situated in the Region of dBu-ru Chu-bzang of Central Tibet. Chu-bzang perhaps is here to be read as an epithet of the sKyid-chu, or it refers to the old Chu-bzang hermitage situated in the Byang-mkhar mountain region (Part I: fn. 62); dGos remains unclear in this context (or *dgos kyi* is to be read as *sgos kyi*? – "specifically," [it is called] Tsha-ba-ru). The name appears *inter alia* in the context of the neighbouring ruling house and Tshal-pa branch of Ro-skam-pa in Glags (or Glags Ba-lam). *GT* 20b; Part I: fn. 207; App. V: Table 3.

[56] The clan is registered as one of the seven / nine *ma sangs rus brgyud* (a list of original clans of Tibet), in the form of *gnyan ma sangs* Ngan-lam rTsang-skyes (*var.*: Gle Ngan-lam Tsang-skyes, i.e. the Ngan-lam who originated in gTsang and who constituted a branch of the Gle clan? – the latter (var. spell. Sle) had its main settlement in the area of g.Yas-ru (in Shangs and Mus); Hazod, *forthcong b*); *lDe'u2* 225.3; *KG* 152. Elsewhere the Ngan-lam is counted among the eight lineages of the rMu (one of the four original *rus*). See Smith 2001: 218. Richardson (1985: 23) reads Ngan as Sogdian.

[57] The place name appears also in connection with Grva, where a ruler of Ngan-lam called 'Od kyi dkyil-'khor-can is

Grum-pa-ri *alias* Ba-lam Grum-pa-ri; Graph 1), which perhaps means that the name once denoted a larger territory within this section of sKyid-shod.[58] The centre of this Ngan-lam of sKyid-shod was in any case located in the Tshal Gung-thang area. In this connection, Uebach (1989: 510) refers to an *ab eventu* prophecy in the *Padma bka' thang*, where it says that incarnations of the Sthavira Subhūti will appear in Ngan-lam-[m]thil (the centre of Ngan-lam), [above all] [Bla-ma] Zhang and

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registered (see *Nyingma School II* 575); but it could also be a misspelling of Ngam[-shod], the geographical designation of the central g.Yo-ru or lHo-kha region.

[58] In the lists of the districts (*yul* [*dpon*] *tshan*, *yul gru*) of dBu-ru (a classification of the 8th cent.) both Ba-lam as well as Ngan-lam occur, which rather suggests that the Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul is meant here. Cf. *mKhas pa lDe'u chos 'byung* (*lDe'u 2* 257.14–19); *bKa' thang sde lnga* (*KD* 185.15–18; Chap-spel 1989: 109; Uebach 1997*b*: 1002; Hazod 2003. The 16 (actually 17) *yul dpon tshan* according to *lDe'u 2* are:

1 sTod-lung (see Part I: fn. 418)

2 'Phags-rgyal (*KD*: Phar-yang?; a 'Phags is in 'Phan-yul; cf. the form 'Phags kyi Brag-rgyab, also known as Brag-rgyab of sPras (in Phan-yul; see App. V: Table 6/A.IIa); or it refers to the 'Phags-chu valley of Byang; Part I: Map: 4)

3 Klung-shod (it included *inter alia* the imperial sites of Ro-skam and lCi'u-lung; see Part I: Map 7a, b)

4 Mal-gro (the district may have also covered the eastern part of later sTag-rtse county; see Part I: fn. 411)

5 'Dam-shod (i.e. the later 'Dam-gzhung district)

6 Za-gad (it corresponds to the area between present-day Za-dam and Gad-po in western 'Phan-yul; fn. 21; Map 4b below)

7 Ragśa (*KD*: Rag-nas; perhaps related to the Rag east of lHa-sa)

8 Ba-lam (see Part I: Map 1b.3)

9 Ngan-lam (in 'Phan-yul? below Map 4b)

10 Brang-yul (in lower sTod-lung; see Graph 1: Brang[-phu]; in *KD* the toponyms 'Breng (= Brang-yul or 'Phrang-po [no. 13]?) and g.Yu-khung (?) are listed as the 9th and 10th *yul gru*)

11 dBul-lde (*KD*: dBu-sa-skor (dBus-skor in Uebach 1997: 1002); dBul-lde is most probably identical with the present-day 'Bud-bde, south of gSang-mda' in sKyid-smad; cf. the form dBus-sde; App. V: Table 6; Part I: Map 1a)

12 gZad Chu-shul (in present-day Chu-shul county; App. II: fn. 21; App. V: Table 6; Part I: Map 1a and Map 2)

13 'Phrang-po (Part I: fn. 428; Map 1a)

14 gNon-lung-pa (probably the sNon in sKyid-smad is meant here; see Part I: fn. 433, Map 1a)

15 gSang[-phu, -smad] (due north of sNon in sKyid-smad; Part I: Map 1a)

16 Brag-rum (the place is known from the *dbang ris* list as a territory of the Tshe-spong; *KG* 187; see also App. II: fn. 30)

17 'Phan-yul (= no. 14 of the *yul sde* list in *KD*; Part I: Map 4).

The names of the districts nos. 12–16 are not registered in the list of dBu-ru'i *yul gru chu drug* of *KD*, which mentions here the toponyms of gZhol [12], sKungs [13], Rong-shod [15] and Bra-rnams [16] (= Bra[ng-yul] [and] rNams [of sKyid-smad]?).

As demonstrated by Uebach (1997*b*), the term *tshan* in *yul dpon tshan* is not to be confused with the administrative unit of *tshan* known from Central Asian documents (1 *tshan* = 50 households) and also to be found in the description of the state organisation in *lDe'u-2* in the form of the "ten *tshan*" of the *yul dpon tshan chu drug* territories of the four horns. *Yul dpon tshan* is rather to be read as the [territorial] section (*tshan*) headed by a district chief (*yul* [*sde*] *dpon*), a title which appears to correspond to the Great [Head] of 500 (*lnga brgya chen po*) registered in the *Annals*. Uebach concludes that the *yul dpon tshan* designate units of five-hundred-districts with the ten *tshan* (= 500 households) as the "constituents of each of the sixteen districts of a horn" (Uebach 1997*b*: 1000). The units thus correspond to half the size of a *stong sde* or Thousand Districts of the (usually) eight regular *stong sde* of each of the *ru bzhi* (ten together with the "body-guard thousand-district" and the "small thousand districts"). Similarily to the *mi sde* organisation of the later Tshal-pa territory, we find here in the list of the imperial *yul sde* the somewhat contradicting description where greater territories (Mal-gro, sTod-lung, 'Phan-yul, 'Dam-gzhung) are listed as individual units and at the same time constitute the area where smaller units are located, such as in the case of the 'Phan-yul district (no. 17), where the district of Za-gad (and perhaps also Ngan-lam) is to be located. For a discussion of the sub-units of the imperial horn administration, see also Uebach 1992; Uray 1982; Takeuchi 1994. See also Hazod, *forthcoming b*.

Dar-ma [gzhon-nu], sMon-lam [rdo-rje] and Kun-dga' [rdo-rje], under whom the Teaching will be widely disseminated. In his writings, Bla-ma Zhang calls himself occasionally also the "beggar of Ngan-lam-pa" (*ngan lam pa sprang po*), also the self-designation "Zhang-sgom of Ngan-lam Sri [*alias* Kri]" (elsewhere Ngan-lam Si'i (= Sri) Zhang-ston) is to be found (see Part I: fns. 2, 413).

Ngan-lam often appears in connection with Ral-gsum. Thus, in the *Mar lung pa rnam thar* 67a2–4 the position of the retreat site of Byan[g]-mkhar is described as *ngan lam ral gsum gyi dbus sri zhal gnyis kyi so mtshams b*[*y*]*ang mkhar brag* (i.e. "the rocky [mountain of] Byang-mkhar on the border of the two districts of Sri and Zhal in the heart of Ngan-lam Ral-gsum"). This is an apt description of the geographical position of the Byang-mkhar-ri mountain of Tshal Gung-thang (see above). Ngan-lam Ral-gsum (Ngan-lan, Ngan-lam Ral[-gsum]) is well known as one of the thirteen Bon-po assembly places (*'du gnas*) of dBu-ru.[59] The form crops up in the medieval literature in various other contexts,[60] although (as with Ngan-lam on its own) it is not always clear which Ngan-lam is meant. The toponym Ral-gsum ("three manes/hairs") is also to be found in other areas, such as in Kong-po the Kong-lung lung-pa Ral-gsum (*var*.: Kong-po Ral-gsum), in 'Dam and the Snying-grong area the Thang-ro Ral-gsum, or in sTod-lung the sTod-lung Ral-gsum.[61] The latter is mentioned as the region of the old territorial god sTod *lha* Ze-ze and seems to be identical with sTod-ro Lung-gsum, one of the pre-imperial principalities, whose *lha* has the same name.[62] sTod-ro[s] Lung-gsum (*var*.: sTod Ral-ga Lung-gsum) is likewise mentioned as one of the Bon-po '*du*

[59] Cf. Uebach 1999; Karmay 1972: 40; Nam-mkha'i nor-bu (*Zhang bod kyi lo rgyus*) 1996: 200; *g.Yung drung bon gyi rgyud 'bum* 10b6–11a.3. The 13 places according to the latter text are:

1 Ngan-lam Ral-gsum

2 'Dam-shod sNar-mo (see Bellezza 1997: 43, 50, 76, 269; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 206)

3 'Phan-yul 'Dram-dkar (probably identical with the Bon-po site of 'Phan-yul 'Gram-ngar phug-mo [34a.6]; in other lists the *'du gnas* is given as 'Phan-yul Brag-dkar)

4 Mal-gro Ba-rab (it refers to the Ba-rab in eastern Mal-gro; see above fn. 21; Table V.10: fn.4; Part I: Map 1b)

5 Shun gyi Brag-dmar (cf. Graph 1; other lists have mChims gyi Brag-dmar)

6 Has-po phri(= khri/ri)-thang (i.e. the Has-po-ri of Brag-dmar bSam-yas; less likely: the Has-po-ri[-gdong] at the eastern shore of the gNam-mtsho; on this site, see Bellezza 1997: 109 *et passim*)

7 lHa-sa Yer-pa (i.e. the Brag Yer-pa caves in Upper Yer-pa valley of sKyid-shod)

8 Nam gyi Ra-gdang (elsewhere gNam gyi Re-gong; it is probably identical with the sNam known from the story of Padmasambhava's arrival in Central Tibet (*dBa' bzhed* 11a [= P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 53]). According to the context – he travelled from sNyi-mo Thod-dkar (= sNye-mo) via sNam to Gal-ta-la (= Gal-te) and sNying-drung – it may refer to the Gnam of Yangs-pa-can (and not to the gNam/rNams of Skyid-smad). See Part I: fns. 405, 415, 420.

9 gNam-mtsho [r]Do-ring (see Bellezza 1997, s.v. index)

10 sTod Ral-ga Lung-gsum (*var*.: sTod-ro[s] Lung-gsum; in [lower?] sTod-lung)

11 sKyid-shod Lung-nag (not identified; but see Uebach 1999: 265)

12 Re-rgya Ngan-lam (*var*.: Re-rkyang [sha-'thab] (in Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul; see below)

13 mTho-gon rGyal-mo-kha[ng] (also mChog-gon/dkon rGyal-mo-khang [= rGyal lha-khang in 'Phan-yul?]).

[60] Cf. e.g. *bKa' thang sde lnga*: 290.4, 290.22: Ngan-lam Ral-yul (~Ral-gsum), mentioned in connection with the activities of dPal-dbyangs (rBa Ratna); *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 189.5–16: dBu-ru Ngan-lam Ral-gsum, the origin place of the rNying-ma master Ngan-lam-pa Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan, see also *Nying ma School II*, s.v. index.

[61] The latter two are known from the lists of the "*lha dgu* territories." See Karmay 1996: 72 (according to the *lHa rgod gnyan gyi byung rabs*); Lalou 1965.

[62] Lalou 1965: 203, according to PT 1060. The name of the divinity apparently relates to the above-mentioned mount Jo-mo Zi-zi (~ Ze-ze) opposite Gung-thang. From the position of the mountain, one can conclude that sTod-ro Lung-gsum also included the lHa-sa valley.

gnas of dBu-ru (fn. 59). The forms *ral gsum*, *lung* [*pa*] *gsum* and *lung pa ral gsum* are apparently identical geographical terms and refer to an area of three valleys, or (similar to *sum mdo*) relate to an estuary area, i.e. the confluence of two rivers, which empty into a third. In the case of sTod-ro Ral-gsum, the area of lower sTod-lung could be meant, where the sTod-lung-chu flows into the sKyid-chu.[63] In the case of Ngan-lam Ral-gsum – which in the foundation legend of Tshal-pa describes the narrower Tshal-pa territory (*GT* 43a; Introduction: Chap. 4.1) in the compound of Ngan-lam lung-pa Ral-gsum Grib (or also just Ngan-lam lung-pa Ral-gsum) – it is unclear which three valleys or districts are meant here. It is conceivable that the form Ngan-lam Ral-gsum was taken over by the Ngan-lam [Ral-gsum] of 'Phan-yul. This under the precondition that the former concerns the original Ngan-lam, i.e. the land of origin of the Ngan-lam clan. This emerges indirectly from the inscription of the Zhol rdo-ring, where it says that nobody should assume the position of *stong dpon* of the body-guard [chiliarchy] of 'Phan-yul (*sku srungs 'phan yul pa'i stong dpon*) other than descendents of gSas-slebs; that is, the grandfather of the general and later chief minister Ngan-lam sTag-sgra klu-khong, to whom the inscription is dedicated.[64] Such declarations usually confirm old territorial circumstances, here Ngan-lam as ancient clan territory that may well also have formed the core of the body-guard district.

This Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul is the territory of the lower Dar-phu-chu (or Dar-yul-chu), the river that comes from the Dar-yul higher up (for Dar dist. see Part I: fn. 404). A right side arm, not more than a small tributary, is the Ngan-chu, which flows into the Dar-phu river near the present-day village of Len-po.[65] From this point it is called the Ngan-chu, which lower down joins the 'Phan-po-chu (coming from the rGyal valley) and forms the central river of 'Phan-yul, this is the 'Phan-po Ngan-chu (Fig. 35), a term we also know from the textual sources (cf. e.g. Eimer 1979: 295). River names in particular are usually of a great age (and permanence) and the naming here is an indication of the one-time historical significance of Ngan-lam within 'Phan-yul (the earlier Ngas-po).[66] The area around the confluence could be the ancient Ngan-lam Ral-gsum. The name

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[63] This confluence area is today called gNas-chung, a toponym perhaps related to the name of the later gNas-chung Pehar-lcog.

[64] Richardson 1985: 21–23; Li and Coblin 1987: 138ff.; Kho-shul Grags-pa 'byung-gnas 2001: 12–21; Khu-byug 2003. Ngan-lam sTag-sgra Klu-khong (also Ngam sTag-ra klu-gong, Ngan Ta-ra klu-gong) succeeded rGyal-gzigs shu-theng (fn. 70) as chief minister, a post which he occupied *ca*. 779–783. One account calls him a speaker for the Bon-po in the bSam-yas debate, who was then sent into exile, an anachronistic account inasmuch as he is also given in the inscription as a protector of the doctrine (see P. Wangdu and H. Diemberger 2000: 61; fn. 194). In the Vairocana exile story (see next chapter), he is a leader under the ministers who intrigued against the religious master. It was also an intrigue that accelerated his political career (i.e. the appointment as internal minister as stated in the South Inscription of the Zhol pillar). Ngan-lam rGyal-ba mchog-dbyangs (one of the first seven monks of bSam-yas), who was born in Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul, was either a close or distant relative of Ngan-lam sTag-sgra Klu-khong. Cf. *HSLG* Vol. 4: 88.

[65] It belongs to the Byang-kha district of lHun-grub county; *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 52b: 29°58'N 91°08'E.

[66] A relationship between the two names Ngas-po and Ngan-lam/po is rather to be ruled out (besides, the core area of Ngas-po was situated further east, in the Yung-ba valley of lower 'Phan-yul). The historical-geographical significance of Ngan-lam presumably derives from the *sku srung* chiliarchy, which we locate here. It should be differentiated from the 'Phan-yul *stong sde*, which in the *dbang ris* list is mentioned as land transferred to the sGro and rMa clans (the latter is known as a leading lineage in the mKhar-rtse area; see Part I: Map 4). The same clans are mentioned in the context of the *kheng log* rebellion of the 10th cent. as the leading clans of the regional principality (*rje'i dpon tshan*) of Za-gad, which, as mentioned (fn. 21) – relates to the area around present-day Za-dam and Gad-po (east of Ngan-lam). It is not clear if it is identical with the old Za-gad *gshen yul* and the area(s) of "Zha (= Za)-Gad-sDe *gsum"* that are mentioned in the *dbang ris*,

in this form is no longer known here, but on the other hand Ngan-po is spoken of, which according to older informants is the earlier name of the village of Len-po. The great complex of ruins behind the village is the remains of the one-time Sa-skya monastery of Ngan-po-dgon (see App. II: fn. 6), which – it appears – is a successor institution to the 11th cent. Ngan-lam dByi-mo-dgon, the foundation of the *phyi dar* master 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan, which is situated in Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul (cf. *Deb dmar* 400, n. 432).[67] Opposite Ngan-po-dgon, on a rock outcrop of the dPal-nag mountain, is the ruin of "Dzong Rekhang" (*rdzong* Re-khang/rkyang?), according to locals "a very old *sngags pa* site" (Fig. 34b). Here, in our view, it concerns the old Bon-po *'du gnas* of Re-rkyang (or Re-rkyang sha-'thab), which in the version of the *g.Yung drung bon gyi rgyud 'bum* 11a2 is given as Re-rgya Ngan-lam (see fn. 59). If we assume that there were not two *'du gnas* within Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul, then it appears that the above-mentioned assembly site of Ngan-lam Ral-gsum was in sKyid-shod. In the Bon-po sources the *bon po 'du gnas* is ascribed a great age, but (at least in the classified form as it is handed down), they are rather a product of the 8th cent., a period in which at the latest the Ngan-lam of sKyid-shod was also known.

One indication for the presence of Ngan-lam (and of the Ngan-lam lineage) in the Tshal-pa area of the imperial period is provided to us by the story of the Zhol *rdo rings*. As already noted by Richardson, in the *rGya bod yig tshang* the talk is of an inscription on a "*sri'i rdo ring*," which according to the part of the inscription that is cited in this context is indisputedly to be identified as Zhol rdo-ring. It says:

> The report on the destruction of the external enemy and the conquest of the Chinese bKra-shis khri-sgo by [the generals] Zhang-rje rGyal-gzigs [i.e. mChims-rgyal rGyal-zigs shu-theng] and sTag-sgra klu-gong [i.e the military campaigns in the 750's and early 760's, which led to the conquest of the Chinese capital in 763],[68] is written on the *sri'i rdo ring*.[69]

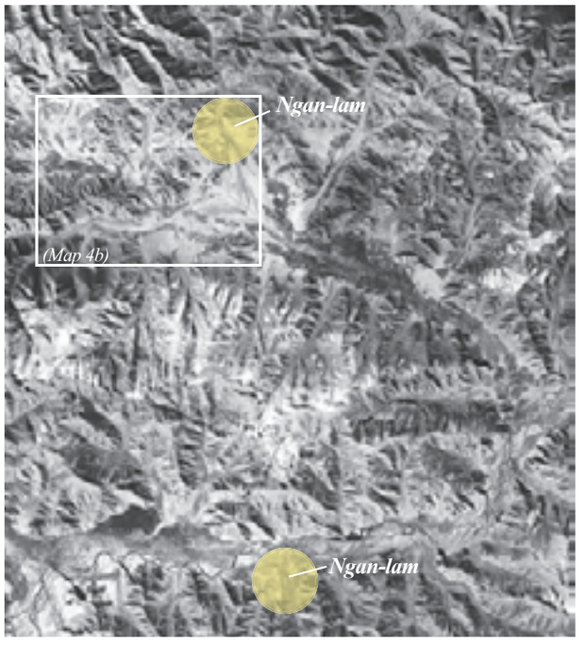
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both specified as territories of the dBas clan (or of the *blon po* sBas). Without doubt, this territory between Ngan-lam (E), the Seng-ge valley (a.k.a. Pad-ma-thang) (S) and the two main valleys of 'Phan-yul-stod, the valleys of the Ra-ma-chu and 'Phan-po-chu (*alias* sTag-mgo-chu = rGyal valley) (W) have been a central area within this region north of lHa-sa since the early imperial period. The narrower area of Za-dam – Gad-po is described in a song in the local tradition as one of the four protection zones marked by mythical animals (marked by two tiger heads [= the sTag-mgo rocks at the entrance to the rGyal-valley], lion and dragon); the king (Srong-btsan sgam-po) resided at the centre (seat in Ra-ma Byams-khang; fn. 21). The bodyguard of the chilliarchy is in the immediate neighbourhood of this royal zone (see Map 3).

[67] After a long stay in Ngan-lam dByi-mo he came to the sKyid-chu, took over the old imperial temple of sKar-chung and founded the temple in Zhal, as well as the branch temples of Sri and rGya-gar (*var*.: rGyang-'khar/mkhar; the latter is perhaps to be identified with a site in sNe'u (due west of sKar-chung; Part I: fn. 435), but see App. II: fn. 7 where it is argued that the site may refer to the rGyang-mkhar of the Pa-snam district in Myang). These first foundations of the 'Bring *tsho* are among the group of the Upper 'Bring Community ('Bring-tsho-stod), in contrast to the foundations of the Lower 'Bring *tsho* situated in sTod-lung and sKyi-smad (App. V: Table 6). The Upper 'Bring also called themselves Ngan-lam-pa'i 'Bring-tsho (cf. *rGya bod yig tshang* 461.14-18). A number of the 'Bring *tsho* foundations later (from the 1180's) became important teaching centers of the rNgog tradition of gSang-phu sNe'u-thog. The Ngan-lam-dgon is said to have counted 10.000 rNgog students. See for more details App. II: Chap. 1.

[68] A group of four generals are mentioned in the corrseponding entry of the *Annals* (DTH 60, 66; Dotson, *forthcoming*); on the paralles of these events in Chinese historical records, see e.g. Li Fang Kuei (1983).

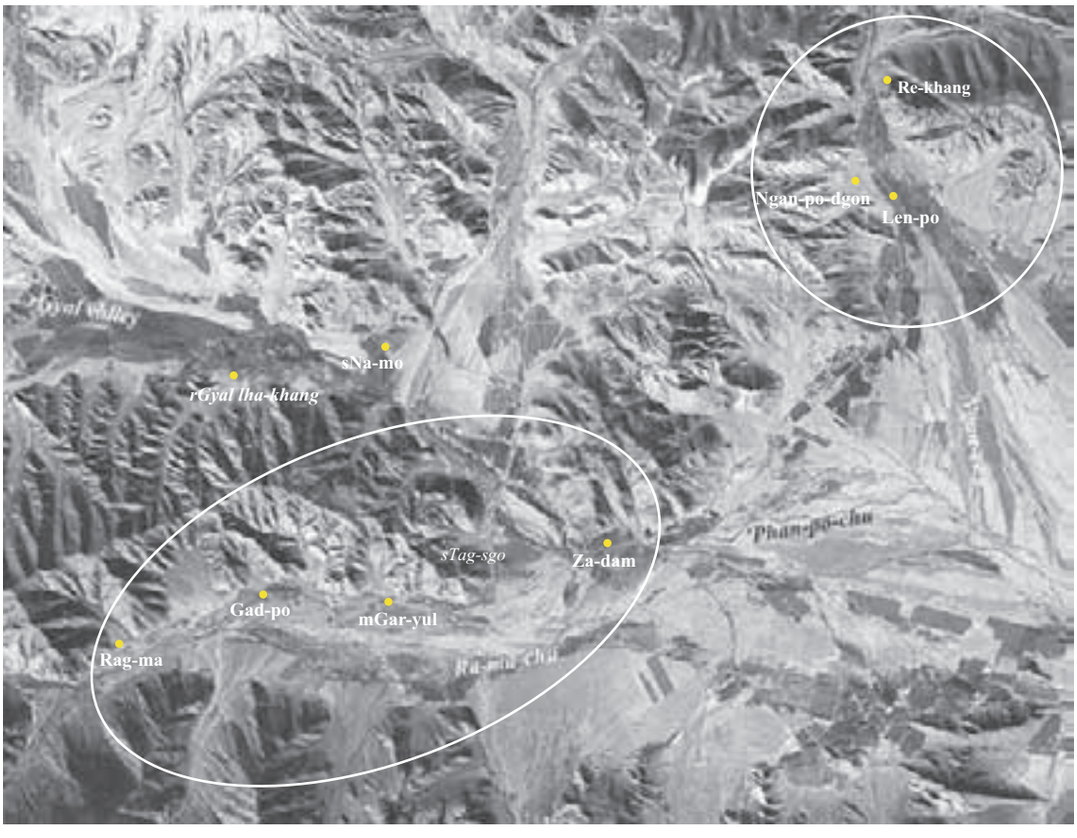
[69] Richardson 1985: 2; *sri'i rdo ring* is the form in the original of the Densapa manuscript (TH Martin, no. 115). The book edition (*GY*, Chengdu 1985: 198) has *phyi'i rdo ring* (the *rdo ring* outside [of the Potala]), apparently a "correction" by the publisher. It corresponds to the later classification of the Zhol rdo-ring as *rdo ring phyi ma* ("outer *rdo ring*"), in contrast to the *rdo ring nang ma*, a pillar inside the Potala palace, which similarily is designated as a pillar from Sri (or Kri respectively, see below fn. 71).



Map. 4a. Two Ngan-lam of Central Tibet: the Ngan-ma [Ral-gsum] of 'Phan-yul and sKyid-shod

Photo 4a,b: Corona Satellite 1970

Map 4b. The area of ancient Ngan-lam and Za-gad in 'Phan-yul







34a, ***34b***. *The area of ancient Ngan-lam in 'Phan-yul. To the right the black rocks of dPal-nag-ri with the ruins of Re-khang (34b)* (2003)



35. *View from Ngan-po-dgon situated above Len-po (Ngan-po) village. In the background the Ngan-chu* (2003)

Sri'i rdo ring is in our view to be read as the *rdo ring* of Sri (and not a mispelling of *srid*, as Richardson believes).[69a] The entry in the *rGya bod yig tshang* relates to the core content of the south inscription, while the east inscription notes the appointment of Ngan-lam Klu-khong as *nang blon chen po* and the south inscription details the imperial confirmation of the ancient and new privilges of the Ngan-lam clan. Li and Coblin (1987: 138), write that sTag-sgra Klu-khong erected the pillar; to our knowledge, however, it does not say this anywhere explicitly, but the language of the whole inscription is that of a (royally confirmed) individual composition and individual initiative by Klu-khong and his clan milieu. Similarly, Richardson, who in this context also notes that the "royal" position of this pillar (in front of the dMar-po-ri), seems rather surprising. The reason may be that the *rdo ring* was not originally erected in lHa-sa but in Sri, which – as we have heard above – once lay in the heart of Ngan-lam. In other words, the pillar was consistently erected in the land of the clan to whose leading representatives the inscription is dedicated.[70] At the time of the writing of the *rGya bod yig tshang* (1434 A.D.), the famous Zhol *rdo ring*, which with the exception of *GY* appears not to be mentioned in the old history books, was apparently still standing in the out-of-the-way Sri, from where it was later moved to lHa-sa.[71]

[69a] Another possible explanation for "*sri'i rdo ring*" has been suggested by Brandon Dotson, where it could be a corruption of *gtsig kyi rdo ring*, in the sense of "pillar with the edict (*gtsigs*)" (cf. parallel the old phrase *gtsigs kyi yi ge*; Li and Coblin 1987: 441), and he argues that the original term *gtsigs* perhaps was no more understood and therefore discarded in favour of *sri* (Dotson, pers. communication).

[70] A similar form of dedication and declaration is found in the name of the rGyal-gzigs shu-theng, the (historically even more important) chief general (and later Chief Minister) from the mChims-rgyal lineage. The home of this lineage was in mChims-yul, which is the later sKyems-stong valley in eastern Dvags-po, where the burial site of the impressive "Lishan-tombs" (or tombs of Sleb) from the imperial period is located. In the middle of the grave field there is the stone base of a former (inscription?) column, perhaps the vanished evidence of a written, clan-specific confirmation.

[71] The author, ['Phyong-rgyas-pa?] dPal-'byor bzang-po, either had personal, *in situ* knowledge of the inscriptions or he is quoting an older, unknown version. The reason why the Zhol rdo-ring is not otherwise mentioned in medieval literature is perhaps that it was the monolith that for most of the time was not in lHa-sa and its existence thereby remained in obscurity. Naturally, it is uncommon that this move (inasmuch as we may be correct here and that such a move actually took place) is not mentioned anywhere (see also fn. 69a).

The author of the *Gung thang dkar chag* (*GT* 40b) tells the story of the transportation of an "excellent *rdo ring*" from Upper Sri to lHa-sa in the time of the last Tshal-pa ruler, Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan, a period which is to be dated at the end of the 17th century. In *GT*, the data on Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan, the last of the Tshal-pa *dpon pa*, are contradictory. The year of his death is given as the 11th *rab byung chu bya*, 1633, in other places 44 years after the death of the last Tshal Yang-dgon *spyan snga* sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho, who according to statements in *Zur chen rnam thar* died in 1649 (Part I: fn. 176). This corresponds to the *chu bya* year of 1693. On the occasion of the commemorative funeral ceremony (*dgongs rdzogs*) for the Fifth Dalai Lama (d. 1682), the excellent *rdo ring* from Sri was brought to lHa-sa and set up in front of the Zhabs-brtan lha-khang, or in front of the "Pho-brang chen-po," as it says elsewhere (*GT* 40b), an event that is consequently to be dated to the late 1680's or early 1690's (according to Tibetan accounts the death of the Great Fifth had not even been made public). The story of the difficult transport of the monolith is on a mural in the Bar-khyams gallery of the Potala (Fig. 36), on which a textual note says that, under the direction of the Tshal-pa *sde pa* Grags-pa the Kri'i *rdo ring chung ba* was carried across the sKyid-chu by ferrymen [to lHa-sa] (*kri'i rdo ring chung ba tshal sde pa grags pas do dam mdzad pa skyid chur bshan gyis 'dren pa*; *kri'i rdo ring chung ba* is perhaps not to be read as small monolith but as "the long stone *and* the smaller stones from Kri (= Sri);" the illustration shows a large *rdo ring* on the boat; according to *GT* additional stones came with this monolith transport from the neighbouring (and often-used) quarry of sKam-po-yung (above fn. 36), which is also noted in the illustration [*skam yung nas rdo gsog 'dren*]). The same Tshal-pa *sde pa* had also previously ordered the construction of a one-storey high image of the Fifth Dalai Lama, which as it were was transported in the reverse direction: from a lHa-sa workshop (?) to the hermitage of Byang-mkhar in Sri

However that may be, it seems that Ngan-lam Sri was the narrow homeland of the sTag-sgra Klu-khong and the Ngan-lam of sKyid-shod did then represent an older (branch) territory of this line of 'Phan-yul. Possibly this goes back to the period of the foundation of lHa-sa, according to which, similar to 'Phan-yul, a clan of the bodyguard chilliarchy was to have settled in the immediate neighbourhood of the royal residence (here the symbolic residence of Jo-khang). The imperial site of Ngan-lam Ts[h]al-[g]sar-pa, registered in the *Annals* for 701 A.D., may relate to this branch settlement.[72] The "New Garden of Ngan-lam" (and of the Ngan-lam clan), then, forms the pattern for the geographical name for the "Garden" (tshal-) territory east of lHa-sa, which, after the foundation of the monastic centre by the "beggar monk of Ngan-lam" Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang, gradually displaced the older local name.



***36**. The transport of the Kri'i rdo-ring to lHa-sa*
Detail of a mural in the Potala



***37**. The rdo ring nang ma inside the Potala*

Zhal (see *GT ibd.*). This Sri'i/Kri'i rdo-ring evidently refers to the so-called *rdo ring nang ma*, a pillar without inscription inside the Potala (Fig. 37), which elsewhere is described as the pillar that commemorates the completion of the construction of the Red Palace (*pho brang dmar po*) in the *chu bya* year 1693 (21st day of the 4th month). It was installed during the festivities held on that occasion (cf. Mig-dmar rgyal-mtshan (ed.) 1987: 16). The "Sri'i rdo-ring" outside the Potala (i.e. the "Zhol pillar" which today is situated outside the walls of Zhol village) is accordingly called the *rdo ring phyi ma*. One can assume that this classification of the two monoliths goes back to the time of the *rdo ring nang ma* installation. In this connection, it cannot entirely be excluded that the ancient *rdo ring* from Ngan-lam Sri also came to lHa-sa during the same period. A depiction of the Zhol *rdo ring* in the Wise Collection is (erroneously?) labelled as *rdo ring nang ma*.

[72] Mentioned as the seat of the mother Khri-ma-lod. The council of the same year was held in Glag, the area on the sKyid-chu not far to the east of Tshal Gung-thang (Hazod 2004). For the years 708–710, the place mKhri[s]-pa (-t[h]ang, -tsa) is registered several times as the location of the assembly; possibly the Kri (Sri) of Ngan-lam, or perhaps it refers to the not closer identified ancient *yul* of Sribs *alias* Khris-sna (DTH 80.16–17; Hazod, *forthcoming b*).

3.3 Khri-srong lde-btsan Seeks Vairocana and Arrives at Tsha-ba-gru

Tsha-ba-gru – the birthplace of Bla-ma Zhang – forms one station in the well-known exile story of Ba-gor Bai-ro-tsa-na (Vairocana), namely according to the version of the *bTsun mo bka' thang* (*TK* Chap. 7–13).

> The master Vairocana, driven from the court of Khri-srong lde-btsan and from bSam-yas, according to this version did not turn to Tsha-ba-rong in the east (= the standard version),[73] but to the north, where he found protection in the woods of Yer-pa (Chap. 9).[74] Behind the departure was an intrigue on the part of queen dMar-rgyan, who was unhappily in love with Vairocana (Chap. 7);[75] the king soon regretted his decision and went in search of the master. Initially, he sought him in Brag-dmar g.Ya'-ma-lung, then in Ha-re (?). Then he returned home and set off again, this time over the rGod-dkar-la and the Ba-lam valley to the sKyid-chu (250.11f.). On the bank of the river [at Tshal Gung-thang], he saw Vairocana disappearing into the mountains on the other side of the river [towards Yer-pa]. As the king's horse (rTa-pho Shugs-ldan) was completely worn out and overheated, he had to spend the night at this place in Tsha-ba-gru; wherefrom the name of the place derives, "the corner where the horse became hot" (252.4-5). The next morning, he set off again in search of Vairocana; a ferryman coming down the river took the horse [and the king] cross the river, where the two of them were unable to find any trace of the master, however. Thus they returned by the same route to bSam-yas (Chap. 11, 253.5-254.1; note: frequently, the horse alone is referred to as the actual actor in the narration). On this route taken by Vairocana and the king (described in Chaps. 9 and 10) there is respectively a meeting with a smith husband and wife living in [Glag] Ba-lam, the area behind the rGod-dkar-la. The king's son Mu-tig btsan-po later takes the same route. (Padmasambhava, who in the meantime had been called to the court from Yar-klungs Shel-brag, had informed Mu-tig btsan-po of the place where Vairocana was staying (Chap. 12, 257.14f.); the background for his coming was the queen's incurable *klu* illness (i.e. *klu nad mdze*, leprosy), which Vairocana had sent from Yer-pa as a punishment for the slander (Chap. 11, 254.19–256.9). On the advice of the fortune-teller Kun-shes Things-po – a figure behind which is the dPal-ldan lha-mo who comes from Yer-pa to the queen's place, i.e. bSam-yas Mal-gong sGang-sngon rtse-dgu[76] – Padmasambhava comes and proposes inviting the master of U-rgyan for the required expiation ritual;

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[73] *Be ro'i rnam thar*, Chap. 11; *Padma bka' thang*, Chap. 75, 76, 83; cf. Karmay 1988b: 26–27; Tsha-ba-rong (Tsha-ba tsha-shod or Tsha-ba-yul in the older *dBa' bzhed*) refers to rGyal-mo Tsha-ba-rong (or rGyal-rong), the region in the far eastern part of cultural Tibet (now included in the rNga-pa district of northern Szechuan province) which was traditionally organized into 18 principalities (se e.g. Gyurme Dorje 1998: 6262f.; *Nyingma School II*, Map 10). The area is considered a *sbas yul* and *gter gnas* of the Bon-po who regard Vairocana, the "non-differentiator between Bon and Buddhism" (*bon chos khyad med*), as the spiritual father of the Bon gsar-ma or New Bon (see Karmay 1988b: 35f.). The sites associated with the master are especially to be found in the area of the holy mountain rGyal-mo rMu-rdo which also served as point of reference for the revival of the Bon tradition in this area in the first half of the 18th century. See Karmay 1998 ('The Cult of Mount rMu-rdo') and most recently Karmay 2005. Yamaguchi 1992 identifies ancient rGyal-mo-rong as the core territory of the Eastern Nü-Kuo (Eastern Kingdom of Women) and the home of important clans which were affinally related to the early Yar-lung house. On rGyal-rong, see also Martin 2001, s.v. index.

[74] I.e. Yer-pa gTsug-ri spungs-pa'i nags (Chap. 11: 254.19), also Yer-pa gtsug-rum 'bar-ba or lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje brag-phug (*sic*) (Chap. 13, 262.4, *et passim*).

[75] The jealousy story of dMar-rgyan (Tshe spong-bza' dMar-rgyal/n Me-tog sgron *alias* rMa-rgyal lDong-skar) is only hinted at in other versions or is completely absent; the actual intriguers are the ministers, whose leader, Ngan sTag-sgra klu-gong, even demanded the execution of the master (see Karmay, *op. cit.* , 27 (fns. 36, 37), 34).

[76] Elsewhere mKhar-'bar Mal-gong sGang-sngon rtse-dgu (Chap. 7, 245.16); i.e Brag-dmar Ma-gong; cf. *dBa' bzhed* 25b (= P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 91); see also TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 18, fn. 4.

256.9f., Chap. 12). Equipped with gold, turquoise and pearls, and riding a black horse (262.10), the prince comes to Yer-pa. Mu-tig-btsan-po was able to convince Vairocana to return; Vairocana then mounted the black horse (263.6) and came to bSam-yas, where a great reception was prepared for him (Chap. 13, 262.13.-263.21). Then the *klu* was exorcised[77] and the queen was cured by Vairocana and Padmasambhava (Chap. 14).[78]

The legend, as is well known, has word-for-word parallels to Chapter VI of the *mDo gZer mig*,[79] which in some experts' opinions also provides the basic pattern for the *Thang yig*. In his analysis, Kvaerne found several "alien" literary motifs, which come from early (Indian) translation literature and perhaps already had been part of popular literature for some time before they were incorporated into the narrative framework (Kvaerne 1980). Regardless of their eclectic nature, the legend naturally contains historical elements, alone through the description of historical routes, which is here integrated into a specific context of the tradition – e.g. in the account of Padmasambhava's disciple Vairocana, who is credited with the introduction of the rDzogs-chen Teaching and who because of this is highly regarded by both the rNying-ma-pa and the Bon-po (fn. 73). In the*Thang yig*, Tsha-ba-gru corresponds to the (east-Tibetan) [rGyal-mo] Tsha-ba-rong of the standard (but perhaps later?) version of the Vairocana exile story, where the Teaching of Vairocana was spread by the disciple g.Yu-sgar snying-po.[80]

In the *bTsun mo bka' thang*, g.Yu-sgar snying-po is the disciple to whom the master gives his black horse. The horse is, as it were, Vairocana's *alter ego* (i.e. *bdag gi ngo 'dra ba'i rta nag 'di,* "this black horse resembling my countenance;" 242.21). It stands symbolically for the further dissemination of Vairocana's Teaching,[81] which according to the *Thang yig* version led over the well-known route from bSam-yas through Ba-lam to the sKyid-chu (Map 4). It is a murky story in which after the pass, in the region of Ba-lam (= "trail of the [dead] cow"),[82] the protagonists enter, as

[77] Klu-chen dGa'-bo and Klu-nag 'Dam-'dzin are mentioned in this context.

[78] See also Laufer 1911: 142-177.

[79] The versions essentially differ in the various names of the protagonists (sTon-pa gShen-rab instead of Padmasambhava etc.) and the places of the story, which in the Bon-po version of the *gZer mig* are in the land of Hos-mo gling-drug. Some place names, however, are the same, such as Ha-re = Ha-re; Yer-pa gTsug-rum 'bar-ba (on the other side of the sKyid-chu) is Ri-'bar-ba gTsug-rum in the *gZer mig* (on the other side of the river Seng-ga nag-po); the fortress mKhar-'bar Mal-gong sGang-sngon rtse-dgu is mKhar-'bar-ba rtse-dgu. In both versions, the king's horse is rTa-po Shugs-ldan (strong stallion); in the *gZer mig*, Mu-tig btsan po's black horse (and Vairocana's) corresponds to the 'Brug-rta sngon-po, the mount of g.Yu-lo and of the court priest Yid kyi khye'u-chung.

[80] rGyal-mo g.Yu-sgar snying-po from rGyal-rong; in *dBa bzhed* 26b, 31a he is mentioned to have assisted Vairocana during the funeral ceremony for Khri Srong-lde-btsan for which the master and his disciple were brought from Tsha-ba tsha-shod (rGyal-rong) to bSam-yas by the two monks 'Khon Klu'i dbang-po and mKhas-pa rNa-cha. Later g.Yu-sgar snying-po returned to Tsha-ba-yul. Cf. *dBa bzhed* 26b, 31a (P. Wangdu and H. Diemberger 2000: 95–96).

[81] The same horse is regarded as Padmasambhava's express messenger (*bang chen*), spreading the Teaching in all directions. According to Vairocana's prophetic words, in the course of the dissemination, it would later be reborn in Don-yod of 'Phan-yul (?) (*bKa' thang sde lnga* 243. 6-8).

[82] Cf. *bKa' thang sde lnga* 249.6; also the name Glag[s], which is often mentioned together with that of Ba-lam, is apparently derived from this (i.e. the place where the cow perished; 250.7). Both are secondary etymologies of the name of an area, which was closely connected with the dBa's (dBa', sBa, 'Ba') clan. Ba-lam Glags was among others the native land of sBa gSal-snang. He founded two temples in Glag[s] (see Part I: fn. 410) and is said to have urged his clan brothers to practise Buddhism instead of Bon (*dBa' bzhed* 15a). Ba in Ba-lam relates to this clan whose principal homeland apparently was the Bami (sBa-mi) territory in Lo (*alias* Nyen-kar; see Introduction: fn. 7). The closer area of Glag refers to the

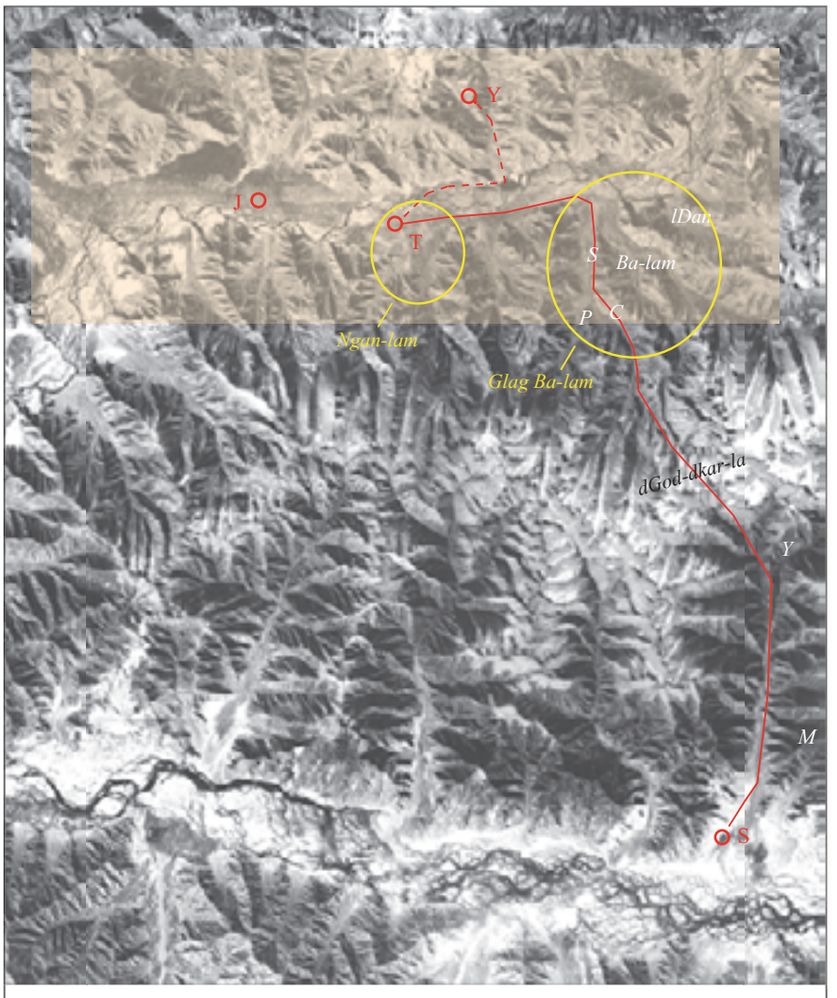
it were, a world beyond. It is symbolized by the gate of the smith, in which first Vairocana and then the king and his exhausted [rTa-pho] Shugs-ldan appear. The smith-story is a story in itself and an artificially incorporated narrative fragment. But its appearance at this point is thoroughly consistent. Ba-lam represents the eastern horizon of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone, which, so to say, can be entered at this "smith point."[83] Yer-pa, the *srog shing* of the Ra-sa'i 'Phrul-snang, stands for the centre of lHa-sa. Tsha-ba-gru apparently represents a similarly significant station in the early religious geography of sKyid-shod. In our view, behind the exile story a history of the dissemination of the teaching of the Padmasambhava from bSam-yas is hidden, more precisely of the guardian entrusted with the protection of this teaching (and its first container, i.e. bSam-yas) *rgyal po* Pehar. The protagonists' divine horses which were transferred to the sKyid-chu are the master's "express messengers;" the places of their arrival are sites where they are "reborn" (fn. 81). As we know, the tradition gives Tshal Gung-thang as one of Pehar's stop-overs on his way from bSam-yas to lHa-sa ('Bras-spungs / gNas-chung), although only the last section of this transfer story is known in more detail. This is the abandonment and exile story of the deity, which has its starting point at the birthplace of Pehar in Tshal (see below Chap. V). The place corresponds with the arrival of the royal horse in Tsha-ba-gru, a toponym that – as we heard – once described a larger area in the Tshal district, similar to the other "horse toponym," rTa-mo-ra, to which it probably has a close relationship. Both names stand for a pre-Tshal religious history of the district, in which the Pehar tradition is mixed with other teaching and protective deity traditions known from the generation of the teaching of Bla-ma Zhang, which we later encounter in the foundation of Tshal and Gung-thang.[84]

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present-day Shing-tshang valley. On the other hand, from the sources it appears that the form Glags Ba-lam once designated a greater territory which included Shing-tshang, Ba-lam and lDan and perhaps also 'Brom-stod and other adjacent districts. In the *Annals*, Glag, Ba-lam and lDan (mDan) are registered as separate territories. See Hazod 2004.

[83] The traditional route from bSam-yas to the sKyid-chu leads through the mChims-phu valley (orig. spell. 'Ching-phu/bu, mChing-phu) over the dGod-dkar-la pass and the Chos-'khor-brgyud valley to Shing-tshang (see previous note) and further down into the sKyid-chu valley (see below, Map 5).

[84] An early evidence of Tsha-ba-gru is to be found in the *Ra lo rnam thar* (309.10f.), which speaks of a certain 'Od-zer 'bum-me from sKyid-shod Tsha-ba-gru who was an incarnation of the *yum* rDo-rje Ro-langs-ma (*Vajra Vetālī), the latter known as the consort of 'Jigs-byed (Vajrabhaivara) (Wilson and Brauen 2000: 420; see also *Ra lo rnam thar* 223). It may be a reference to an early local connection to the Yamāntaka cult (or Vajrabhaivara, the terrifying form of Yamāntaka), which was disseminated in Tibet by *Rva lo tsā ba* in the 11th century. In his last years he was particularly active in sKyid-shod, with the main residence in lDan-ma (lDan/lHan[-lung]), due east of Ba-lam, where the master also died (see Hazod 2004: Chap. 5.3; lDan (the later Tshal pa *mi sde*) is counted among the territories which are mentioned in connection with bellicose enterprises, here with the pulling-down of a *stūpa*, an event which shows clear parallels to a later story, when Rva-lo's relics were taken from lDan to 'Bras-spungs in the early 15th century; see Hazod, *op. cit.*, *ibd.*). The rDo-rje Ro-langs-ma is also associated with other traditions. She is considered to be the *śakti* of Mon-bu pu-tra, one of the rGyal-po sku-lnga emanations of Pehar (i.e. the sKu'i rgyal-po Mon-bu-putra who occupies the eastern side in the sKu-lha *maṇḍala*; his minister is the above-mentioned Bya-khri mig-gcig-po, the god of the Karma-shag oracle of lHa-sa). Ro-langs-ma also occurs in the entourage of Gur mGon (cf. Willson and Brauen 2000: 313, 348 *et passim*), a central fugure in der founding story of Tshal (the Gur mGon tradition was transmitted to Bla-ma Zhang by his teacher rNgog mDo-sde, who counts among the circle of disciples of Rva *lo tsā ba*; *lHo rong chos 'byung* 53). There is probably also a relationship with rDo-rje Ro-langs from the group of the 18 Ging (led by Ging-ka-ra), the companion of Pehar, or with the goddess Ro-langs-ma who functions as consort of gTsod-rva-can, the *srung ma* of dGa'-ldan chos-'khor-gling (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 109–112; 279; 165). The early presence of the Pehar tradition in Tshal is evidenced by the report of the consecration of the rTa-mo-ra'i lHa-chen dPal-ba dbang-phyug statue in the Gung-thang temple, in which the divinity named *rgyal po* sPe-dkar, *rgyal po* Shing-bya-can or *rgyal po* bSam-yas-pa is mentioned (*Mar lung pa rnam thar* 79b2f.). In the oral tradition, Pehar was present in Tshal before the foundation of Zhang's monastery (see below fn. 86; Chap. V.1).



○ S = Brag-dmar bSam-yas ○ T = Tsha-ba-gru ○ Y = Yer-pa

Y = g.Ya'-ma-lung *C* = Chos-'khor-rgyal *P* = Phur-lung *M* = mChims-phu

S = Shing-tshang J ○ = Jo-khang = *Zone of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala*

———— = *path from bSam-yas to Tshal Tsha-ba-gru and Yer-pa*

Map 5. From bSam-yas to [Ngan-lam] Tsha-ba-gru – The route of the King's horse
Photo: Corona Satellite 1970

4. DIVINE PATRONS

4.1 Dar-ma gzhon-nu and the "Gung-thang Project"

Bla-ma Zhang is supposed to have been invited to Tshal by a certain *dpon* rGyal-tsha[s] A-ma lha-gcig, at a place where there was a seminary (*mtshan nyid gr*[*v*]*a*) of the *dge bshes* gZad-pa. This seminary was then pulled down (*rGya blon ma* 150.6; *ZhK III* (*Cha*) 259b2f.). This presumably relates to the time when Zhang and his group in Tshal established the hermitage of Tshal-sgang Chos-spyil, one of Zhang's seven main retreats (*sgrub gnas bdun*). It was already functioning as a kind of precursor of the later monastic residence of Tshal Yang-dgon (founded in 1175 A.D.), as it is said that even by the late 1160's and early 1170's, Zhang disciples were being ordained in Tshal (= Tshal-sgang Chos-spyil). In other Zhang retreats, too, there had long been smaller settlements of Tshal-pa communities, such as in g.Yu-brag of sGrags, where Zhang established a meditation school (*sgom grva*), or in in Re'u-chung-dgon of Zhal.[85] In Tshal, a possible or suitable location for the monastery was already existing.[86] The building followed, as we know, on the instructions of his *bKa' brgyud* teacher Dvags-po sGom-tshul. In the mid-1160's, the teacher had left lHa-sa and transferred the responsibility for the care of the holy temples and its main supports (i.e. the lHa-ldan Jo-bo-gnyis) to his disciple.[87] The monastery of Tshal formed a basis for this mission, which at the same time was both of a religious and political nature. It included finding a solution to the political situation in lHa-sa and sKyid-shod, which had been marked by tension between the lHa-sa *sde bzhi* communities (fn. 11). The *dpon po* rGyal-tshas should presumably be included in the group of local aristocratic patrons, specifically those who had their estates in the vicinity of lHa-sa. Possibly he was a member of the family of the *yon bdag* mGar rGyal-ba 'byung-gnas from Grib.

The years up to the founding of Gung-thang (in 1187 A.D.) were marked by incessant mobility on the part of Zhang and his group, who were active in various regions of central Tibet and often used violent means (*khro tshul*) if it was a matter of pacifying an area and winning local lords for their religious work. This unusually offensive and aggressive implementation of the *'dul ba* (through the means of "fighting others" and the establishment of "way sealings" (*lam rgya*) and protective zones against brigands, etc.)[88] also created the material conditions to realize the vision of the completion of their own monastic residence.

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[85] As mentioned above (fn. 40), the place-name (in this form only known from the *bKa' thor bu*) is probably identical with the site of Ri'u-chung where Kha-rag-pa chen-po was ordained, according to the calculation in *Ming mdzod* in *ca.* 1170 A.D. In around 1180, sNa-phu-pa (*alias* Gling-ras-pa) was invited to the place Ngan-lam Ri-chu[ng] ring-mo (~ Re-chung ring-mo); see *sNa phu rnam thar* 17a1–2; Part I: fn. 217.

[86] With regard to the choice of location of the Yang-dgon monastery, the local tradition speaks of one of the "three offences" (or presumptions) made by Bla-ma Zhang; the immediate vicinity of the river is reserved only for the Jo-khang (the other two offences: "Zhang made the *'khor ra* not on foot but with the snow lion (apart from which he never made a pilgrimage to rTsa-ri (*sic*))"; and "he only allowed *bla ma* from lHa-sa (meaning Central Tibet) to be abbot of his religious site"). In the local account of Pehar's transfer to lHa-sa it is said that Pehar advised Zhang to build his monastery on the mountain, "but Bla-ma Zhang always did the opposite." The conflict here serves as one explanation for the revolt that the *srung ma* later instigated (above Chap. 1; Part I: fn. 576).

[87] According to the *Kha rag gNyos kyi gdung rabs*, the lineage account of the powerful gNyos hegemony in sKyid-smad, it was gNyos Grags-pa-dpal whom Dvags-po sGom-tshul first entrusted with the care of the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. See Part I: fn.47; App. II: Chap. 1.2f.

[88] See *Deb sngon* 836; Introduction: Chap. 5.

At the heart of this was the plan for the building of the Gung-thang temple and the erection of the great Byang-chub chen-po statue:

> "Materials for the construction of the temple and its images were provided without limit by the [local spirits such as the] *lha*, *klu*, *gnod sbyin*; ….through multifarious peaceful and wrathful means he assembled the materials for the erection [of the temple]." (*GT* 10b).



38. *Dar-ma gzhon-nu in Gung-thang* (2001)

Acting alongside Bla-ma Zhang was the disciple aide-de-camp (*nye gnas*) Dar-ma gzhon-nu, the later *bdag po* of Gung-thang and first *dpon* of Tshal, who from approximately the mid 1150's appeared as Zhang's constant companion and closest confidant. Aside from Zhang, he was without doubt the most important figure in the foundation phase of Tshal-pa. With the Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba* Śākya-'od, after Zhang's death he founded the union of the religious and secular throne and apparently, long after his office as *dpon po* (21 years), which he passed on to his nephew in 1215, he continued to determine the political destiny in Tshal (see Part I: fn. 373; Introduction: Chap. 7, and *ZhK III* (*Cha*) 256af.). His death, at the high age of 88, also signalled the end of the foundation phase of Tshal-pa, which continued politically through the mGar of Grib (starting with the 4th *dpon chen* Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub) and led into a new era of hegemonic power. Dar-ma gzhon-nu's clan name is not known; his family came from the nearby Ban-khos, a toponym which is known from the lHa-sa *sa dpyad* (Graph 1) and is to be located in the present-day Shing-tshang area (see *HSLG* Vol 1: 64; Part I: fn. 359). It is part of the Glag Ba-lam territory, which, as has been mentioned, is associated with the homland of the dBa' clan (above fn. 81), perhaps the lineage of the Dar-ma gzhon-nu.[89] From his function as *yon bdag* in connection with the Gung-thang project (see below), one may also conclude that his family had estates in this part of the Tshal district.

Dar-ma gzhon-nu ranked as the first in the group of the 'Phrin-las sgrub-pa bu-chen, i.e. the great sons who fulfilled [Zhang's] karmic activity [of peace, increase, power and violence/force or *caturkarman*], a division that presumably refers to the leading representatives of Zhang's hordes of disciples ready to resort to violence. The list in the *Deb dmar* covers 26 disciples, but the group

[89] The Glag Ba-lam area was a stronghold of the Bar Tshal school, represented by the monasteries of Ro-skam and lHa-phyug-mkhar, the latter being the most important Tshal-pa monastery alongside the mother seat of Tshal Yang-dgon in the period of the Dar-ma gzhon-nu (see Introduction; Hazod 2004). Several of the early Tshal-pa therefore came from Ba-lam, some namely from the dBa' clan. Lo-mi was the most important lineage of Ro-skam, which was situated in Phur-lung of Upper Glags. Phur-lung is in Upper Shing-tshang (see Hazod 2004). The monastery was evidently not far from Ban-khos, which to our knowledge is no longer in use as a place name. Inasmuch as the throne of Dar-ma gzhon-nu is described in *GT* as the *dbon sa*, the intendant's relationship to Zhang is not to be excluded (*dbon sa* in the sense of "seat of the nephew [of Zhang]," perhaps a relationship that ran through the line of the mother, i.e. the Shud-phu branch, which settled in Tsha-ba-gru); but this is rather unlikely and *dbon sa* here should simply be read as an alternative form of *dpon* [*po'i sa*], i.e. throne of the secular ruler, whose first three generations were respectively nephews (*dbon*) of the predecessor.

was somewhat larger. For several Zhang disciples there are biographical entries that they had at some time stood alongside the master in local battles. Secular objectives mixed with religious ones, inasmuch as fighting at the front was seen as a means of immediately experiencing Mahāmudrā.[90] The group included various types of adherents – disciples in the narrow sense, such as the later founder of the Ro-skam-pa monastery, some not more precisely identifiable yogis, the sculptor Mar-pa lha-dkar, a carpenter, the (later) caretaker (*dkon gnyer*) of Gung-thang as well as a number of local rulers, among them those from bSam-yas, 'Phrang-po, Kha-rag and Grib, the last of these was represented by the above-mentioned mGar rGyal-ba 'byung-gnas.[91]

The tradition identifies Dar-ma gzhon-nu as the actual founder of the Gung-thang temple, the history of which is directly connected with spiritual experiences on the battle field:

> During the *mahāmudric* insight that he had won on the battlefield, he had a vision of bDe-mchog (Saṃvāra) and in this connection he saw the future place of the bDe-mchog pho-brang (i.e. Byang-chub pho-brang, the central part of the Gung-thang temple with the Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po). The ground was full of tadpoles, and he pulled a tree trunk tied to his shoulders with two ropes repeatedly over the field until it was a muddy red. Cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 808.13. Here, apparently, he was carrying out the ritual of purifying the ground, a part of the *sa dpyad*, which precedes the foundation of the temple.[92] *GT* reports how Dar-ma gzhon-nu rode on a wild white mare (*rta rgod dkar mo*) in the search of a suitable place for the temple. It suddenly came to the intendant's mind that they – he and the master – did not have enough material to carry out the project. At the same moment, the horse tore off with its rider, and in the shortest time covered the distance of half a day's ride (*GT* 10a).

The divine animal was obviously making it plain that all the conditions for realizing their project would be provided. The two images (coming from different sources) should be seen in relation to each other and relate to the specific situation before the Gung-thang foundation: the procurement

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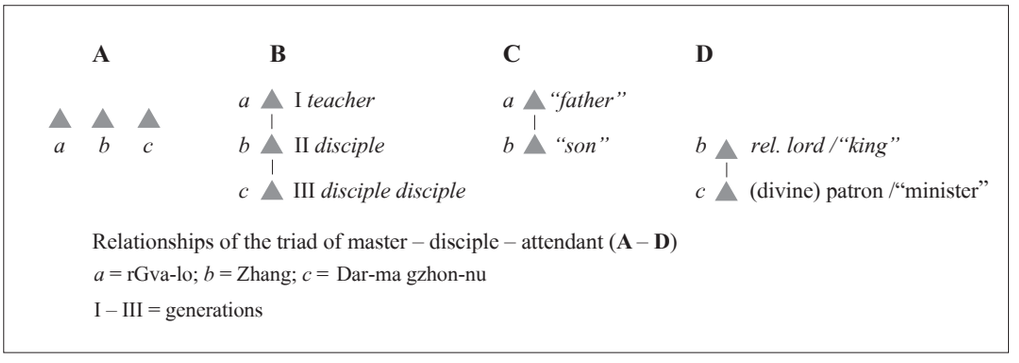
[90] Cf. Introduction: Chap. 6.2. It is not completely clear how we should conceive of what is being described in the sources as the battles, battlefield, soldiers and army leaders (cf. e.g. *Mar lung pa rnam thar* 88a2f.). In the Tibetan chronicles an army (*dmag*) can mean 1,000 people or only 20 (cf. e.g. CFS Gyalbo *et al.* 200). In one of the battles (i.e. the battle against the gDos-pa), Zhang called on his comrade in arms Ti-shri ras-pa to throw stones at the enemy, an indication of an inadequately armed crowd of players, whose actions nevertheless led to killing. Ti-shri ras-pa also had his doubts in this connection, when he remarked that he had actually come to Zhang for the sake of the Dharma, not to kill people (*GT* 16a). The warlike activities were usually circumscribed in the context of *'dul ba* actions (with Mahākāla figures as the main actors; see here the descriptions in connection with the erection of the Sri-gnon mchod-rten in Gung-thang; *GT* 63a-b). Occasionally the talk is more realistically of the destruction or demolition of local religious establishments (temple, monastery, *mchod rten*). The local tradition of lDan-ma (of sKyid-shod) includes a violent appearance of the Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang, who at one point here, known as rGyal-po Glang-dar-ma, once tore down a *stūpa* in order to use it for the building of his *vihāra* in Gung-thang (above Fig. 4a) As mentioned elsewhere (Hazod 2004), here it presumably concerns a relic shrine of Rva *lo tsā ba* (who died in lDan) and the violent appearance presumably here signals the taking over of a specific tradition (here of Yamāntaka), which is to be underpinned by the possession of the relics. Such actions were also usual in the later traditions, even if the connections with territorial-political objectives were perhaps not so extreme or obvious as in the case of the "wars" of Bla-ma Zhang and his group. It has already been mentioned (App. III), that several battlefields mentioned by name (such as those of 'Phrang, Zur-mkhar, Grva, Dol, lCang, sGrags and lDan i.a.) correspond with the territories of the later Tshal *mi sde*.

[91] The 'Phrin-las sgrub-pa bu-chen group partly corresponds to the probably older list of the "Thirteen Great Lions" of the *Mar lung pa rnam thar* (App. V: Table 4).

[92] Cf. e.g. Lessing and Wayman 1988: 281 *et passim*.

of material for building the shrine, a programme that was realized in the period of the Tshal-pa "crusades." The battlefield on which the founder experienced the vision of the temple and the (blood-)red earth that the white mare led him to are analogous images of the soil and foundation on which the future shrine will be erected.

The building of the temple took place on the instruction of dPal rGva-lo chen-po, who had functioned as Zhang's principal yogic teacher since approximately the 1150's. Bla-ma Zhang is indebted to him for the Heruka instructions and the transmission of the teaching cycles of mGon-po Phyag-bzhi-pa (the four-armed Mahākāla), of the later (male) chief protector of Gung-thang under whose protection (and that of his powerful attendants) Zhang's enterprises came. A significant representation for the Tshal-pa tradition is the triad of rGva-lo – Zhang and Dar-ma gzhon-nu; it reflects the relationship of the three chief protagonists of the founding of Gung-thang, with rGva-lo the paternal teacher on the one side and the attendant entrusted with the implementation of the project on the other. Zhang is the central figure, which has its divine image in the statue of lHa-chen dpal-'bar, the "lord of the seven places" (a reference to Zhang's *sgrub gnas bdun*). Its erection and consecration (according to the *Mar lung pa rnam thar* 1189 A.D.) formed the crowning conclusion of the "Gung-thang Project."



[*Graph 2*]



***39**. rGva-lo, Zhang and Dar-ma gzhon-nu*
Mural situated below the ceiling of the 'Du-khang in Gung-thang (2001)

The triad of rGva-lo, Zhang and Dar-ma gzhon-nu covers three generations of masters and disciples (*a* – *c* of Graph 2) and here at the same time reflects an archetypical arrangement of several hierarchical positions (A – D of Graph 2): father and son, "king" and "successor to the throne" or also "king" and "minister," the latter being an oppositional pair, whom (following the cliché of a patrilinear order) we can symbolically assign to the zones of centre and periphery, above and below (heaven and earth [represented by *lha* and *klu* etc.]) or male and female and other derivations. Dar-ma gzhon-nu represents both: as the founder of Gung-thang, he assumes the

central position; as the one responsible for procurement of the (building) material, he represents the ("ministerial" and "giving") side of the *yon bdag*, which covers both the divine patrons and the real local lords and their subjects, who are answerable to him or participate in the project.



***40**. A rider on a white horse and scenes of fighting – Detail from a biographical thangka of Bla-ma Zhang (Intro.: Fig. 5)*

The position of the assistant at Bla-ma Zhang's side led to the establishment of the secular throne of Tshal (*ca*. 1193). The history of its emergence is a branching off from the spiritual lineage created by Zhang. Both Dar-ma gzhon-nu and the *yon bdag* mGar rGyal-ba 'byung-gnas, whose line from 1231 A.D. onwards supplied the Tshal-pa rulers, were "sons" of Zhang. Religious and secular thrones form two sides of a ruling throne that are filled with the same spiritual power. It is no accident that the later *khri dpon* palace was built at Pehar's birthplace (cf. above Chap. 3.1). Possibly Dar-ma gzhon-nu already had his seat here. In the Tshal-pa tradition, the rider on the white mare is considered to be an incarnation of the "Hundred Giver" (i.e the King of the Gods (*lha'i rgyal po*) brGya-byin, i.e. Indra), a categorization that relates to the Pehar and rGyal-po sku-lnga tradition.

4.2 The White Mare

The divine mount of the assistant is also mentioned in connection with gTsang-pa rgya-ras, the founder of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school. It is said that immediately after his ordination in Tshal (under Bla-ma Zhang, 1193 A.D.), he rode a white mare, which began to gallop at the moment when the rider proclaimed himself to be of equal rank with Guru Nāropa (*GT* 14a). Behind this phenomenon, apparently, is a protective goddess who, similar to the stallion in the Vairocana story, functions as the bearer and disseminator of the doctrine, and who is not restricted to Tshal alone.[93] She is not named, but in this connection the link with Dar-ma gzhon-nu *alias* brGya-byin gives us an indication. She is apparently to be found in the circle of the Lord of the Gods, or better, in the milieu of Tibetan territorial gods with which brGya-byin is associated. He is considered to be

[93] A "white mare story" is also to be found in connection with dGyer-sgom Zhig-po (*alias* dGye-sgom Tshul-khrims seng-ge (1144–1204), the founder of Shug-gseb dgon-pa in sKyid-smad). He was practising with his *mudrā* in Yul-stod of the Tsa-ri area and it is reported how he was expelled from this site by a group of religious colleagues (representatives of the 'Brug-pa, Tshal-pa, [Phag-gru] gDan-sa-mthil-pa and 'Bri-gung-pa) who saw it "improper that this power place was occupied by a yogin with a female partner." dGyer-sgom rode off on a white mare after which the rTa-dkar-la (the White Horse Pass at the western entrance to the Tsa-ri mountain sanctuary) is named (see Huber 1999: 69, 91, 95, based on Padma dkar-po's guide to Tsa-ri). As mentioned above (Chap. 2), a rTa-dkar-la is also in Grib-phu where the pass (of lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje's horse) marks the southern entry zone of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala.

the father of gNam-mtsho rgyal-mo (i.e. the brGya-byin sras-mo gNam-mtsho [rgyal-mo (~phyug-mo)]), the goddess of the lake of the same name. She is the consort of Thang-lha as well as of Zur-phud lnga-pa, the deity addressed as *gandharva* king (and also *nāga* king), who is considered to be the manifestation form of the mountain god (usually depicted as a rider of a white horse; cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 206–208).



***41**. gNyan-chen Thang-lha*
Detail from a mural in lDing-kha-dgon (2005)

The powerful territorial god of the north and earlier "body god" (*sku lha* / *bla*) of King Khri Srong lde-btsan forms an important link with regard to the establishment of the Buddhist protector gods and the religious geography of the post-bSam-yas period. Not least, this concerns the establishment of the *chos skyong* Pehar, who supposedly was proposed to Padmasambhava by Zur-phud-lnga-pa as the guardian of the treasures for the king's *thugs dam* temple (see here TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 276). Among other places, Thang-lha had a seat at the dMar-po-ri of lHa-sa and at the Has-/ Khas-po-ri, the foundation mountain of the bSam-yas Maṇḍala.[94] The divinity's field of power is defined not least by the water courses, whose sources are associated with the mountain of the same name – above all the sKyid-chu and the great gNam-mtsho lake.[95] Correspondingly, he also appears in the sources as the Lord of the Waters, or the *nāga* king (*klu'i rgyal po*), alongside Zur-phud-lnga-pa also under the name Ne'u-le thod-dkar or *klu* Tshangs-pa (Brahmā).[96] In the older lHa-sa history, there is also the form Gung-thang gNyan-chen Thang-la, a name under which the deity appeared in connection with the sKyid-chu dike-buiding in the 1190's or the beginning of 13th century.[97] We assume that Gung-thang refers to Tshal Gung-thang, which then already claimed a leading position in the lHa-sa valley. It is reasonable to see the white mare of Gung-thang in connection with the Thang-lha family or with a manifestation that – in the classificatory sense – embodies the female side of the sacral geography of Thang-lha, namely with gNam-mtsho or a deity related to her, which we also encounter in Tshal.

One of the manifestations of gNam-mtsho is the *brtan ma* goddess rDo-rje Kun-grags-ma. She heads the group of the four great *bdud mo*, one of the three quartets of goddesses which form the class of the 12 brTan-ma (~ bsTan-ma). These are the four great *bdud mo*, four great *gnod sbyin mo*

[94] Cf. e.g. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig* 89; *dBa' bzhed* 16 (= P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 66).

[95] The geographical link between the sKyid-chu and Thang-lha is indirectly referred to in the taming story. The first subjugation by Padmasambhava took place in sNying-drung, at the place of sNying-ri; this is the "heart" of Thang-la and source of the lHa-chu, which later becomes the sKyid-chu. See Introduction: Chap. 4.

[96] There is a detailed description of Thang-la and gNam-mtsho and their various manifestations etc. in Bellezza 1997, Chaps. 1–5. On Ne'u-le thod-dkar and *klu* Tshangs-pa, see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index; see also Part I: fn.192.

[97] It relates to the Jo-rags project of the *chu rags pa* Nam-mkha'-dpal for the protection of the lHa-sa sanctuary, who was supported in this by Gung-thang gNyan-chen Thang-lha. The latter encouraged the master to win the brTan-ma from lHa-sa, as well as the more outlying territorial gods from the environs of the old *lha dgu*, for the enterprise, which began with the subjugation of the local *lha 'dre*. See App. II: Chap. 2.4 of this volume.

and four great *sman mo*, each assigned to one of the four points of the compass, with the leaders of the three groups in the east.[98]

The account of the bsTan-ma lists is not consistent and the sources give various goddesses as the leader of the twelve – rDo-rje Kun-grags-ma, rDo-rje Grags-mo-rgyal or rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma; the latter favoured by the Fifth Dalai Lama, who puts her on the same footing as gNam-mtsho phyug-mo.[99] The bsTan-ma are omnipresent in Tshal and in the lHa-sa valley. We have already mentioned some of them: The bsTan-ma protectress of the eastern and southern cardinal mountains (Jo-mo Zi-zi (~ Sil-sil) and Bum-pa-ri); g.Yu-sgron-ma (the protectress and *yul lha mo* of Tshal);[100] rDo-je grags-mo-rgyal (with her seat at the western Ri-bo dGe-'phel);[101] the bsTan-ma of the bsTan-ma lha-mo dBu-skra mountain (behind lCags-dkar-ri in the south); Kong-btsun De-mo (rDo-rje Bod-khams-skyong *alias* rDo-rje dPal-mo-che) of Gung-thang (Fig. 46), and not least Jo-mo sMan-gcig-ma of Byang-mkhar (above fn. 40), who we assume is identical with rDo-rje sMan-gcig-ma from the sub-group of the sMan-mo chen-bzhi.[102] The leader of this group is Kong-btsun De-mo, who together with the Sha-med Gangs-dkar-ma (fn. 96) is listed by name in the afore-mentioned lHa-sa *chu rags* project. The texts identify her among others as a manifestation of the white horse, an asssociation which is also to be found with other bsTsan-ma deities.[103] As mentioned above, in the mGon-khang of the gTsug-lag-khang she is next to the Gung-thang lha-mo 'Dod-khams dbyang-phyug-ma.[104] The latter (under the name of 'Dod-khams bdag-mo) also

[98] Cf. the example of the g.Yu-sgron *maṇḍala* in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 191–92 (according to the prayer text *lHa mo rdo rje g.yu sgron ma gtor tshogs* 2af.). According to a common classification, the three leaders are: gNam-mtsho phyug-mo rDo-rje Kun-grags-ma (*bdud mo* group), Gangs-dkar sha-med rDo-rje spyan-gcig-ma (*gnod sbyin* group) and Kong-btsun De-mo Bod-khams-skyong *alias* rDo-rje dPal-mo-che. See Sle-lung's *bsTan srung gi rnam thar* (*bsTan srung* [B] 167–198). The Gangs-dkar sha-med (also Sha-med Gangs-dkar-ma) is also to be found as second name of the g.Yu-sgron-ma (also Sha-med g.Yu-sgron-ma) or the rDo-rje g.Yu-bun-ma. See also Kalsang 1996: 57–76; 117f.

[99] Cf. Bellezza 1997: 107, 128; see also *bsTan srung* ([B] 189 where rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma is identified with the *mtsho sman* of the gNam-mtsho phyug-mo [lake] and specified as the consort of Thang-lha.

[100] The texts give dBu-ru Ka-tshal (i.e. the Srong-btsan sgam-po foundation and later 'Bri-gung-pa monastery in Mal-gro) as a chief residences of the g.Yu-sgron-ma. It evidently represents a main seat of bsTan-ma tradition of the central sKyid-chu region. The same site is also mentioned as one of the seats of g.Yu'i dril-bu rDo-rje Zugs-legs-ma, the bsTan-ma from Yar-lung (and sister of Yar-lha Sham-po) usually listed as the fourth in the group of the *sman bzhi* group. Cf. *bsTan srung* 188–89. The place in Ka-tshal appears to be related to the site of the protectress locally known as Yangkar tsima, which is on on the mountain behind the monastery (cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 50).

[101] She is also entitled a *yul lha* [*mo*]. She is one of the three deities that speak through the female oracle of bsTan-ma-lcog (i.e. Drags-mo-rgyal, the *bstan ma* g.Yu-sgon-ma and the *srung ma* dPa'-bo). The latter is considered the spirit of the landlord of dPa'-bo *rdzong* (Nam-mkha' dngos-gzhi-rdzong) who was one of the patrons during the building of 'Bras-spungs. The (original) bsTan-ma-lcog temple was situated behind the monastery, on the slopes of the dGe-'phel dBu-rtse (see Havnevik 2002; Byang-ngos-pa Tshe-g.yang 2002). To a certain extent this concerns a parallel institution to the gNas-chung *chos rje* state oracle, with which she appeared jointly on particular occasions. There was a second female oracle lineage within the narrower lHa-sa valley, which was closely related with Se-ra (in particlar with the monk soldiers (*bdab bdob*) of this monastery). The home of this oracle family was in Klu-po, a village close to dGa'-ldan-pa in Upper Nyang-bran (see App. V: Fig. 50).

[102] The texts mention a *thugs kyi pho nya mo* (or *g.yog mo*) (messenger/maid-servant of the mind) lHa-mo Shel-gza' sMan-gcig-ma as an emanation of rDo-rje Grags-mo-rgyal; a g.Yu'i sMan-gcig-ma is called the mother of Pehar in a *rgyal mdos* instruction text. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 99, 194, 195.

[103] So e.g. with rDo-rje Grags-mo-rgyal or with the sMan-gcig-ma who among other things is described as having a cape made of the skins of a thousand white horses (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *op. cit.,* 31, 194).

[104] The bsTan-ma Kong-btsun De-mo is identical with the synonymous leading territorial goddess of Kong-po, who is



***42**. brGya-byin (Indra)*
Detail from a *thangka*

counts among the manifestations of gNam-mtsho phyug-mo, although 'Dod-khams bdag-mo can also mean the "mother" *lha mo*, i.e. dMag-zor-rgyal, who in the esoteric tradition is likewise titled as a Lord Queen of the Desire Realm (i.e. *dpal ldan lha mo 'dod khams kyi dbang phyug dmag zor ma*).[105] This connection is not surprising as the bsTan-ma belong to the retinue of the lha-mo (i.e. dMag-zor-rgyal), who in Tshal had their place in the Pehar lha-khang (situated next to the g.Yu-sgron-ma, above fn. 37). Pehar ultimately represents the link between the above mentioned association of Thang-la and brGya-byin. This is the dBus-phyogs Thugs-kyi rgyal-po brGya-byin from the group of the rGyal-po sku-lnga, in which the *chos skyong* Pehar opens up. The King of Mind (*thugs kyi rgyal po*; **cittarāja*) is at the centre of the *sku lnga* maṇḍala, which is occupied by five kings, emanations of the five aspects of the god.[106]

We assume that the cultic representation of the Zhang intendant relates to this position of the dBus-phyogs, even if another mount is usually referred to for Thugs kyi rgyal-po.[107] The white mare that the early Tshal-pa tradition intended as a mount for Dar-ma gzhon-nu embodies a protectress of Tshal, we think a deity related to gNam-mtsho, in any case one whose story is evidently connected

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addressed in the Kong-po inscription (8th cent.) as *sku bla* De-mo, a name that relates to the De-mo district and De-mo-ri (due east of Kong-po Bon-ri). The later traditions classifiy her as the sister of the ancestral figure and first Kong-po ruler Kong-rje dkar-po (cf. *bsTan srung* 182). The Lady of Kong-po is also present everywhere in the monasteries (both Bon-po and Buddhist) as *srung ma* – thus also in Bu-chu lha-khang (Fig. 47), where she acts alongside the *gter bdag* rDzong-btsan (*alias* Zhang-blon rDo-rje bdud-'dul, the local off-shoot of the Grib rDzong-btsan from the lHa-sa valley, fn. 21). There is a statue and a mask of the *srung ma* in the mGon-khang next to the statue of rDzong-btsan (below Fig. 47). The two do not form a pair, as the Gung-thang *lha mo* and Grib Dzong-btsan do in Tshal Gung-thang, but nevertheless there may here be a closer connection to the sitaution in Gung-thang, with the presence of the rDzong-btsan as the connecting element of the two goddesses.

[105] Cf. Kalsang 1996: 28.

[106] I.e. the five *rgyal po* of *sku*, *gsung*, *thugs*, *yon tan*, *'phrin las*, with the last of these, the aspect of karmic activity, being represented by the *rgyal po* Pehar himself. There are also *sku lnga* representations with 'Phrin-las rgyal-po (Pehar) in the centre and Thugs kyi rgyal-po brGya-byin accordingly situated at the periphery (cf. e.g. Figs. 78, 79 in Kelényi 2003: 91). The leading oracle temples of lHa-sa are dedicated to them (i.e. gNas-chung Pehar-lcog, rMe-ru rnying-pa, Karma-shag and dGa'-ba-gdong [in Lower sTod-lung]). Other divinities, who are often spoken of as ministers or attendants, stand at the side of the rGyal-po sku-lnga. These are also mainly the divinities who possess the rGyal-po / Pehar oracle. rDo-rje Grags-ldan, the minister of gSung gi rgyal-po dGra-lha sKyes-gcig-bu (the protector of rMe-ru rnying-ba) is at the same time the chief minister within this group and often assumes the role of Pehar himself (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *op. cit.*, Chap. 7; Kalsang 1996: 77–84). In the appearance of the sKu-lnga group in the Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa* he represents the five ministers (above fn. 24). The rGyal-po sku-lnga also exist in the tradition of *chos skyong* Tshangs-pa dkar-po (*Tshangs pa gsol bstod* 11a4 ff). The latter's main residence in lHa-sa is the Tshangs-pa-lcog of the rMe-ru grva-tshang monastery (Chos-'phel 2004: 22; Alexander 2005: 125f.).

At the side of the *sku lnga* one often finds the goddess Nyi-ma gzhon-nu (known as protectress of the rDzog-chen teaching tradition); so in Me-ru rnying-ma where she appears as a representative of the *śakti* of the rGyal po sKu-lnga deities. She is also said to have been the *srung ma* (together with the Pehar acolyte Thog-btsan-pa, see fn. 35) of lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje.

[107] I.e. the white elephant (Fig. 43).

to the Thang-la family, brGya-byin and the Pehar tradition. Possibly the divine manifestation was present in sKyid-shod long before the Tshal-pa and in this connection one has to take into account whether there is a relationship between this divine animal and the old toponym of Tshal rTa-mo-ra (i.e. the garden with the fold of the mare), whose story coincides with that of Tsha-ba-gru, the place where the royal horse stopped and where the *rgyal po* Pehar was "born."[108]



***43**. dBus-phyogs Thugs kyi rgyal-po in the centre of the rGyal po sku lnga*

[108] There is a rTa-ra at gNam-mtsho and also elsewhere. *rTa ra* is a term from the bSam-yas *sa dpyad,* according to which in the run-up to the foundation of the temple a horse paddock was built on the instructions from [K]has-po-ri hill (in the sensse of an enclosure of the waters?), which formed the outline for the later external wall of the temple (*dBa' bzhed* 15a; P. Wangdu and H. Diemberger 2000: 64). In the *rNam thar phyi ma* (*ZhK III* (KA) 229b.1–3) and *Mar lung pa rnam thar* 87b.4-5 the position of various sites in and around bSam-yas (here referring to the sites of the *mchod rten* Glang-ru, Brag-dmar 'Grin-bzang (close to bSam-yas) and g.Yu-brag gser-khang in the neighbouring sGrags valley) is described as the "garden of the best horse, on the bank of the rTa-ma-la river in the snow-covered mountain country" (*kha ba can gyi ri rgyud du / chu bo rTa ma la'i 'gram / rta mchog tshal*). This is evidently a description of the geographical situation of gTsang-po *alias* rTa-mchog kha-'bab, with which (in the literature of the post-bSam-yas era) not least the sKyid-chu, the river with Thang-la as the source, is also identified. See Introduction, Chap. 4.2.





44, ***45***. *The bsTan-ma rDo-rje drag-mo-rgyal (44) and rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma*
Photo: From a *thangka* kept in the private rooms of Blo-bzang Tshe-sgrom, the last bsTan-ma-lcog Oracle (2002)





46, ***47***. *The bsTan-ma Kong-btsun De-mo in Gung-thang (46) and in Kong-po Bu-chu lha-khang* (2001, 2005)

4.3 The *klu* family

We find a similar metaphor for the power and dynamics illustrated by the mount of the founder of the Gung-thang temple in the *klu* story that Zhang tells in his autobiographical writing, the *Ngar phug ma* (80f.; *GT* 42b.f.). Here again is an overview of the essential points:

> Shortly before the foundation of the Tshal Yang-dgon, Zhang and Dar-ma gzhon-nu stopped in Ngar-phug (in Upper sGrags), where the local *klu mo* and the intendant posed the master the same question one after the other, whether he already knew where he would have his religious seat (= Yang-dgon) established. Zhang explained that this had been clear to him since his early studies under the master rNgog-ston, in the course of which lHa dPal-'bar dbang-phyug (Maheśvara) had appeared. In the "inquiries" he had then made of the visions, he saw that a white dog ran from a tent by the gTsang-chab river to Zhang's house, and Zhang knew that his family house will be transformed into a temple filled with all the precious stones (such as the dBang gi rgyal-po jewel, *ratnendra-rāja*), from the realm of the *klu rgyal* of the gTsang-chab river. The *klu mo* of Ngar-phug then let Zhang know that she was a member of this *klu* family and assured him that being his *yon bdag* she [and the others] would fulfill all his wishes. Thus the whole Tibetan realm was at his feet, filled with the treasures of the *klu* (here represented by the *rgyal srid rin chen sna bdun*, the symbol of the universal monarch; *cakravartin*) and brimful with water, which spread over the (later) Tshal territory. Beginning at the gTsang-chab river, unending fountains gradually filled the territories and regions of Ngan-lam lung-pa ral-gsum Grib, of sKyi[d]-shod Ngam-shod and from dBus gtsang Ru-bzhi as far as the region of Mi-nyag in eastern Tibet. Dar-ma gzhon-nu confirmed Zhang's visions of the Tshal-pa universe when at the end he saw the splendour of the future Yang-dgon and the gTsug-lag-khang rise, as it were, out of the ocean.

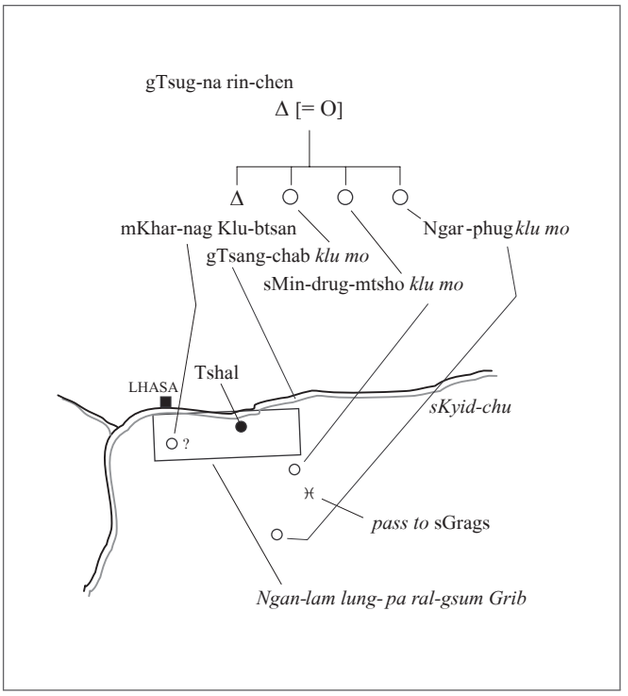
The story is to be seen against the background of specific esoteric traditions of his yogi teachers, of whom only rNgog-ston (rNgog mDo-sde) – chronologically Zhang's first of his six root master – is mentioned here. From him, Bla-ma Zhang in his youth heard the teaching cycles of Hevajra, Gur and the Mahāmāyā (cf. *Deb sngon* 833). Apparently these visions of the principal deity, the jewel palace, the tent and the dog relate to this. Gur stands for Gur gyi mgon-po, Mahākāla of the Tent (Pañjara Mahākāla), of which there is also the version "according to the tradition of rNgog" (based on the *Vajrapañjara tantra*).[109] The dog, on the other hand, may relate to mGon Khyi (i.e. mGon Khyi 'Brong-zhur), who is mentioned once in the sources representing Zhang's victorious battles against the local lords (i.e. those of lCang and [g]Dol) and to whom a *stūpa* in Gung-thang is dedicated (*GT* 63a; Part I: Graph 3, Fig. 4). He is a manifestation of the powerful Bya-rog gdong-can, for his part, chief of the numerous attendants of Phyag-bzhi, i.e. four-armed Mahākāla from the tradition of dPal rGva-lo.[110] The dog's residence in gTsang-chab finally corresponds with the realm of the *nāgarāja* and his family, who possess the *dbang gi rgyal po* jewel[111] and the *rgyal srid rin chen sna bdun*, the precious insignia of the universal monarch.

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[109] I.e. Pañjara Mahākāla Single in the Tradition of rNgog; cf. Wilson and Brauen 2000: 348.

[110] Mahākāla is the deity with whom the later *dpon chen* of mGar is associated; namely dGa'-bde-dpal who was considered an incarnation of mGon-po Bya-rog gdong-can (*GT* 32a).

[111] The jewel is among other things known as the emblem of Maṇidhāra, the attendant of the Ārya-Avalokita, and is obviously linked with the Mahākāla form mGon-dmar dBang gi rgyal-po (cf. *GT* 43a; Part I: fn. 588).



Graph 3. The klu family in the local context

The family consists of the father, *klu rgyal* gTsug-na rin-chen (*nāgarāja* Maṇicūḍa), the son, mKhar-nag Klu-btsan, and his three sisters, the gTsang-chab *klu mo*, the sMin-drug-mtsho *klu mo* and the Ngar-phug *klu mo*, i.e. the youngest. With some qualification, the names can be assigned to their respective particular sites in Tshal and the surrounding area (Graph 3). Ngar-phug is Ngar-phug of Upper sGrags; sMin-drug-mtsho presumably relates to one of the mountain lakes behind sMin-drug rdza-ri which the locals speak of; mKhar-nag possibly to the *klu* residence of mKhar-nag-mtsho (in sNye-thang district of sKyid-smad),[112] and gTsang-chab here stands for the sKyid-chu.[113] It is the principal source of the Tshal-pa territory[114] and the endless source of the lords of sKyid-shod:

> ". . . whenever I take a gulp of water from gTsang-chab (sKyid-chu), I will become endowed with wealth." (*GT* 43b)

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[112] The powerful *nāga* from the mKhar-nag lake is repeatedly mentioned in the sources, *inter alia* in connection with a shipping accident on the sKyid-chu at lHa-sa (see *Thang ston rnam thar I* 207f.; App. II: fn. 254). The lake is said to be located on the not further identified mKhar-nag-thang in the area of the sNye-thang district.

The taming of a *klu btsan* of rDzong-lung (in Grib ?) is reported in the [*Zhang*] *rNam thar mdor bsdus lung ston zhig po ma* (in *ZhK III* (KA) 249a5), an event which according to the context is to be placed in the founding phase of Tshal.

[113] Cf. Introduction 4.1; Part I: fn. 586.

[114] The four successive "flood zones" that characterise the Tshal-pa dominion (i.e. Ngan-lam plus Grib – sKyid-shod [and] Ngam-shod – dBus-gTsang and Myi-nyag yul) refer to the later boundaries of the Bar-, sTod- and sMad Tshal in the 13th century, which also means that the autobiographical records in the *Ngar phug ma* go back to disciples of Zhang or represent a later revision.

In terms of classification, the realm of the *nāga* family is a female area and counterpart to the protective zone of the bsTan-ma and *yul lha mo* of Tshal. We understand the peculiar formulation at the beginning of Zhang's autobiographical story, according to which both the *klu mo* of Ngar-phug and the intendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu, as it were, address the same question to the master: where he wants to establish his religious seat. The rider of the white mare of Tshal is an image of the divine donor who gives the mother country to the master.

5. THE FIRE OF GUNG-THANG

5.1 Pehar and the Decline of Tshal-pa



***48**. The "Pehar tree" in gNas-chung* (2002)

In February 1529 the god Pehar entered the body of the Tshal-pa ruler known as *khri dpon* Don-yod rdo-rje. A prophecy told the lord that he would soon die, but that the rebellious god could be driven out with the aid of an exorcism ritual. The latter was thrown into the sKyid-chu river, where he washed up further down the stream at Dan-'bag (west of lHa-sa) and was taken in by members of the nearby 'Bras-spungs community as the *srung ma* of the monastery.[115] What the banished god left behind in Tshal was a devastating turmoil with the disastrous destruction of the almost completely burnt out temple of Gung-thang, which had caught fire shortly after the *khri dpon* had become possessed by the god. Another version of the same story claims that rDo-rje grags-ldan (= Pehar) came out of a painting in the form of a monkey and set light to the devastating fire. This was supposed to be the god's act of revenge in his conflict with Zhang (= the community of Tshal).[116] The god was then banished to a box which was thrown into the river. After it was opened, the god flew out of the box in the form of a pigeon and manifested itself in a nearby tree (Fig. 48), around which the Pehar-lcog of gNas-chung was later built.

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[115] *GT* 41b, according to the *rnam thar* of lCog-pa Byang-chub dpal-ldan (b. 1464), the founder of the bDe-yangs college in 'Bras-spungs (Fig. 48). The box more precisely stranded at dMar-ser-can dgon-pa of Dan-'bag, one of the four satellite temples of bDe-yangs, where the deity was picked up by two [*rtse*] *drung* (monk officials) (*lCog pa Byang chub dpal ldan rnam thar* 10a–b). According to a local account, it was the cook of the monastery who by order of the abbot of 'Bras-spungs [bDe-yangs] fished out the deity from the river. Cf. here also the version cited in *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 2972b–2073a. On bDe-yangs, see also above fn. 24.

[116] The act of revenge relates to the rejectionist attitude of Zhang to Pehar in connection with the building of the Gung-thang *vihāra*: he gave the painters the order that the murals should not contain any image of the deity. In the form of a young assistant, Pehar convinced the painters to depict a monkey with a burning incense stick in its hand. In the night, this monkey* then set the temple on fire (see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 104f.). A local variant of this story gives "*khri dpon* and Bla-ma Zhang" as the painters, who are outwitted by a child (= Pehar) (see Part I: fn. 576). The reasons for Zhang's discardable attitude are not mentioned, but neither is the Tshal-pa founder meant, as "Zhang" here stands for the later Tshal community. The narrative here mixes two different historical contexts of a "Zhang-Pehar conflict," which is first mentioned in the foundation of Tshal Yang-dgon (above fn. 85; Chap. 1).

* The monkey manifestation of the deity (see above, Fig. 1) is already mentioned in connection with the story of the transfer of Pehar (*alias* Shing-bya-can) from Bhaṭa Hor to bSam-yas. See *Nyang ral chos 'byung* 344.10.



***49**. lCog-pa Byang-chub dpal-ldan*
Modern statue kept in bDe-yangs



***50**. Pehar rGyal-po in bDe-yangs*

This account, of which there are several variations, includes the story of the installation of Pehar as the chief protector of the future rulers of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang, a procedure which took place in two stages: The establishment of Pehar as *srung ma* of 'Bras-spungs in the time of the Second Dalai Lama (the date 1529 relates to this) and the building of the oracle temple of gNas-chung at the end of the 17th century under *sde srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, which was followed by further oracle temples of Pehar emanations in lHa-sa. The story of the transfer of the divinity is at the same time a story of the downfall of the Tshal-pa as an independent political and religious institution, an event that for its part took place in several stages: The political end of the Tshal-pa *dpon chen* (and *khri dpon*) with the confiscation of the territories in sKyid-shod in the period of the Phag-mo gru-pa Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan; then the successive incorporation of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school into the dGe-lugs-pa order from the 15th century (i.e. the affiliation of the individual Tshal-pa colleges as seminars and dependencies to various dGe-lugs institutions, Se-ra, 'Bras-spungs, dGa'-ldan), and finally the complete incorporation into the lHa-sa central government in the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the *sde srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. In between came the rule of the Rin-spungs; at the end of the 15th/ beginning of 16th century under *sa skyong* Don-yod rdo-rje, the latter was able briefly to occupy the previous Tshal-pa areas of sKyid-shod, which had until then been controlled by the Phag-mo gru-pa (cf. Introduction, Chap. 9). The hegemony was accompanied by an increased presence of the Karma-pa (the religious allies of the gTsang-ruler) in the lHa-sa valley, which also led to a short-term take-over of Tshal Gung-thang. The sources speak of a handing over of Tshal Gung-thang (or a part of the monastic centre, namely dBus-gling) to the Karma-pa on the initiative of the Don-yod rdo-rje in 1503 (Part I: fn. 663). This alliance did not last long. One of the sources (*Kam tshang brgyud pa II* 22bf.) connects the ending of it to the fire of Gung-thang. It is said that the "gNas-chung *rgyal po*" (i.e. Pehar) caused the fire after he had previously incited 'Bras-spungs-pa to bar the Karma-pa from access to the Jo-bo of lHa-sa (exemplified in the denial of access to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang for Karma-pa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje), an allusion to the (successful) counter-offensive by the dGe-lugs-pa and their allies (above all the sKyid-shod-pa) against the hegemony of the lords of gTsang (see Introduction). It appears that the name of the Rin-spungs ruler, who, so to speak, here assumed the position of the last Tshal-pa ruler and lord of sKyid-shod, lies behind the "Tshal-pa *khri dpon* Don-yod rdo-rje," to whom there is no reference anywhere else.

The fire of Gung-thang, which the (later) gNas-chung *rgyal po* allegedly started, is dated to the *me rta* 1546 – more precisely the 15th day of the fourth month of that year. This exact date may be a "corrected statement" of the later account, which situates this event on the most important day of the year in the Tibetan ritual calendar, when in Gung-thang the central *sa ga zla ba* festival

of *Me tog mchod pa* is held. The year given, 1546 is to some extent also contradictory. At least the immediate linking of this date with the event of the installation of Pehar in 'Bras-spung does not agree chronologically; the latter (according to Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho) took place under the Second Dalai Lama, who died in 1542. However, the intention was obviously to consciously link the two historic events of the Gung-thang *me 'bar* and the departure of the god.[117]

As we have seen, the god sought a medium and a container (*rten*) where he could act, namely the body of the *khri dpon*. The account is perhaps thereby seeking to tell us the "true" culprit. In the old Pehar lha-khang of Tshal a special relic, the "hand of a *khri dpon*" was supposedly kept (Part I: fn. 576). We assume that it refers to the hand that started the fire. One of the variants in the local accounts says that the possessed Tshal-pa rose out of the box as a flame (cf. Waddell 1993 (repr.): 479). The Gung-thang fire, or rather flame, is apparently manifested itself as holy as the hand that sparked it off. This hand of the Tshal-pa ruler, one must conclude, is nothing other than the tool of the protector of Tshal, who not only acts against the enemy (Karma-pa/Rin-spungs-pa), but also against his own institution, and therefore must go.

The whole story comes within the larger framework of the local cultic tradition. Naturally, Pehar had never really left Tshal. As we know, today as then, the *rgyal po* Pe-har-khang is there, and the god functions, among other things, as the *yul lha* of the Tshal district. Dan-'bag, the place where the god was fished out of the water (and the "coffin"), can be seen as one of the birthplaces of the divinity, which relate to places where the original bSam-yas protector appeared, historically speaking, in exceptional ways. One of these is Tshal,[118] which in this respect forms an intermediate stage and a bridge to the new cultic re-organization of the Dalai Lama period. Significantly, the Pehar birthplace of Tshal is immediately next to the (former) residence of the Tshal-pa *dpon chen* (see above Chap. 2.1). The motive for the abandoning of the divinity thus symbolizes less its departure than the circumstance of the dissemination and new installation in a new historical context. The more precise historical background is evidently formed by the expulsion of the Karma-pa from Tshal and lHa-sa, which goes hand in hand with the erection of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang in 'Bras-spungs, the new power base of the dGe-lugs-pa, who were to take up the political inheritance of the one-time Tshal-pa *dpon chen*. At the same time the story tells of the origin of the Tibetan oracle. In this form, it has many parallels in Tibetan history, with the common feature that the spirit of a high-ranking line manifests itself in the container and medium – it is usually the line of a secular ruler who assumes the position of a minister at the side of the chief deity.[119]

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[117] Some sources have 1547 as the date of the *me 'bar*. It should be noted that a devastating fire of sTag-lung is also registered for the same year. Cf. *Kam tshang brgyud pa II* (*op. cit.*) speaks of the "fire of Tshal sTag" (Tshal [Gung-thang] [and] sTag[-lung]) in the [*me*] *rta* year 1546. One may assume that there exists a connection between the two fire events, even if the precise (political) background in the case of Byang sTag-lung is not so well documented.

[118] As mentioned, the arrival of Pehar in Tshal is not explicitly described anywhere to our knowledge. It may be addressed in the Vairocana exile story (Chap. III.3). A deity who came via the water to Tshal is the bSam-yas protector rTsi'u dmar-po (above Chap. III.1), who so to speak followed the path of Pehar.

[119] Cf. here e.g. the story of the installation of the Tshangs-pa/bSe-sku oracle of Khra-'brug (TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 279ff.). In the iconography and cult of Pehar and his numerous parallel manifestations, one always finds minister at the side of the god (see e.g. fns. 30, 104) and often it is the minister or an additional adjutant with whom the medium preferentially communicates. More precisely, the strange name "Tshal-pa *khri dpon* Don-yod rdo-je" conceals the history of two lines: the Tshal-pa *khri dpon* (= the line of the mGar) and the Rin-spungs-pa, that is the line of the dGyer clan, who like the mGar provided a minister at the time of the Srong-btsan sgam-po, namely the *nang blon* called dGyer/sGer

Since the 15th century (i.e. since the entry of the Phag-mo gru-pa *rdzong* families to sKyid-shod) the Tshal-pa were politically *de facto* out of the game. But up until the 17th century there were at least nominally rulers of the Tshal-pa from the line of mGar, who continued to provide the *gdan sa ba* of Yang-dgon and the *dpon po*. According to the account in *GT*, the end of this line is the actual end of the Tshal-pa. *Zhabs drung* Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan, who has already been mentioned above in connection with the transportation of the Sri'i *rdo ring*, is considered to be the last Tshal-pa ruler. During his tenure (or shortly afterwards) the governmental confiscation (*gzhung bzhes*) of the monastic estates of Tshal-pa took place. According to *GT*, he died on the day of the Gung-thang Flower Offering of the year 1633. Apart from the fact that the year is to be placed one *rab byung* (60-year cycle) later (with 1693 as the correct year of death; see fn. 70), here, similar to the case of the Gung thang *me 'bar*, the day seems to have been consciously chosen in order to underline a historical turning point. Several events that were decisive for the fate of the monastic centre appear in the reflections of the later sources often to have been chronologically manipulated or are accompanied by peculiar and apparently irrational events, as in the case of the "withdrawal" of Pehar. Such observations are no rarity in historiography and in themselves form a document to the extent that they make it possible to recognise particular interests from the time of the author. The last *spyan snga* of Tshal Yang-dgon (i.e. sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho), who is considered to be the last representative from the glorious lineage of mGar (in the case of Tshal-pa Grags-pa, membership of this lineage is only assumed by the author of the *GT*),[120] died some decades before Tshal-pa Grags-pa. He had worked together with Zur-chen, who in the 1640's, moved into Tshal on the order of the Fifth Dalai Lama and as it were prepared the takeover of the monastic centre. sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho then died suddenly (from an illness), which – as it is said – was brought here by the malevolence (*'khu ldog*) of rDo-rje grags-ldan (Pehar's chief minister). More precise details about the circumstances are not given, however (*GT* 18b). The god here was evidently acting as a revenge spirit. But revenge for what? The placing of rDo-rje grags-ldan *alias* Pehar at this point in Tshal-pa history may be an addition by later historiography, which inserted a scapegoat to legitimate historical developments that it supports. The latter is a god and demon simultaneously, whose fate is drawn by the poles of banishment and sanctification (in a new group). The local tradition sees such revenge actions by the Tshal protector as the result of the ignorant behaviour of Bla-ma Zhang with regard to Pehar (in connection with particular instructions by the Tshal protector; see above fn. 85), or of other "offences" of the master, which as a whole fit into the historical image of the arrogant Bla-ma Zhang and, as it were, lie like a shadow over the history of the monastic centre. It includes a view that the historical fate of the downfall of Tshal-pa was, as it were, its own fault.

Ral-pa-'dzin, who played a significant role in the Khra-'brug foundation story. In the comparative literature the name is little known, but not so the heirloom that he left behind, a turquoise treasure or specific, decorated (royal insignia-like) turquoise ornament, which passed on to the later Rin-spungs-pa before, in the 17th century, it fell into the hands of the lHa-sa central government. (The showpiece of this dGyer heirloom is the extensively turquoise-studded ear-ornament (*rna rgyang*), which was worn by the "Rin-chen rgyan-pa" aristocrats on the occasion of particular lHa-sa festivals; cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 27–28; 142, *passim*).

[120] As suggested in the Introduction (Chap. 9.3.1) the Tshal-pa Grags-pa is rather to identify as the last of the *sde pa* Tshal-pa from the house of dGa-ldan sKyid-shod-pa. The lineage behind this ruling house too was mGar, but not the mGar branch of Grib where the *dpon chen* hailed from.

5.2 The Gung-thang me-shor

A similar interpretation can also be seen in the gesture of the Gung-thang me-shor, the statue in Jo-khang that commemorates the fire of Gung-thang. The model is an an image of Nyi-ma-'dzin that refers iconographically to the *mahāsiddha* Virūpa in his "common" position or pose (*thun mong ba*) characterized by the raised left arm, an allusion to the legendary account according to which the master once stopped the course of the sun (cf. e.g. App. II: Fig. 28). The statue is situated at the northern wall of the ground floor of the gTsug-lag-kang so that the outstretched arm points towards Tshal Gung-thang in the east, a gesture that is interpreted as "Gung-thang is on Fire!" (*gung thang me shor*).[121] We do not know the precise background as to why Virūpa was drawn on as the model for Gung-thang me-shor. One may see a parallel in the object of the threat gesture that stops the sun in the Virūpa account, and in the Gung-thang story perhaps means the stopping/quenching of the disastrous fire (perhaps, too, more generally: "stopping" the history of Tshal). But the statue is not called "Gung-thang will be quenched" but "Gung-thang is burning."




51, ***52***. *The statues of Gung-thang me-shor (51) and Khro-bo rMe-brtsegs in Jo-khang* (2001)

The *mahāsiddha* Virūpa is the father and first transmitter of the *Lam 'bras* Teaching, the foundation of the Sa-skya school, whose leading intellectual representative, Sa-skya Paṇḍita, was a critic of Bla-ma Zhang. This concerned particular doctrinaire (Great Seal specific) interpretations and in particular the unusually violent method of spiritual practice that Zhang propagated (cf. Introduction:

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[121] The statue (a modern replica of an older (originally 17th cent.?) depiction) here is part of a group of four historic saints (Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po, Thang-stong rgyal-po, Mar-pa and Virūpa; see Fig. 51), although it is not clear whether the grouping together has any close relationship to the event that Gung-thang me-shor signals. There were also similar images in other temples of the dynastic period, such as for example in Khra-'brug, where Virūpa also forms the model for a "*me shor* statue" (TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 70–71). In Jo-khang, some monks also ascribe the name to the Khro-bo rMe-brtsegs image, the famous guardian statue with the outstreched right arm, which is situated next to the entrance of the Jo-bo chapel (ground-floor) (Fig. 52). It is perhaps worthy of mention that the statue of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang with its place in the area in front of the Tshong-kha-pa chapel (= room no. 22 of the plan of Richardson 1998: 247) is, so to speak, between the two "Gung-thang me-shor" images (Fig. 53).

Chap. 6.2). As abbot and lineage-holder (from 1216) Sa-skya Paṇḍita also personally took the responsibility for the commissioning or the consecration of illustrations of the Great Lord of Yoga (Virūpa).[122] Here it is worthy of note that precisely the Indian *mahāsiddha* Virūpa was known for an aggresssive approach, which an earlier author, himself a well-known *grub thob*, stated is only comparable in Tibet with that of Zhang Rin-po-che.[123] One may see a contradiction in this, but perhaps precisely these parallels of a similar temperament formed the background for the modelling of the Gung-thang me-shor image, which here goes hand in hand with a Tshal-pa-critical attitude of an older Sa-skya tradition. According to this, the arm of Gung-thang me-shor is, more accurately, a (threatening) gesture by Virūpa, pointing in the direction of Bla-ma Zhang: a reminder to the master, his school and the politics it provoked and which is now culminating in the fire of Gung-thang. Nobody is here more suitable as a bearer of the memory, one could say, than a blunt *alter ego* of the Tshal-pa founder. As has been mentioned (fn. 121), not far right (= east) of the Virūpa *alias* Gung-thang me-shor, is the statue of Zhang, so that one here in fact has the impression that the arm of the "Gung-thang is burning" is pointing at the founder of Tshal. Perhaps we should here see a far more comprehensive, divine gesture, seeking to link the end of an epoch causally with its author.



***53**. Bla-ma Zhang in Jo-khang* (2001)

He himself, however, had long been classified by history as a "Jewel of Tibet" (Introduction, Chap. 9), so that his image in the Jo-khang is at the same time put in a light that to a certain extent releases him from the Tshal-pa history. The "sun," which the *mahāsiddha* symbolically stops, so to say moved on again, namely into the heaven as one of the pre-existences of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

[122] See e.g. Plate 35 in *The Kronos Collections* (in *www.asianart.com*).

[123] It refers to a statement by *grub thob* O-rgyan-pa Seng-ge-dpal (1230–1309) quoted by dPa'-bo (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 810). See Jackson 1994: 63. See also Introduction: Chap. 6.2.

APPENDIX V

Tables 1–13



1. *Fisherman at the sKyid-chu* (1995)

V.1 The Two Thrones of Tshal-pa:
The Religious Throne of the Yang-dgon *gdan sa* and the *dbon*/*dpon sa*-Throne of the Secular Rulers (*srid skyong*, [*khri*] *dpon*)

based on *Gung thang dkar chag (GT)* and *Deb dmar (DM)*
Complementary data:
Deb sngon (*DN*); *Vaiḍūrya ser po* (*VS*); *Bod kyi deb ther* (*BD*); *dPag bsam ljon bzang* (*PS*);
Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma (*CN*); *Thang ston rnam thar* (*TN*)
Secondary Sources:
Ming mdzod (*MZ*), *Mi sna* (*MN*)

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gdan sa:

I. **Śākya ye-shes**
1147–1207
Tenure: 1186/87–1207
DS, *CN*: *rl*. 1194–1207
Installation of a
mchod yon relationship with Dar-ma gzhon-nu

II. **Byang-chub ye-shes**
Paternal relative of no. I
Tenure: 1207/8–1210

III. **lHa-phyug mkhar-ba**
1145–1215
Tenure: 5 years, 1210–1214

IV. **Sangs-rgyas-'bum**
rl. 5 years, 1214–1219
DS: rl. 18 years until 1231
Expelled from the chair in 1231;
he was followed by no. VI

V. **Ti-shri** (~ shi) **Ras-pa**
Clan (i.e. rJe['u]) of no. IV ?
1164–1236; Tenure: 1231–1232
[*VS*: V. sGom-pa Ye-shes-ldan (= no. VI?)]

VI. **Sangs-rgyas snying-po**
Tenure: 1232–1237
MZ: rl. *ab* 1231; *DS*: rl. 1231–1237
[*CN*: VI. [sGom-pa] Ye-shes-ldan]

VII. **Sangs-rgyas gzhon-nu**
Brother of no. VI
Tenure: 1238–1260
CN: rl. five years

VIII. **Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan**
Brother of nos. VI and VII
1228–1290/91; *DS*: 1232–1292
Tenure: 1248–1280; *PS*: rl. 38 or 39 years
DS: rl. *ca*. 1260–1292

dbon/ *dpon sa*:

1. **Dar-ma gZhon-nu**
1145–1232/33
Attendant (*nye gnas*) of Bla-ma Zhang and appointed Lord (*bdag po*) of Tshal Gung-thang
Tenure: 1193–1214/15

2. **'Byung-gnas btson-'grus**
Nephew of no. 1
Tenure: *ab* 1217

3. **Ye-shes 'byung-gnas**
Nephew of no. 2
Tenure: 1227–1230
Conquest of sKyid-smad

4. **Sangs-rgyas dNgos-grub**
Change to the mGar lineage
Tenure: *ca*. 1231–1254/55
Beginning of the relationship with the Mongols initiated by gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba and Bla-ma Gung-thang-pa

5. **dPon-chen Rin rgyal-ba**
Son of no. 4
1233–1289
Tenure: 1254/55–1265
Est. of the Tshal-pa *khri skor*;
mchod yon relation with Sangs-rgyas-'bum (no. IV)

6. **Nyi-ma shes-rab**
Son of no. 5
1253–1279
Tenure: 1269–1279

IX. **Sangs-rgyas rin-chen**
Nephew of no. VIII
Tenure: 1280–1290; *DS*: 1247–1301 A.D.

X. **Śākya-'bum**
ca. 1267–1310
Grandson of no. II
Tenure: 1290–1298
DS: 1301–1310

XI. **Byang-chub bzang-po**
Maternal relative of Yang-dgon-pa (no. X ?)
1298–1358
Tenure: 1310–1358
DS, *MZ*: 1281–1356
Tenure: 1310–1356

XII. **Grags-pa bshes-gnyen** (= no 11)
Son of no. 9
1322–1381
Tenure: 1354–1381
DS, *CN*: rl. 24 years, 1357–1381

XIII. **Legs-pa rgyal-mtshan**
Son of no. 12 and brother of
Nos. 13 and 14
b. 1366
Tenure: 1378–1399

XIV. **dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan** (= no. 16)
1387–1417
Tenure: 1399–1416/17

V. **Grags-pa Don-grub**
Tenure: 1417– ?

XVI. **bSod-nams rin-chen**
Tenure: [*shing*] *stag* 1434 ?

XVII. **Nam-mkha' bzang-po**

XVIII. **Chos-rje Rin-chen**

XIX. **bSod-nams rgya-mtsho**
Son of no. XIV

XX. **Grags-pa rgya-mtsho**

7. **dGa'-bde-dpal-ba**
Son of no. 5
1254–1310

8. **Rin-chen seng-ge**
Son of no. 7
Tenure: 1310–1314

9. **sMon-lam rdo-rje**
Son of no. 7; father of no. XII
1284–1346/47
Tenure: *ca*. 1304–36?
(joint tenure with no. 8 [1304–10] and no. 10 [–1323])

10. **Kun-dga' rdo-rje**
Son of no. 9
1309–1364
Tenure: 1323–50/51

11. **Grags-pa bshes-gnyan**
Younger brother of no. 9
rl. 6 years, *ca*. 1351–56

12. **dGe-legs bzang-po**
Son of no. 10
1342–1390/91
Tenure: *ca*. 1355–70/7

13. **dPal-'byor bzang-po**
Son of no. 12
1361–1390
Tenure: 1370–1390

14. **Legs-ldan bzang-po**
Son of no. 12
b. 1367; Tenure: *ca*. 1390–96

15. **dGa'-bde bzang-po**
(*DM*: Grags-pa bzang-po)
Son of no. 13
1386–1409/10
Tenure: *ca.* 1396–1409/10

16. **dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan**
Phag-mo gru-pa appropriation of Tshal Gung-thang and the Tshal territories ([*shing*] *lug* 1415?); *gnyer pa* dGyes-rgyal mkhan-po]

4 or 5 generations of *dpon sa ba* not mentioned by name

(*TN*: Tshal-pa *dpon po* rNam-rgyal bzang-po, reg. for the late 1440's)

1529:
"*khri dpon* Don-yod rdo-rje"

XXI. **Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho**
flourit mid-16th century

XXII. **bSod-nams rab-brtan**

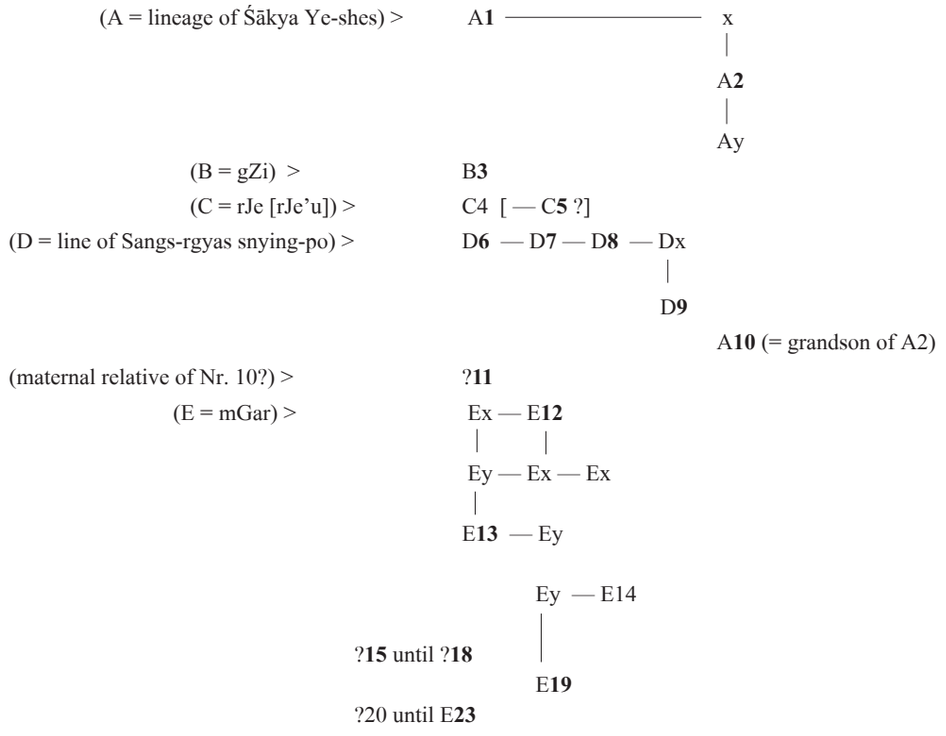
XXIII. **sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho**
Last *gdan sa ba* of the "Tshal-lineage"
(*GT*: d. 1589 A.D.;
Zur chen rnam thar: d. 1649)

1546: Gung-thang Fire >
sKyid-shod *zhabs drung* Don-grub rab-brtan dpal-bzang-po –
Tshal became part of sKyid-shod dGa'-ldan-pa

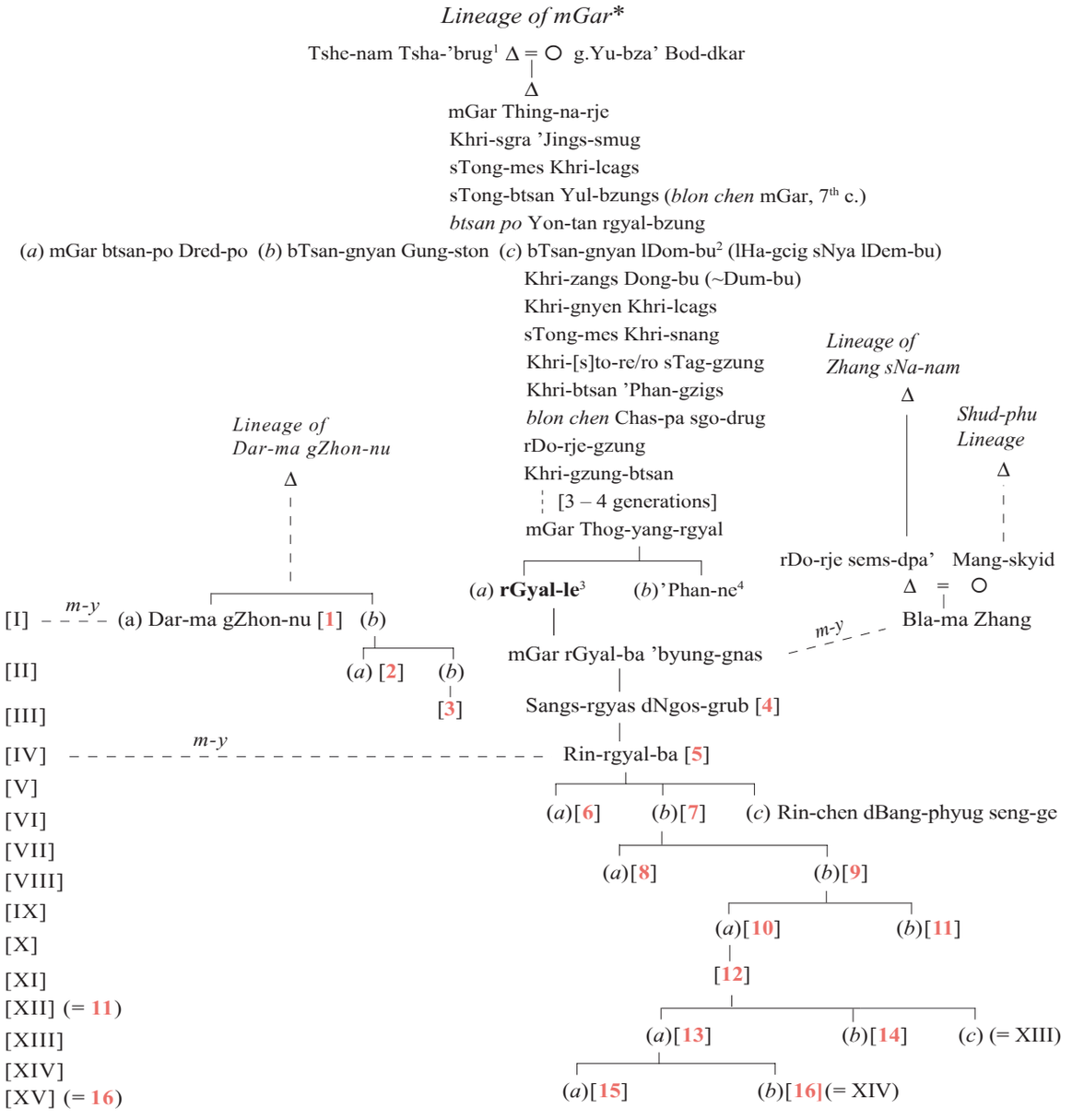
Zhabs drung Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan
(*GT*: d. 1633 A.D.; more correctly: 1693 A.D.)
Incorporation into the lHa-sa Government

V.1.1 The Clan Affiliations of the Abbots of Tshal Yang-dgon

[Sigla: A, B, C, D, E = individual clans; 1, 2, etc. = succession of abbots;
x = brother, y = son; ? = clan affiliation unknown; – = lateral relation]



V.1.2 The Lineages of the *dpon sa* and the Relation to the Yang-dgon *gdan sa*



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* Based on *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* (*MD* 4b3f.); *Bod kyi deb ther* 106–107; *Gung thang dkar chag*; see Part I: fn. 373
Sigla: [1] [2] etc. = succession of the Tshal-pa *dpon po* [I] [II] etc. = succession of the Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba*
(*a*) (*b*) etc. = brothers *m-y* = *mchod yon* relationship

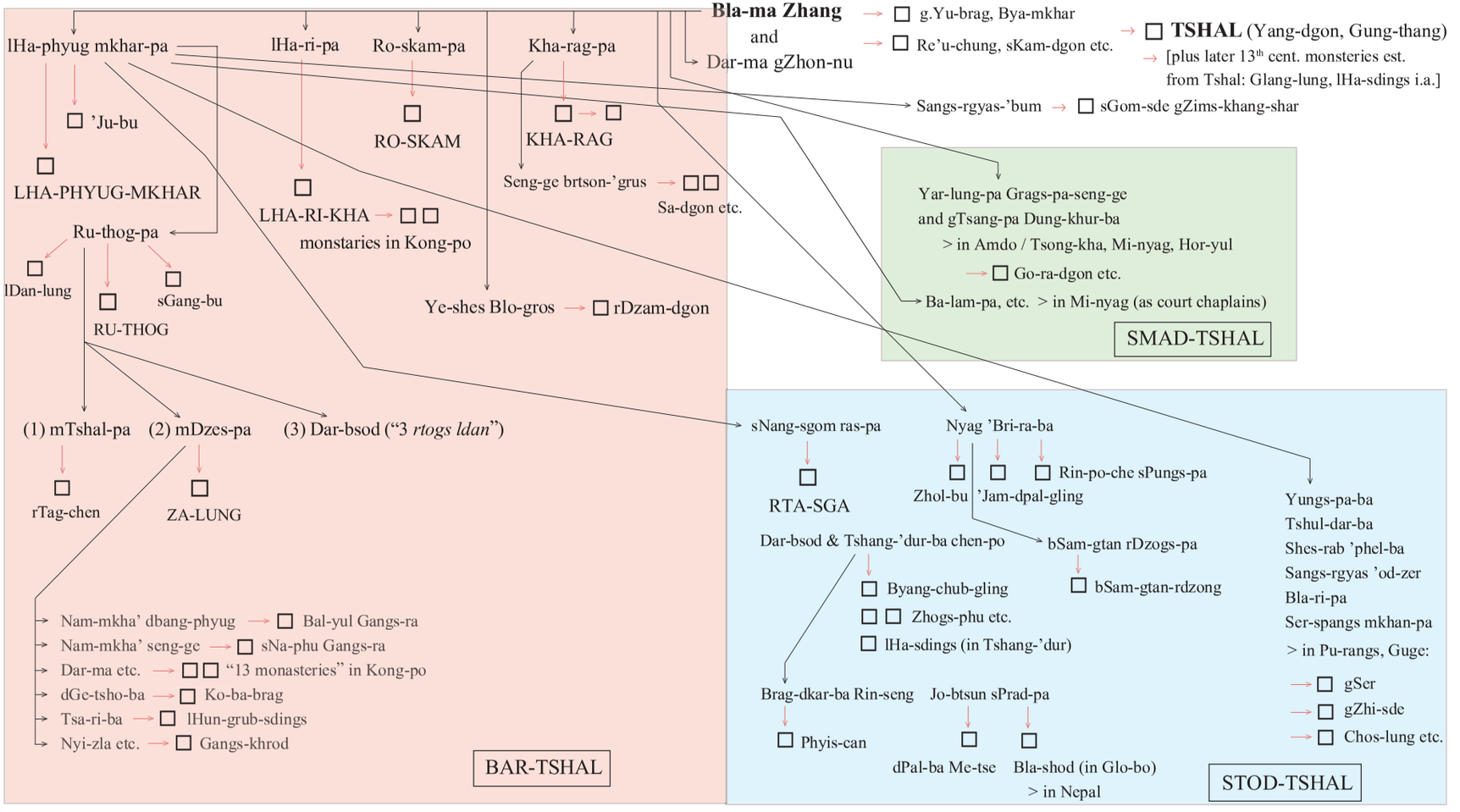
[1] Descendance from heaven.

[2] He functioned as *yul dpon* of the sNye-mo district (*MD* 5a5–6).

[3] He settled down in Grib.

[4] His lineage settled in sTod-lung Ram-pa (see App. IV: fn. 21).

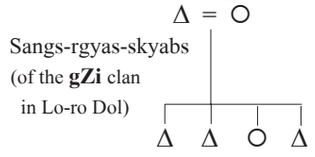
V.2 The Main Branches of the Tshal-pa School Established in the 12th and 13th Century



Sigla: → □ = founding of a (branch-) monastery / dependency of a religious site ——→ = direct disciple

V.2.1 The *gdan sa ba* Lineages of the Main Branches of the Tshal-pa School[1]

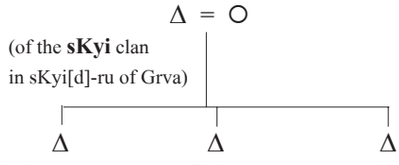
A lHa-phyug-mkhar dgon-pa (in Ba-lam [shar])



lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa Nyi-zla-'od (1145–1215) =

I *gdan sa ba* of lHa-phyug-mkhar (found. 1193 A.D.)
II Bla-ma sPyan-snga-ba (rl. 7 years, *ca*. 1215–1221)
III Rin-po-che sTon-nam (rl. 3 years; in 1224 throne was vacant)
IV Bla-ma Ba-lam-pa (sojourn in Mi-nyag in 1224)
V Sangs-rgyas Jo-sras
VI Sangs-rgyas sTon-pa
VII Bla-ma Za-lung-pa bSod-nams dbang-phyug (*ab ca*. 1257)
VIII Za-lung-pa Bla-ma mJos-pa bzang-po
IX Ru-thog-pa Śākya rgyal-mtshan
X Bla-ma 'Ju-phu-ba Shes-rab-'phel (*fl.* 1st half of 14th cent; the latter three were also active in (or served as abbots of) the Bar Tshal institutions of Za-lung, Ru-thog and 'Ju-phu, respectively)

B Kha-rag dgon-pa (in Kha-rag)



Kha-rag-pa chen-po 'Dul-ba-'od (*aliases rtogs ldan* Nyag-po-seng-ge, *dge slong* dNgos-grub bla-ma) =

slob dpon Jo-sras

I *gdan sa ba* of Kha-rag dgon (found. in 1193?)
II *dbon po* Seng-ge brtson-'grus
III *chos rje* rGyal[-ba] gZhon[-nu],
IV mKhas-pa Grags[-pa] rgyal[-po/mtshan]
V *bla ma* sGang-kha-ba Blo-gros bzang-po
VI dBu-rtse-ba Grags-pa rdo-rje
VII 'Jam-dbyangs Shes-rab bzang-po
VIII *dge bshes* Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan
IX 'Od-zer lHa-tho-ba
X *bla ma* gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan (registered for the period of the 9th Tshal-pa *dpon po* sMon-lam rdo-rje [rl. *ca*. 1304–1336]; *Tshal rnam* 47a)

[1] Based on *Deb dmar*, *Gung thang dkar chag, Deb sngon, VS, lHo rong chos'byung, Yon tan 'brug sgra*, *Chos legs rnam thar*, etc.; see Part I: Chap. II.1.2.2; II.1.2.3. **A** – **F** refer to the main institutions of the Bar Tshal.

C Ru-thog dgon-pa (in eastern Mal-gro)

Ru-thog-pa chen-po (*aliases rtogs ldan* bDe-ba gzhon-nu, Zhig-po sTon-bde)
(of the **mDzo-ri**/ro clan in Grva) =
I *gdan sa ba* of Ru-thog dgon-pa (found. *ca*. 1200 A.D.)
II *spyan snga* gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan
III *spyan snga* Chos Blo-gros
IV *gcung* Rin-po-che 'Jigs-med seng-ge

D Za-lung dgon-pa (in sKyid-shod)

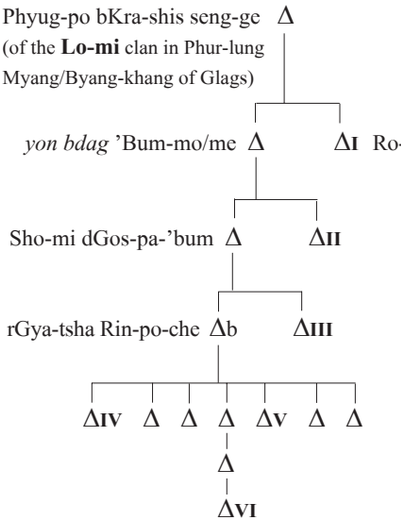
. Mal-gros-pa/dgos-pa mGon Δ
(from Za-'og [in Mang-yul Gung-thang?])
Δ Δy Δ y = g.Yung-drung Byin-rlabs[-brtan]
Δa Δb Δc

a = *rtogs ldan* mDzes-pa [snying-po] (from the *rtogs ldan gsum* disciple group of Ru-thog-pa chen-po) =
I abbot of Za-lung (founded in 1215 A.D.; rl. 30 years; d. 1244)
b = II [Za-lung-pa] bSod-nams dbang-phyug (rl. 14 years) (= **A**-VII)
c = III Yos-lo-pa gZhon-nu rdo-rje (rl. 19 years; 1257–1275)
IV *Slob dpon* rNam-rgyal-mdzes (disciple of no. III; rl. 15 years; 1275–1289)
V *Slob dpon* gZhon-nu-mdzes (younger brother of IV): rl. 1289– ?)

E lHa-ri-kha dgon-pa (lHa-ri sPang-gshong, in lHa-ri?)

Gru-gu-tsa Δ = ○ Thang-gro-ma
(from mDzad-pa/'Jad-pa of Grva)
lHa-ri-pa chen-po Nam-mkha'-'od (*aliases* Sangs-rgyas ras-chen, Sangs-rgyas-'od) =
I *gdan sa ba* of lHa-ri-kha *dgon* (found. in 1168 A.D.)
II. *dbon po* (= nephew of no. I?) [Sangs-rgyas] lHa dGe-bshes
III *dbon po* dBon Rin-po-che (nephew of no. II)
IV lHa gZhon-nu (Devakumāra)
> not mentioned in *Deb dmar* which lists the succession of
[IV] sTod-lung sPang-'dab-pa
[V] Chos kyi mgon-po (of Khya dkar-mo-pa [= Khyag-pa dkar-mo? cf. BA Roerich 694])
[VI] Dol Yol-mo-ba *bla ma* rDo-rje mgon-po
[VII] Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (son of sTod-lung-pa bSod-nams mgon-po; i.e. the abbot of today = mid-14th cent.; the list is apparently to be completed and some generations appear to be missing)

F The Lo-mi Lineage and the Succession of Abbots of **Ro-skam dgon-pa** (in Glags Phur-lung)



I *gdan sa ba* of Ro-skam dgon pa (found in 1183 A.D.; rl. 25 years)

II Rin-po-che Sang-rdor (rl. 20 years; 1208–1226)

III Bla-ma gZhon-nu (a.k.a. *rin po che* Tshe-dpag-med; rl. 33 years: 1226–1258 [Sho-mi (=Lo-mi?) dGos-pa-'bum is registered as the father of no. III; the latter studied under his uncle (*khu* = no. II); thus it can be assumed that Sho-mi actually was the (elder?) brother of no. II])

IV Bla-ma 'Jam-dbyangs-pa (i.e. the eldest of the 7 sons of rGyal-tsha Rin-po-che, himself the paternal cousin of no. III; rl. 22 years: –1279)

V Bla-ma Yon-tan rin-chen (rl. 28 years: 1279–1306)

VI Nam-mkha' seng-ge (rl. during the tenure of *dpon* Kun-dga' rdo-rje)

G rTa-sga *dgon* (in sNubs-ris)

sNang-sgom ras-pa (*aliases* Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa, Sangs-rgyas-'od) =

I *gdan sa ba* of rTa-sga monastery (found. *ca*. 1200 A.D.)
[arrival of Jo-sras, Tshang 'Dur-ba chen-po, bSam-gtan rdzong-ba and *rtogs ldan* Dar-bsod (one of the three *rtogs ldan* disciple of Ru-thog-pa (see D-I) in rTa-sga; acc. to context Jo-sras (a relative of no. I) was sent to sTod to take over the throne, but he died before his appointment as 2nd rTa-sga-ba]

II *rtogs ldan* Dar-bsod (Dar-ma bsod-nams)

III *bla ma* gZhon-nu

IV *bla ma* gCung-po

V *slob dpon* Sangs-rgyas bla-ma

VI *bla ma* Shes-rab bla-ma

VII *bla ma* dKon-mchog gZhon-nu

Notes to Map 1, 2:

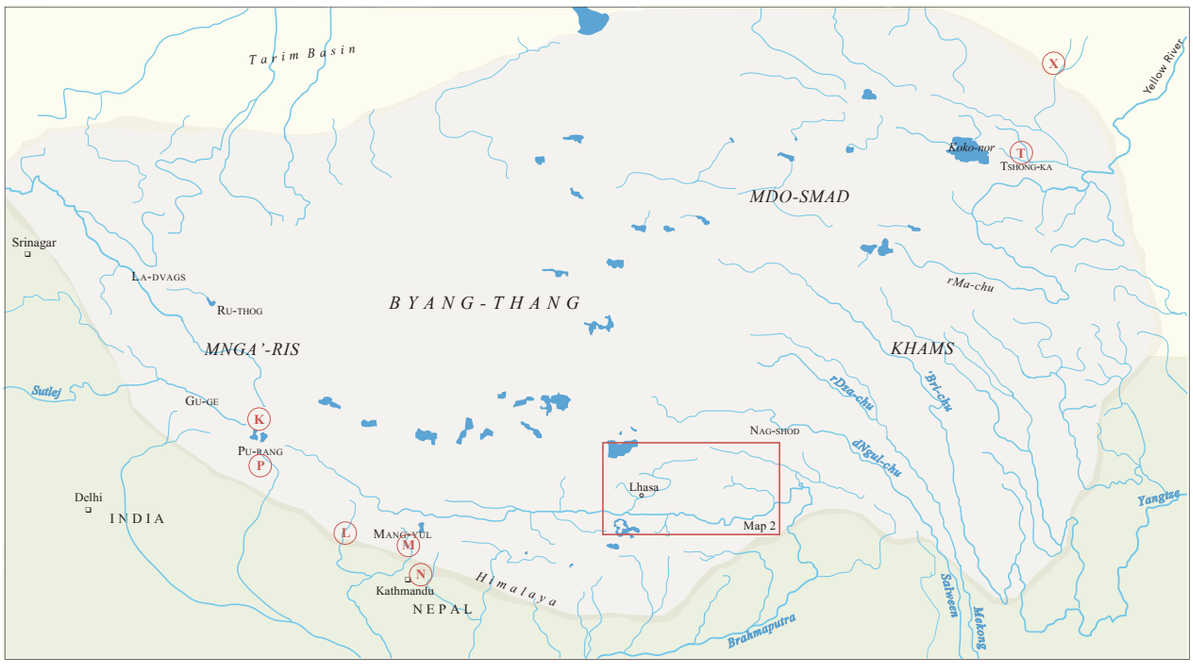
Map 1

P, K, L, M, N = The presence of the sTod Tshal in Pu-rang (**P**), at Ti-se / Kailāsa (**K**), Glo-bo (**L**), Myang-yul Gung-thang (in Nub-ris (with the main seat of rTa-sga), Mar-lung, sKyid-grong, etc.) (**M**) and in Nepal (Kathmandu valley) (**N**)

G, X = The sMad Tshal in Tsong-kha (**T**) (found. of Go-ra etc.), Mongolia and Mi-nyag (i.e. Xia state) (**X**)

Map 2

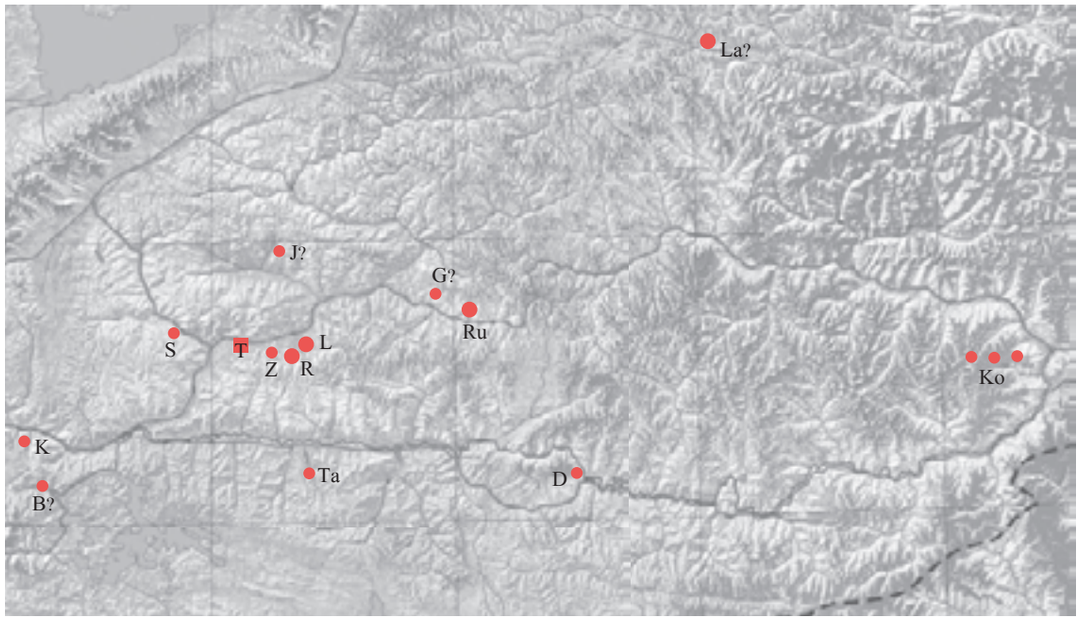
The main monasteries of the Bar Tshal: **K** = Kha-rag; **B**? = Bal-yul Gangs-ra (identification uncertain); **S** = sTod-lung Ko-ba-brag; **Z** = Za-lung; **R** = Ro-skam, **L** = lHa-phyug-mkhar; **Ru** = Ru-thog; J? = 'Ju-phu (in sPras of 'Phan-yul?); G? = sGang-bu (in Mal-gro, exact location unknown); **La**? = lHa-ri-kha (lHa-ri sPang-gshong; localization uncertain); **Ko** = branches in Kong-po (exact locations unknown); **D** = lHa-sa-steng (of rDzam in western Dvags-po); **Ta** = rTag-can/spyan (in Grva-phyi) **T** = **Tshal Gung-thang**



Map 1



***2**. The old Zhi-sde lha khang of Pu-rang (P). It became one of the branch seats of the sTod Tshal School*
TG 2004



Map 1 and 2. The Position of the Tshal-pa Schools (Bar Tshal, sTod Tshal, sMad Tshal; see prev. page)

V.3 The Principals of the Colleges in Tshal and Gung-thang

A sGom-sde gZims-khang shar-ba

(Found. 1242 [= 1262?] in the time of Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (5th *dpon chen*) and Sangs-rgyas-'bum (i.e. the IVth Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba*; see Table 1)

I *sPrul sku* Sangs-rgyas 'bum
II *dbon* Rin-po-che (nephew of no. 1; rl. 24 years)
III Sang-'bum phyi-ma (the "later" Sangs-rgyas-'bum; rl. 2 years)
IV Bla-ma gZhung-pa (rl. 2 years)
V *rgyal sras* Śākya rgyal-msthan (rl. 25 years)
VI Tshul-khrims gzhon-nu (rl. 40 years [*ca*. 1293–1332?; see Part I: fn. 620])

[Except no. II and IV the *gdan sa ba* belonged to the *dbon brgyud* of Sangs-rgyas-'bum, i.e the **rJe'u** clan of Grva = **C** of Table 1.1]

17th Cent.:

mGon po bSod-nams mchog-ldan (1603–1659/60)

Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol (1604–1657/69)

B Chos-'khor-gling

(Found. by 'Jam-dbyangs Śākya gzhon-nu (from gSang-phu) in the time of *dpon chen* dGa'-bde-dpal)

I 'Jam-dbangs Śākya gZhon-nu (rl. 6 yeras)
II Chos rje Don-grub-dpal (rl. 41 years: 1314–1354)
III Dam-pa Kun-mkhyen Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (rl. 14 years: 1354–67)
IV mKhas-btsun Blo-bzang (rl. 11 years: 1367–78)
V bSod-nams dpal-ba (rl. 10 years: 1378–1388)
VI *Slob dpon chen po* Kun-bzang-pa (rl. 22 years: 1388–1410/11)
VII *rGyal sras* bDe-'byung-ba (disciple of Tsong-kha-pa; identical with Gung-thang *chos rje* rGyal-sras *alias* Gung-thang-pa mDzes-pa dpal-ldan? (rl. 18 years: 1400/10?–1428); see Part I: fn. 649
VIII Chos je Chos kyi Shes-rab
IX bShes-gnyen dpal-ba
X Rin Śākya-ba

[Later the institution merged with the college of **Chos-khri lho-lcog**; *GT* 53a–54a; *VS* 154]

C dBus-gling

(Found. by *dGe bshes chen po* Don-grub dpal-ldan in the time of *dpon chen* dGa'-bde-dpal)

I Don-grub dpal-ldan
II Rin-chen dpal-bzang
III Shes-rab bzang-po
IV Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan
V Chos rje Sangs-rgyas-dpal
VI *Drung* Slob-dpon (= the son of the 12th *dpon chen Si tu* dGe-legs bzang-po; rl. 23 years)
VII *Bla ma* Nam-mkha' shes-rab (rl. 13 years)
VIII mKhas-pa Byang-chub bzang-po (rl. 3 years)
IX *mKhan rin po che* Blo-mchog (rl. 6 years)

[Change into a dGe-lugs-pa institution; 15th cent.]

Yer-pa Byams-pa yongs-grags, etc. (see *VS* 153)

dPon slob dPal-bzang-po (*alias* Blo bzang lhun-grub, late 17th cent.)

V.4 Bla-ma Zhang's Teachers

Based on primary sources:
dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba (*GD*); *bKa' thor bu* (*KT*); *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* (*ZB*);
Gung thang dkar chag (*GT*); *Deb dmar* (*DM*); *lHo rong chos 'byung* (*HR*); *Deb sngon* (*DN* = BA [Roerich]);
Gu bkra chos 'byung (*GK*)

I. The Early Teachers in the Period until Zhang's Ordination in 1148 A.D.

(No. 1–4 and 6–35 represents the list as given in *GD*)

1 Ma-jo Dar-ma
2 *Slob dpon* rNgog-ston (rNgog sTod-lungs-pa chen-po (*KT*; Bla-ma rNgog-pa (*GT*); rNgog-ston (*GT*); BA: rNgog mDo-sde (1078–1154 / 1090–1166 A.D.); *HR* 183.16: *slob dpon* rNgog *alias* Jo-bo Thogs-med grags-pa (1120–1156 A.D.), according to *DN* the son of rNgog mDo-sde (BA Roerich 412–13)
3 [b]Sam-bu (~ bhu) *lo tsā ba*
4 *Slob dpon* rJe'u-ston-pa
5 *Slob dpon* gShen
6 *Slob dpon* mChims Jo-sras
7 *Slob dpon* Nyang-bran Chos-ye-s[hes] (*ZB* 30a5: *dge bshes* Nyang-rang; he met Zhang in Zlum-po *ca*. 1155)
8 *Slob dpon* Grva-thang sGom-tshul
9 *Slob dpon* 'Od-mchog
10 *Slob dpon* Bo-(Svo-) ston Chos-grags
11 *Slob dpon* bsTan (= brTan] ye-s[hes])
12 *Slob dpon* Jo-sras Grags[-pa] seng[-ge]
13 *Slob dpon* sTon-pa rDo-rje-grags
14 *Slob dpon* Padma
15 *Slob dpon* Bal-po Lo-ka
16 *Slob dpon dge bshes* g.Yo[r]-dga' [sKyid-dpal]
17 *Slob dpon* Tshul-khrims-rgyal[-mtshan]
18 *Slob dpon* sGom-nag sKyid-dpal
19 Mo-ja sgron-ne (= I. 1 ?)
20 *Slob dpon* Gung-thang dPal-le-grags
21 *Slob dpon* Ru-ston
22 *Slob dpon* Glang-ston (Blo bstan (*GT*), Blang-ston (*KT*), Rlang ston)
23 *Slob dpon* Blo-ldan
24 *Slob dpon* Shes-rab-dpal
25 *Slob dpon* rGya-ston
26 *Slob dpon* Cog-ro Jo-sras
27 *Slob dpon* sBa Chos kyi 'od-zer
28 *Slob dpon* sGom-chen phyi-sgom
29 *Slob dpon* 'Phags-pa Jo-ston
30 *Slob dpon* sKar (~ dKar)-chung Ring-mo (*HR* 618)
31 *Slob dpon* Tshul-she (= Tshul-khrims shes-rab)
32 *Slob dpon* Rang-'dral *lo tsā ba*
33 mKhar-'og-ba (*KT*: rGya-ston mKhar-s/mgo-ba; he acted as *upādhyāya* at Zhang's ordination; (= I. 25?)
34 Grab-mkhar-ba (Drab/ Dra-ba/ Grags-mkhar-pa (*KT*; *HR*); he funtioned as *ācārya* at Bla-ma Zhang's ordination)
35 Zu lJang-mdo-pa (gZu lDang mdo-pa (*HR*), gZung lJang mdo-ba (*DS*), 'Jang-mdo-ba of gZu (*GT*); he acted as secret preceptor at Zhang's ordination)

II. The Teachers in the Period following Zhang's Ordination

II. 1 The List of the *rtsa ba'i bla ma drug* (six root teachers)

1 dPal-ldan rG[v]a-lo (dPal rGa-lo chen-po, rGa *lo tsā ba* gZhon-nu-dpal (1110/14–1198/1202 A.D.); *KT* 360.3–392.7; *DM*: the one by whom Zhang was directly instructed)
2 Yer-pa-ba (Mal Yer-pa sMon-lam-btsan (1105–1170 A.D.); *KT* 393.1–426.4; *DM*: the one through whom the demonic obstacles were removed)
3 'Ol-ka-ba ('Ol-dga' Rin[-chen]-brtson[-'grus], 'Ol-kha-ba Grol-sgom chos-g.yung (1103–1199); *DM*: the one through whom the relative bodhicitta was enhanced)
4 Bla-ma Bai-ro (Grub thob Be-ro-tsa-na, dNgul-chu Be-ro-ba [*Vairocana-vartula]; *GD* 546.1–6; etc.)
5 Ngam-shod gShen-pa (Ngam-shod gShen-pa rDo-rje seng-ge; gShen-dgon (~ sgom) dkar-ba, rDo-rje dbang-phyug (*DN* 664.3, 665.14–16); Bla-ma gShen (BA Roerich 900) (= I. 5?])
6 sGom-pa Tshul-khrims snying-po (1116–1169 A.D.; *DM*: the one through whom Zhang realized the ultimate *bodhicitta*)

II. 2 Further Teachers

(Gathered selectively from lists found e.g. in Zhang's writings, etc.)

[1] *rJe btsun* Phug-po che-ba (*KT*)
[2] sGam-po-pa
[3] Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po
[4] lHo Zhu-byas dNgos-grub (also registered as disciple of Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po and teacher to Bla-ma Zhang; cf. Stearns 2001: 21–22)
[5] Phya-ba Chos kyi seng-ge (1109–69) (*YL* 129.9–11; BA Roerich 333; *KD* 162)
[6] *dGe bshes* sGom-pa She[s]-r[ab] gzhon-nu
[7] sMon-lam 'od-zer
[8] *dGe bshes* sGom-pa gSal-byang
[9] *Rin po che* dBu-se (Khams-pa *rin po che* dBu-se; *ZB* 58a1–2)
[10] *Slob dpon* sGom-pa rNam-grags
[11] *Slob dpon* Thang-pa
[12] *Slob dpon* rGyal-'byung
[13] *Slob dpon* sBas Chos kyi 'od-zer
[14] *Slob dpon* Ji/Dzi-ston (= I.4?)
[16] *Slob dpon* sGros-snyon Mi-zan (*sic*)
[17] *Slob dpon* sGom-chos
[18] Pa-tshab sgom-nag (b. 1077–1158; cf. *Pha dam pa rnam thar* 205–08)
[19] Ma-jo Ra-ma (companion of Zhang's mother Shud-mo-bza' Mang-skyid (cf. Ra-se dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho 2003b: 76) = Ma-jo Dar-ma [**I**–1]?)

V.5 The Groups of Bla-ma Zhang Disciples

Based on Primary Sources:
Mar lung pa rnam thar (*ML*); *Gung thang dkar chag* (*GT*); *Deb dmar* (*DM*);
Deb sngon (*DN* = BA [Roerich]); *Chos legs rnam thar* (*CL*); *Yon tan 'brug sgra* (*YT*);
Gu bkra chos 'byung (*GK*); *dGa' ldan chos 'byung* (*GD*); *rNying ma'i chos 'byung* (*NCH*);
mKhas pa'i dga' ston (*KG*); *lHo rong chos 'byung* (*HR*); *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma* (*CN*); *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung I* (*KC*); *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* (*ZhK*); *bKa' rgya ma* (*KR*); *bKa' thor bu* (*KT*) ;
Zhang rnam thar zin bris (*ZB*); *Vaiḍūrya ser po* (*VS*) *DL5 gSan yig* (*SY*)
Secondary Sources:
Ming mdzod (*MZ*); *Mi sna* (*MN*)

Disparate lists of Zhang's discipleship and circle of followers have circulated and the lists, the redactional work of later historians, that have come down to us and partly have been reproduced here display a fairly homogenous picture, less in the names and numbers of the individual pupils as much as in their groupings. It is nevertheless easy to detect a direct correspondence, as for instance between II and III, which may not surprise when we recall that they were compiled by the same author, Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje. The lists clearly were intended to reflect the number and groups of Bla-ma Zhang's direct pupils albeit, as we shall see, they occasionally contain names of disciples who lived after Zhang's demise.[1] Further, it appears that the list of some of the Zhang-pupils was also produced simply by recording the names of the disciples that were recipients of his esoteric teachings and precepts as delineated in his writings.

I. The list of the 24 Zhang Disciples in *ML* (82a3–84a3)[2]

A The Thirteen Great "Lion"[-named] [Sons] Superior to the Father [i.e. Bla-ma Zhang] (*Bu pha las lhag pa'i seng* [*ge*] *chen bcu gsum*):[3]

1 Zhang sNa-rnam-pa brTson-'grus seng-ge (i.e. Bla-ma Zhang of sNa-nam Zhang Clan)
2 sTod Zad-lungs-pa lHan-po seng-ge (lHan-po seng-ge of Zad-lung [= mkhan po bZad-pa (*HR* 197.20), or sTod Zad-lung = Za-lung of sTod[-lung]?)
3 gTsang gyi[r]-phu[b] Padma seng-ge (Padma seng-ge from Upper gTsang)
4 dBus kyi shod-pa 'Bum-chung seng-ge ('Bum-chung of dBus kyi shod; perhaps identical with lHa-btsun dBung-seng[-ge] of 'Phreng-po [located in the low tract of dBus]; II.C.2)
5 Khams gTsong-ka-pa gZhon[-nu] seng-ge (gZhon-nu seng-ge from gTsong-ka [= bTsong-kha] in Khams)
6 Thon Mar-lung-pa Byang-chub seng-ge *(aliases* Mar-sgom, sGom-pa Mar, Mar-pa lHa-dkar, Mar-pa lHa-dga' (*HR* 197.20) from the Thon-mi clan (see *ML* 34b4–6, 59b4f., 86b1; *HR* 204.11; *KT* 288.1; *DM* 128.19; founder of the Mar-lung monastery in Western Tibet [Everding 2000, s.v. index]). Mar-pa sgom-pa Śākya seng-ge (= a combination of I.A.6 and I.A.8 ?]; cf. *ZhK II* 571.3; he may also have been pupil of sTag-lung thang-pa; *HR* 473, it should be recalled that his mother was sTag-lung-ma or *dbon mo* Khri-tshang mgo-sdong)
7 lHo bSam-yas-pa bSam-gtan seng-ge (bSam-gtan seng-ge, the One from bSam-yas to the South [of Tshal] perhaps an alternative name of Khri-rtse, prince of bSam-yas; II.E.3)
8 bCung Las-stod-pa Śākya seng-ge (i.e. La-stod bCung-ba'i dgon-pa;[4] i.e. *sgom pa* Śākya seng-ge; *HR* 197.21; *KT* 460.7)
9 mTshal Gung-thang-pa rGyal-ba seng-ge (= either Gung-thang-pa Grags-pa seng-ge [= II.A.4?], founder of Go-ra-gdong (*GT*), or [less likely] [the *yon bdag*] mGar rGyal-ba 'byung-gnas [= I.C.13])
10 sTon-sgom chen-po Yon-tan seng-ge

11 Byang Ngar-phug-pa dGe-’dun seng-ge (dGe-’dun seng-ge, the one from Ngar-phug in the Byang area of Grags; i.e. *Slob dpon* Ngar-phug-pa *(DM* 133.19); probably identical with dGe-seng of bZang-yul [Mon-gdong]; the latter is part of Byang Ngar-phug; II.C.4)
12 Rong-kha Yag-sde-ba Seng-ge rgyal-mtshan (from g.Yag-sde of Rong-kha (in gTsang, Part I: Map 9) = *dpon* Pho-rog Seng-ge rgyal[-mtshan] ? (*KR* 27.2), or ’Bum-yag [II.C.16]?)
13 *gnas rtan* [= *brtan*] *chen po* Seng-ge grags-pa (= II.E.5)[5]

B The Three [Clear] “Light”[-named] [Disciples] Nobler than the Father
(*Pha las bzang ba’i’od gsal gsum;* [*’od bzhi in KG* [6])

1 mKhan po Nam-mkha’-’od (= lHa-ri-pa chen-po, a.k.a. Gra-’Jed-pa (~’Jad-pa) Nam-mkha’-’od, a.k.a. Sangs-rgyas ras-chen or Sangs-rgyas-’od; est. lHa-ri sPang-gshong (lHa-ri-kha) monastery, = ? *dge slong* Nam-mkha’-’od, pupil of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa, *MN* 253–4)[7]
2 lHa-phyug-pa Nyi-zla-’od (founder of lHa-phyug-mkhar; see Table 2.1.-A)
3 *Slob dpon* Dri-med-’od (= Dri-ra-pa [~ ’Bri-ra-ba] Śākya-’od = Nyag ’Bri-ra-ba; est. a monastery in Byang [*DS*] = [Byang] Zhol-bu? *GT*)

KG adds:

[4] Kha-rag-pa ’Dul-ba-’od (*alias rtogs ldan* Nyag-po seng-ge [= Kha-rag sKyi-ston ?]; founder of Kha-rag-dgon; see Table 2.1-B)[8]

C The Two “Youth”[-named] [Disciples] more Pious than the Father (*Pha las btsun pa’i gzhon* [*nu*] *gnyis*)

1 *mTshal gyi mkhan po* Dar-ma gzhon-nu (= *nye gnas* Dar-ma gzhon-nu, the 1st *dbon sa* of Tshal)
2 *Slob dpon chen po* Byang-chub gZhon[-nu]

D The Six Cotton-clad Ascetic-Teachers (*Ras sgom ston pa cha drug*)

1 ’Gro mgon gTsang-pa rgya[l]-[s]ras (= ’Gro-mgon Ye-shes rDo-rje *alias* gTsang-pa rgya-ras; founder of the ’Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud) (*GT*, *DM* 128.8; *KC* 69a1, etc.)
2 Slog kyi gTsang-pa Ras-chung (= rTsang-pa Ras-chung (*HR* 197.20); Slog = Klog[s] [in g.Ye-che] ?)
3 rGya-sgom Zhig-po rnal-’byor (= IV.5 ? see BA Roerich 445, 480)
4 sGrva-pa Kha-rag sgom-chung (from [s]Grva, = I.B.4)[9]
5 Ral-nag bsTon-pa [= sTon-pa] lHa-rje
6 gTsang-ston Hrul-mo (= gTsang-sgom Hrul-mo/le or *dkon gnyer* Hrul-mo, *HR* 203.19f.; BA 139; *GK* 282.5)[10]

II. The List of Disciples according to *DM* (128.6–129.11)

A The Spiritual Sons (*thugs kyi sras*) [considered on a par with Zhang] (*DM* 128.6–13)

[1] Gling Ras-pa Padma-rdo-rje (*GT*, etc.)
[2] *’Gro mgon* gTsang-pa rgya-ras (= I.D.1)
[3] *Grub thob* Ti-shi ras-pa (*alias* Sangs-rgyas ras-chen; *GT*, *HR*)
[4] Gu-shri rTogs-pa yongs-su gsal-ba (= *bla ma* Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge *alias* Gung-thang-pa [= I.A.9 ?])
[5] mDo[-ba] ras-pa (BA Roerich 518; i.e. *bla ma* Do-ba? *GT*; from mDo-bo of mTshur-phu? cf. *ZhK*)
[6] Zhig-po bdud-rtsi (*HR* 205.15; BA Roerich 139; *GK* 280.17–283.15; *ZhK* 565.5)[11]
[7] ’Brug gi sPa-ri-ba (sPa/Pa-ri-ba of ’Brug [in sKyid-smad]; established the sPa-ri Byang-chub-gling monastery; BA Roerich 670; *KC* 70a7–b1. Also known as rJe mKhyen-pa’i mnga’-bdag)

[8] gTsang-pa Jo-btsun
[9] Bla-ma bSe-phrang-pa (*ZhK* 565.6)
[10] Khams-ston rDo-rje blo-gros (~ Blo-gros rdo-rje)
[11] Sum-ston rDo-rje snying-po (= V.7?)
[12] Mal dBu-dkar-po
[13] Khams-pa mGon-ston
[14] *dge bshes* Dvags-po
[15] gZhon-ras

B The Great Sons (*bu chen*) Residing in/Establishing Foundations (*gzhis la bzhugs*) (*DM* 128.14–15)

1 Chos kyi rgyal-tshab mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes (the 1st Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba*) (*GT*, etc.)[12]
2 mKhan-chen bSod-pa (~ gZad-pa)

C The Four Great Sons (*bu chen bzhi*) (*DM* 128.15–18)

1 Kha-rag gi *grva pa* Rin-po-che 'Dul-ba-'od (= I.B.4; I.C.4)
2 dPal-ldan lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa Nyi-zla-'od (= I.C.2)
3 lHa-ri-pa chen-po Nam-mkha'-'od (= I.B.1; see Table 2.1, E–I)
4 Ro-skam-pa Lo-sgom Nyi-ma shes-rab (see Table 2.1, F–I)

D The Disciples that were Ascetics and Yogi (*rtogs ldan bya btang gi rnal 'byor pa*) (*DM* 128.18–21)

[1] Mar-sgom (*HR* 204.11; = I.A.6; II.C.18 ?)
[2] Ri-sgom (*HR* 204.18; *ZhK* 460.10)
[3] rTogs-ldan sPra [= sBra?]-sgom (*HR* 202.9; BA Roerich 716)
[4] gTsang-ston Blo-ldan
[5] 'Ja'-sgom Byang-chub snying-po (= Mar-pa 'Ja'-sgom *alias* Mar-sgom Byang-chub seng-ge (I.A.6)? *HR* 62a3)
[6] Shang[s]-pa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (Rol-pa'i rdo-rje, the One from Shangs [in gTsang])
[7] Byang-chub-shing gdan-'dren Mi Bya-'dzin

E The Great Sons Executing [karmic Enlightening] Activity (*'Phrin las grub pa'i bu chen*) (*DM* 128.22–129.11)

[1] Dar-ma gzhon-nu (= I.C.1)
[2] *lHa btsun* dBung-seng of 'Phreng-po (= I.A.4 ? dBung-seng[-ge] = 'Bum-chung seng-ge of dBus kyi shod where 'Phreng-po is located; dBang-seng)
[3] Khri-rtse, Prince (*btsan po*) of bSam-yas (= I.A.7?); also called Brag-dmar bSam-yas rgyal-po)
[4] *gNas brtan* dGe-seng of bZang-yul [Mon-gdong] (= I.A.11?)
[5] *gNas brtan* Seng-ge-grags of Gru-gu-sgang (in Chu-shul district; = I.A.13)
[6] rDor [i.e. rDo-rje] dBang, the nephew of the King of Kha-rag
[7] *gNas brtan* Grub-thob of sGa-'dra (= Yar-'brog sGa[ng]-'dra)
[8] *sgom pa* dKon-mchog seng-ge
[9] *gNas brtan* of mTsho-sna in Mon (also called sPungs-pa)
[10] *gNas brtan* of 'Brug-mdo
[11] *gNas brtan* mGon-po
[12] Dar-bsod (= *rtogs ldan* Dar-bsod?; see Table 2.1, G–II)

[13] ’Gar [= mGar] rGyal-ba ’byung-gnas (of Grib, father of the 4th Tshal-pa *dpon po*; *GT*, etc.)
[14] Phyag Khri-mchog
[15] Nag-po dBon-ston of Kun-dga’ ra-ba
[16] Dam-pa Srabs-sman of gZhung[-phu] (also lHa-rje Srabs-sman Grags-seng; = II.A.4?)
[17] ’Bum-yag of sGre-mkhar
[18] Hril-chung, the *dkon gnyer* of Gung-thang.
[19] *lHa bzo dpon* Pho-rog (= *bzo bo dpon* Pho-rog Seng-ge rgyal? *KR II* 27.2)
[20] Mar-pa lHa-dkar
[21] *shing mkhan* Phag lHa-bzo
[22] lHa Nyi-ma shes-rab (= *aliases* Ro-skam-pa chen-po Lo-sgom Nyi-ma shes-rab, sGom-pa Lo-sgom, Lo-gom; founder of Ro-skam monastery; *GT*, *DM*, *HR* 204.5; Table 2.1, F–1)
[23] Phyag dpe ba [s]Na-mo rJe-btsun
[24] *dkon gnyer* Hral-mo
[25] *sGom pa* bZod-ldan
[26] *gNas brtan* mChog-lha

III. The List of Disciples according to *dGos ’dod re skong ma’i ’grel ba* (*ZhK* 564.1–568.4)

A Principal Sons (*sras kyi thu bo*) (*ZhK* 564.1–566.1)

[1] *Grub thob* Gling-chen Ras-pa
[2] *Chos rje* gTsang-pa ras-pa
[3] *Grub thob* Ti-shri ras-pa
[4] *Bla ma* rGya Yar-lung-pa (= II.A.4)
[5] *Bla ma* mDo-lo ras-pa Shes-rab seng-ge (= II.A.5 or IV.4?)
[6] *Bla ma* Zhig-po bdud-rtsi (= II.A.6)
[7] Se-brag gNyos-ston (= V.8?)
[8] lHa-sa [= pa] Rin-chen rgyal-po[13]
[9] *Bla m*a Se-’phrang (= II.A.9)
[10] Khams-ston Blo-gros rdo-rje (= II.A.10)
[11] Sum-ston rDo-rje snying-po (= II.A.11)
[12] Mal dBu-dkar (= II.A.12)
[13] Khams-pa mGon-ston (= II.A.13)
[14] *dGe bshes* Dvags-po (= II.A.14)

B The All-Peerless Sons who established a Foundation[14]

(*ZhK* 566.1–2; corresponding with list II.B in *DM*)

[1] *Chos kyi rgyal tshab* mNyam-med *rin po che* Śākya ye-shes (= II.B.1)
[2] *sDe snod ’dzin pa chen po* mKhan-chen bzang-pa (= II.B.2)

C The Four Great Sons (*ZhK* 566.2–3)

1 Kha-rag gi Grva-pa *rin po che* ’Dul-ba-’od
2 *dPal* lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa Nyi-zla-’od
3 lHa-ri-pa chen-po Nam-mkha’-’od
4 Ro-skam-pa Lo-sgom Nyi-ma shes-rab

D The Disciples that were Ascetic Yogi (*rtogs ldan bya btang gi rnal 'byor pa*) (*ZhK* 566.3–4)

[1] *rTogs ldan bya btang gi rnal 'byor pa* rGyal-ba Lo-zhig (*ZB* 67a1–2)
[2] Mar-sgom
[3] Ri-sgom (*HR* 204)
[4] gTsang-ston Blo-ldan
[5] *rTogs ldan* sPre [= sBra]
[6] 'Ja'-sgom Byang-chub snying-po
[7] Shangs-pa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje
[8] Byang-chub kyi shing gdan-'dren-mi bya btang rGya-gar-ba
[9] Ral-sgom
[10] rTag-sgom (~ sTag-sgom)
[11] rGya-sgom (= rGya-ston; *HR* 204)
[12] dBang-brtson
[13] gZhon-nu-dpal (*HR* 205)
[14] gZhon-nu shes-rab (*HR* 204)

E Minor Disciples (*bu phran*) (*ZhK* 566.4–567.5)

[1] Zhang Nyag 'Bri-ra-ba of Gra-tshal gyi Ding-ma (i.e. Tshal gyi Ding-ma of Gr[v]a?)
[2] Tshul-khrims snying-po
[3] Zhabs-khung-pa Chu-pa lHa-rje[15]
[4] Gang-'or-ba Grub-thob chen-po
[5] Tha'i gnas Gor-ṭa Mi-mnyam rdo-rje
[6] Grva-phu'i Sa-sTon Khri-dga'[16]
[7] Nya-steng gi grva pa Mig-dmar
[8] *dGe bshes* Sha-mi (= Sha-mi sMon-lam'bar?)[17]
[9] dGon-rtse'i Khu-sgom chen-po
[10] Khro-chu Lung-pa chen-po
[11] dByar-sgom of sTod-lung Ne'u-seng
[12] mGar-sgom
[13] Dar-ma sgang-pa Zhag-po Da-re
[14] Thod-lo-ba chen-po
[15] rGyal-ba-ston
[16] *Bla ma* Pha-da[18]
[17] *dGe bshes* Sher-'byung (= Shes-rab 'byung-gnas = *dbon* of the 'Bri-gung founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po]?)
[18] gTsang-pa Ya-so
[19] *dGe bshes* lHun-po (also pupil of Zhig-po)
[20] Yon-tan seng-ge
[21] *Bla ma* gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba (= V.1)
[22] sGom-bde'i [=-sde] dPal-ldan gdan-sa[-ba] Sangs[-rgyas-]'bum[19]
[23] Yar-'brog Brag-nag-pa chen-po
[24] gYa'-bzang gi sNubs *'dul ba 'dzin pa* (= Chos kyi smon-lam, the founder of g.Ya'-bzang *dgon*)
[25] Pho-rog mDo-sde-mgon
[26] *Chos rje* rGyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa

F The Great Sons Executing [karmic Enlightening] Activity (*'phrin las sgrub pa'i bu chen*)
(*ZhK* 567.5–568.4; corresponding roughly with list II.E in *DM* above)

[1] Dar-ma gZhon-nu
[2] 'Phrang-po'i lHa-btsun dBang-seng
[3] bSam-yas kyi *brtsad po* Khri-rtsi
[4] bZang-yul gyi *gnas brtan* dGe-seng
[5] Gru-gu-sgang gi *gnas brtan* Seng-ge-grags
[6] Kha-rag gi rgyal-po rDor-dbang
[7] sGa-'dra'i *gnas brtan grub thob sgom pa* dKon-mchog seng-ge
[8] Mon mTsho-sna'i *gnas brtan*
[9] 'Brug-mdo'i *gnas brtan*
[10] *gNas brtan* mGon-po
[11] Dar-bsod
[12] mGar rGyal-ba 'byung gnas
[13] Chag Khri-mchog
[14] Nag-mo dpon-ston of Kun-dga' ra-ba
[15] Dam-pa Srabs-sman of gZhung (= II.E.16)
[16] 'Bul-yags of sGre-mkhar
[17] Hral-chung, the Gung-thang *dkon gnyer*
[18] lHa-bzo-dpon Phog-ro
[19] *Shing mkhan* Phag-lha-bzo
[20] lHa Nyi-ma shes-rab
[21] Phyag dpe ba Na-mo rje btsun
[22] *dKon gnyer* Hral-mo
[23] *sGom pa* bZod-ldan
[24] *gNas brtan* mChog-lha

IV. The Zhang Disciples as listed in *HR* (131, 197–207)

[1] *Rin po che* Sangs-rgyas-'bum (the 4th Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba*) (*GT*, etc.)
[2] *rTogs ldan* sPra-sgom (or: sBra-sgom, teacher of Brag-dkar-ba; *HR* 202.9, = II.B.10])
[3] *rTogs ldan* Ru-thog-pa (also rTogs ldan bDe-ba gzhon-nu, Zhig-po sTon-bde (*MZ* 1617); founder of Ru-thog monastery; see Table 2.1, C–1)
[4] lCe-sgom Shes-rab seng-ge (*ZB* 58a2–4; *HR* 204.2; *Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar* 9a2–3)
[5] rGya-ston (= I.D.3?; *HR* 204.8 = ? *dGe bshes* rGya in *Myang chos 'byung* 69–70)
[6] Shangs-ston gZhon-nu shes-rab (*HR* 204.21)
[7] Jo-sras gZhon-nu-dpal (*HR* 205.2)
[8] Me-sgom (*HR* 205.12; *Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar* 13b9)
[9] Zhig-po bdud-rtsi (*HR* 205.15; = II.A.6)
[10] Dharaśrī

V. Further Disciples

(mentioned in *GT*, *DM*, *DS*, *GK* and in Zhang's writings, etc., and not included in one of the lists above)

[1] gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba dBang-phyug bkra-shis (= 2.C.8?)
[2] Brag-dkar Shes-yes [i.e. Shes-rab ye-shes] (BA Roerich 715)
[3] bSod-nams bla-ma (elder brother of I.B.4)
[4] bZod-ldan bla-ma (*GT*)
[5] Nam-mkha-'od (probably not identical with I.B.1; BA Roerich 522; see fn. 6)
[6] Zhang *lo tsā ba* Phur-pa-skyabs (*aliases* Ras-pa Byang-chub, Grub-pa-dpal (1177–1237 A.D.); Zhang *lo tsā ba rnam thar*, 1b3, 2a4, 3a1–2; BA Roerich 445)
[7] Sum-ston ras-pa (*aliases* Byams-pa, bSod-nams shes-rab or Dharmavajra; BA Roerich 990–91)
[8] *dGe bshes* mKha'-ru-ba
[9] *sGom chen* Jo-sras Dar-ma seng-ge
[10] Khro-phu *lo tsā ba* Byams-pa-dpal (BA Roerich 1065f.)
[11] rGya 'Pho-ba lung-pa Yon-tan-grags (*HR* 154–59; BA Roerich 1065; cf. Part I: fn. 92)
[12] Brom-mda' ras-pa (recipient of a Mahākāla-cycle from Zhang; cf. *Bu ston gsan yig* 16a3)
[13] *dGe slong* bSod-nams-grags (mentioned in Zhang's writings)
[14] *sPrang po* Nyang-khol
[15] Bla-ma lCags-ri-pa
[16] Śākya'i *dge tshul* Bla-ma Ye-shes
[17] *dGe bshes* g.Yar (or dByar-sgom)
[18] *sGom pa* Khyung-sgom of 'Bras-khud
[19] *dGe slong* Shes-rab grub-pa (biographer and scribe of Bla-ma Zhang)
[20] *gNas brtan* Dar-ma bsod-nams of lHa-sa rGya-grong
[21] *Bla ma* Pa-ta
[22] *gNas brtan* dGa'-dra [= sGa-'dra]
[23] Nyi-'bum (BA Roerich 194)
[24] Zhang-ston skar-mda' (*ZB* 69a6, *passim*)
[25] g.Yu-brag rdo-rje (*zhal slob* of Bla-ma Zhang; cf. *Las 'phro gling rnam thar* 134a6–b1)
[26] Sras Nyi-ma-'bum (in the A-ro transmission, *GK* 205–06 = V. 25?)
[27] Ye-shes blo-gros (*GD* 75b1–2; *VS* 202; he founded the lHa-sa-sdengs/stengs seat of rDzam in Dvags-po)
[28] Rab-'byams chos-rje (the founder of the Ne-chung(~ -phyung)-ri hermitage north-east of lHa-sa is mentioned in *HSLG* Vol. 6: 65 as a disciple of Zhang g.Yu-brag-pa (cf. also Chos-'phel 2004: 77); he is perhaps identical with the Ne-chung ri-pa registered in *lHa ldan dkar chag* (2002 ed.) 15).
[29] sPa-ri-pa (listed as Zhang's *gtor gshoms pa* or "Votive Cake Preparer")

Notes to Table V. 5

[1] The following – admittedly inchoate – list merely attempts to register so-called direct or personal disciples (*dngos slob*) of Bla-ma Zhang, the plethora of second- and third-generation students and pupils (*yang slob* and *nying slob*) has not been registered. Yet it cannot be excluded that the lists of first generation disciples do contain, unwittingly, names of second-generation pupils.

[2] *ML* designates the disciples of the Father (i.e. *pha* g.Yu-brag mTshal-pa = Bla-ma Zhang) as white heels (*lu* [= *lu gu* / *lug*? i.e. of a lamb] *rting dkar*) that follow in the trail of the Father. Zhang himself is also listed as a disciple (I.A.I), a circumstance possibly indicative of the many inconsistencies in *ML*. The text also speaks, among his pupils, of the six bTsan-po (Kings [*sic*]) of Upper [m]Tshal, six Great Ones of Lower [m]Tshal and the six Great Ones of Middle [m]Tshal. The so-called six sTod-Tshal *btsan po* are also discussed further ahead in *ML* 174a4–5 (see Vitali 1996: 397 fn. 648):

sTod: Chos-lung and Gon (Chos-dzom) *gnyis*

Bar: [Yang-]Brag and bSam[-gtan-rdzong] *gnyis* [= Glo-bo]

sMad: Mar[-lung] and rTa[-sga] *gnyis*. Cf. also *YT* 10b2–3 (where the text speaks of the rTa-sga-pa being the sTod Tshal gyi *dpon*). Thus, as discussed by Vitali, the Upper district comprises Byang and Pra-dum district, the Middle district constitutes Mustang and the Lower area comprises the easternmost area towards Mang-yul Gung-thang. These six *btsan po* evidently thus refer to the six major sTod-Tshal monastic establishments in gTsang of Western Tibet, wherefore we, rather than expecting that they constitute petty kingships, shall expect that the scribe of *ML* falsely wrote *btsan po* for *btsun pa*. We should similarly assume that behind the six Great Ones of Bar-sTshal (referring to the foundations of the so-called 'Od-disciples plus Ro-skam and Ru-thog) and sMad-Tshal, foundations and establishments of Tshal in Central and Eastern Tibet respectively are referred to.

The *ML* is an unusual, yet quite authentic (although at places distorted) source, with some parts redactionally fabricated, having been compiled, evidently, from different biographical sketches. Being corrupt, the most salient problem on that score is the dating of the 1st person in the biography, the Zhang-disciple Mar-lung Byang-chub seng-ge *alias bla ma* Mar-sgom (I.A.6). His creed was a merging of rNying-ma (*rdzogs chen*) (transmitted through his father) and bKa'-brgyud (*phyag chen*) teachings (transmitted from Bla-ma Zhang but also from rNgog). For the chronological problems, see the discussions already delivered by Vitali 1996: 291–93 and Everding 2000: 213–216. His dates (with an age of 89) as presented by Vitali, i. e. 1153–1241 A.D. are rejected by Everding who suggests that the *me mo glang*, the year of his demise, should be situated to 1277 (born *ca*. 1189). Now, *ML* 89a2-4 suggests that Mar-sgom passed away 48 years after Zhang (1193+48 = 1241 A.D.). The dates of Mar-lung are still not conclusively clarified. *ZhK* 354–59 reports on the *lHa sa ma'i dbang bzhi* of Zhang written down by Mar-sgom in an male Earth-Dragon year (i.e. 1208?). It cannot be excluded that under the name Mar-sgom reported in *ML*, we possibly must see biographical data of Mar-lung's father too, i.e. Mar-lung Se-bo, mixed with data from the eventful life of the 1st person narrator. According to *ML* (59b2–6), the latter (prob. referring to the son) in around 1171 met Zhang (just before the person (father?) had followed for two years *dge bshes* Bya-yul-ba [gZhon-nu-'od, 1075–1138]). Finally, in a prophecy (in *ZhK* 231a5) Bla-ma Zhang states that Mar-sgom will pass away seven or eight years after Zhang's passing into Nirvāṇa, i.e. *ca*. 1200 A.D. Until Zhang's death, Mar-sgom adhered to the inner circles of the master, before he finally withdrew to western Tibet and est. a monastery in his own homeland. Whatever the true identity of Mar-sgom, he appears to be identical with the Zhang-disciple Mar-sgom mentioned in *rGyal blon ma* as well as identical with the Mar-sgom of other lists, which acc. to *HR* 204 may be none else than the famous sculpture-maker Mar-pa lHa-dkar (= also Mar-pa lHa-dga', *HR* 197.20, the *dpon* Mar-pa lHa-dkar in *GT*). He was in charge of manufacturing images of (and indeed for) Bla-ma Zhang, inclusive the key statue lHa-chen dpal-'bar *alias* Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po, the principal support (*rten gtso*) of the Gung-thang temple erected in 1189 A.D. acc. to *ML* (80b2f.). In this capacity, he appears in the 'Phrin-las grub-pa'i bu-chen list (= II.C), a decisively important group which executed the hegemonic objectives of Zhang, using belligerent, wrathful means (*khro tshul*) (under the protection of Mahākāla forms like Pho-rog [gdong-can]) and thus attempted to fulfil Zhang's quest for *'dul ba*; i.e. the active conversion of proselytes (cf. *ML* 88a2f.). Confusingly, *ML* also reports Mar-sgom in another group (II.B.8), and hence also differentiates the two names.

Notwithstanding such discrepancies, a comparison of the lists allow us to conclude that the names in the *ML* to an appreciable extent correspond with other sources. Irrespective of the shaky identification of Mar-sgom and the protagonist of *ML*, the data in the biography as a whole must be deemed authentic. It cannot, however, be excluded that the inclusion of Zhang's name in the list is also authentic, in which case the depicted father ("surpassed" by his disciples incl. Bla-ma Zhang) may accordingly refer to a paramount master, the position of which had been occupied by Zhang. Here we must call into mind dPal rGva-lo, the principal yogic teacher of Zhang g.Yu-brag-pa and his group.

[3] The discipleship division listed here in A/B/C groups in *ML* is most unusual and the full implication of this remarkable enumeration remains somewhat puzzling. The three slob-ma-groups, resp. those being more "superior" (*lhag*), more "noble" (*bzang*) and more "venerable/pious" (*btsun*) than Bla-ma Zhang is uncommon to say the least, yet may carry some reminiscence of the triple division known already from the 12th century in Tibet: *mkhas btsun bzang gsum*, the three hallmarks of a learned scholar: erudition, piousness and nobleness; a classification initially popular in Sa-skya circles; see *Sangs rgyas chos gzhung* 78. If the list merely represents a variation of this division, it would imply that the pupils of group A were meant to surpass the master in the field of erudition. That we are dealing with a corruption of the well-known mkhas btsun bzang gsum-frame may be underscored further by another group in *ML*, namely the three *'od*-Disciples (I.B.1-3) where the *ML*-compilers, singularly, designates the group *'od gsal*, which would seem to be another

attempt to emulate another cherished concept, here the yogic technical term prabhāsvara. These "designations" thus may allow us to assume that they are artificially coined labels, constructed by the *ML* compilers.

[4] bCung/gCung[-pa] (also Cung-ba-sa) of La-stod (divided into *byang* and *lho* from the 14th cent. with their own prince lineages and ruling seats; i.e. La-stod Byang and La-stod lHo covering a large part of gTsang). It is to be differentiated from Thang-cung, also of La-stod in gTsang (see below). Cung-ba[-sa] was located in the area where later Thang-stong rgyal-po erected the gCung Ri-po-che Stūpa (of La-stod Byang; completed between 1449–56 where the workers of Cung-ba actively assisted in erecting the sanctuary). It is an ancient toponym repeatedly mentioned in medieval literature and famous as a site and as a hub of activities of sundry masters, such as 'Brog-mi (b. 993), Rva-lo and Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa, etc. La-stod bCung-pa is mentioned already in *Padma bka' thang*, Canto 92: 559. It was the birth-place of one of his leading disciples dKon-mchog seng-ge, and of Zangs-ri ras-pa dBang-phyug rdo-rje, a pupil of Ras-chung, etc.; cf. *Rva lo rnam thar* 56, 90; *Ras chung rnam thar* 362–64, 558; *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 501; *gTer ston lo rgyus* 102a1–2. A site Dril-chen of La-stod gCung-pa is mentioned.

Also rJe Sum-pa, a pupil of Ras-chung, descended from the lower part of La-stod Cung-pa; cf. *dKar brgyud chos 'byung* 350.4–5; BA Roerich 440. Even earlier, in this area, a branch of the (Kha-rag or mKha'-reg) gNyos clan settled down (i.e. the La-stod [g]Cung gNyos line), wherefore the site was also associated with the 10–11th cent. gNyos *lo tsā ba* Yon-tan-grags and his activities, whose son rDo-rje bla-ma (1008–86?) was born here; cf. *Kha rag gnyos gdung rabs* 4f. 10, 17.3. From here also originated rGya-ston Zhang-khrom rDo-rje 'od-'bar; cf. *gTer ston lo rgyus* 38a4–5; *GK* 366–67. O-rgyan Seng-ge-dpal (1230–1309) refers to a Drod-lung dgon-pa; cf. *U rgyan rnam thar I* 222–23. For the site, see also *DN* 227; and especially Everding 2000: 286–88 and Tafel 5. For an ode to rJe Śākya seng-ge of the local La-stod Cung-pa'i dgon-pa, see Bla-ma Zhang's *Phag mo ra lugs rgyud pa'i gsol 'debs* in his writings and *ZhK II* (KA) 22.1. Cf. also *'Bri gung gling pa rnam thar* 21a3.

The area of Thang-chung monastery of La-stod evidently was located in the area of sNye-lam or sNye-[g]nang (present-day sNye-lam). A student of the sTag-lung founder was Rin-po-che dBus-pa *alias dGe bshes* Thang-chung-pa; cf. *Mangga la śrī'i rnam thar* 284–88; s*Tag lung chos 'byung* I 244; *lHo rong chos'byung* 479. During the Mongol rule in Tibet, La-stod Thang-cung later came under the patronage of prince Mönke – Qubilai's half-brother.

[5] One option is *grub thob* Seng-ge grags-pa, pupil of 'Bri-gung-pa (1143–1217), but also of dBon Rin-po-che (1211–1279); cf. *HR* 409, 413–14. Therefore a better option is, as indicated in the writings of Bla-ma Zhang, one *gnas brtan* Grags-pa seng-ge, the metathesis here possibly due to the fact that he is confounded with the rGya Yar-lungs-pa or Gung-thang-pa Grags-pa seng-ge who sojourned over many years in the Eastern borderland (Mi-nyag and in Mongolia) or he was confounded with lHa-rje Srabs-sman Grags-seng (see II.F.15) to whom Bla-ma Zhang gave teachings; see his *Zhang bka' 'bum II*, *IV*.

[6] Also Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa had four *'od*-named *nye gnas*; cf. e.g. *Karma sku phreng 1*, 24b5–6; *mTshur phu dkar chag* 717–21.

[7] He may or may not be identical with the namesake, a pupil of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa; cf. e.g. *Karma sku phreng 1* 24b5; *KG* 872; *MN* 253–54, although Nam-mkha'-'od (1133–99, also known as Gra 'Jad-pa Sangs-rgyas ras-pa) in the line of Tshul-khrims-dpal (1096–1132) who similarly received teachings from Bla-ma Zhang, allegedly was born in the vicinity of Ru-mtshams. In 1168 A.D. Nam-mkha'-'od, as said, est. lHa-ri sPang-gshong (or lHa-ri-kha) monastery (*bKa' rgya ma I* 164.6–7) which we assume is to be located in the lHa-ri county. See Part I: fn. 267; see also Table 2).

[8] He cannot naturally be identical with the celebrated Kha-rag sgom-chung *alias* dBang-phyug blo-gros of Dung-zhur in gTsang whose dates are approx. 1040/45–1115/20 A.D. Cf. Sørensen, *A 11th century Ascetic*. More likely, it is a *lapsus calami* made by the *ML* biographers, and due to the celebrity of Kha-rag sgom-chung, they listed his name instead of Kha-rag-pa 'Dul-ba-'od (= I.B.4, II.B.4).

[9] See previous note.

[10] He introduced Zhig-po bdud-rtsi (see next note) to Bla-ma Zhang (*NCH*). It is reported that he arrived at Zhig-po's residence in Chos-sding on his way to the Ti-se (Kailāsa) (*ca*. 1180; cf. *GK* 282; BA Roerich 139). He is probably identical with gTsang-ston Hral-chung mentioned in *'Bri gung gling pa rnam thar* 43.4. For the practise at Mt Ti-se in the context of the early bKa'-brgyud-pa, see Part I: fn. 271; for an even earlier (i.e. pre-12th cent.) context of the practise of Buddhist pilgrimage to Ti-se, see e.g. Kapstein 2006b: 10–12.

[11] This extraordinary ascetic was born in lHa-gdong of gZad (gZad Chu-shul), born to the rNying-ma-pa Sangs-rgyas Dvags-chung (named after the teacher Dvags-po rGya-ras) and Jo-mo dBang-mo; the latter possibly a daughter from

one of the local ruling houses of gZad who are chronicled to have invited Dvags-chung from his residence in lHo-brag (i.e. Phur-mong-sgang) to gZad where they offered him lHa-gdong, 'Ug-skad and other hermitages in gZad. 'Ug-skad also became a chief residence of the son gZhig-po bDud-rtsi (1149–99), one of the most influential rNying-ma masters of 12th century Central Tibet. His bonds with Bla-ma Zhang (the latter replacing here lHa-khang-pa Yon-tan-gzungs, gZhig-po's former teacher) are to be set in *ca*. 1180 A.D. Among his chief activities, he e.g. worked for the repair of the stone-dikes protecting the Jo-bo temple in lHa-sa (see App. II above). Zhig-po died in rGya-ra Gang-logs of gSang-phu, his remains have been enshrined in Thang-skya in lower gZad (see Table 6). For details, see the biographical accounts in *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* 280.17–283.15 and *Deb sngon* (BA Roerich 131–141); see also *Nyingma School II* 653–656.

[12] Chos kyi rgyal-tshab as epithet "the Dharma-representative," indicates a successor, Śākya ye-shes was representative or successor of Bla-ma Zhang. This is corroborated since also Dvags-po sGom-tshul was designated Chos kyi rgyal-tshab; cf. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* 548.3–4. In the same vein, Bla-ma Zhang was designated rGyal-tshab, i.e. successor of sGom-tshul in lHa-sa when he was charged with the care of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang.

[13] If he is identical with lHa [= lHa-pa] Rin-chen rgyal-po (1201–1270 A.D.) (cf. App. II and Tables V.7 below), he evidently cannot have been a direct (or first-generation) disciple of Bla-ma Zhang, merely a second-generation. This is actually the best option, but see however also *Deb sngon* = BA Roerich 413.

[14] *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba* (*ZhK* 566.1) appears to say: "the sons who resided [in] the residence/foundation established by gTsang-pa Tho-btsun (= rJe-btsun) *sku mched* gZho-ro (*sic*)" (*gtsang pa* [*m*]*tho btsun sku mched gzho ros gzhi la bzhugs pa'i sras*). This enigmatic sentence (*DM* merely reads: *gzhis la*) is evidently corrupt and hence in need of further clarification. The gTsang-pa rJe/Jo-btsun sku-mched evidently were pupils of Bla-ma Zhang from whom they received teachings such as *gNad kyi man ngag*; cf. *Zhang bka' 'bum II* (GA) 57.6–62.1. Here we are informed that the two brothers, otherwise unknown, were active in gTsang province such as at sTag-ris of La-stod.

[15] Cf. *ZhK* 29: *bla ma* Chu-pa was active 1168 A.D. at lHa-sa Ngar-khu-lung (*sic*).

[16] To him at Gra-thang-nang Bla-ma Zhang delivered discourses on *samādhi* as contained in Bla-ma Zhang's writings. *SY II* 91a6 reads Grva-phul Pa-ston Khri-kha (*sic*).

[17] Sha-mi *'dul 'dzin* also called *sgom* sMon (the hermit sMon[-lam-'bar] 1084–1171 A.D.) hardly should be counted as the pupil of Bla-ma Zhang. He counts among the chief disciples of rGya *'dul 'dzin* dBang-phyug Tshul-khrims-'bar (1047–1131) of the Vinaya school of Klu-mes. Cf. Part I: fn. 102.

[18] In the esoteric writings of Zhang, this enigmatic disciple is also called *bla ma* Pha-ti, who were to receive teachings delivered at the g.Yu-brag hermitage.

[19] The 4th throne-holder of the abbatial see at Tshal Yang-dgon. *dGos 'dod re skong ma'i grel ba* purports that Sangs-rgyas-'bum never met Bla-ma Zhang. *GT* 15b–16a, conversely, confirms that the former came to Bla-ma Zhang, when he was 5 years of age.



***3**. [Bla-ma Zhang] g.Yu-brag-pa, U-rgyan (Padmasambhava), [Mar-lung-pa] Byang-chub seng-ge and rGod-tshang in a xylographical miniature drawing in the Mar lung pa rnam thar*



4a, ***b***. *Two of Bla-ma Zhang's root-teachers: Ngam-shod gShen-pa rDo-rje seng-ge (4a) and Grub-chen dNgul-chu Be-ro-tsa-na (siddha Vairocana-vartula)*
Miniature Drawing from a *gSer 'phreng* Ms



4c. *Sangs-rgyas ras-pa*
It either refers to lHa-ri pa chen-po Nam-mkha'-'od (alias Sangs-rgyas ras-chen) or – more likely – to Ti-shri ras-pa alias Sangs-rgyas ras-pa/chen
Miniature Drawing from a *gSer 'phreng* Ms



5. *Dvags-po sGom-tshul (right) and Bla-ma Zhang (the latter captioned in this thangka as Zhang Tshal-pa chen-po)*
Detail from a bKa'-brgyud Lineage *thangka*



6. Zhang's root-lama rGva *lo tsā ba* gZhon-nu-dpal
Detail from a Four-armed Mahākāla Father-Mother *thangka*



7 – 10. *Miniature drawings of four masters closely related to Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang: The Zhang teacher 'Ol-kha-ba Rin-chen brtson-'grus (7) and the disciples Kha-rag-pa 'Dul-ba-'od (8), lHa-ri-pa chen-po Nam-mkha'-'od (9) and [Nyag] 'Bri-ra-ba Śākya-'od*







V.6 Religious Settlements of the Early *phyi dar* Communities in dBus

Based upon Primary Sources:
Nel-pa's chronicle [= MTP Uebach 137f.]; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (*KG* 473f.); *Bu ston chos 'byung* (*BC*) [Szerb 1990: 59f.]; *Yar lung chos 'byung* (*YL*); *sDe pa'i gyes mdo* (*DG* 297f.); *rGya bod chos 'byung* (*GB*); *rGya bod yig tshang* (*GY*); *Deb sngon* (*DN* = BA {Roerich]); *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung I –II* (*DC-I*; *DC-II*); *bKa' gdams chos 'byung (KD)-I-IV*; *Ngor chos 'byung* (*NGC*); *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (*NC* 40f.); *Myang chos 'byung* (*MY* 128f.); *Vaiḍūrya ser po* (*VS*)
Secondary Sources:
Dung dkar tshig mdzod (*DK*)
Sigla: I, II, etc. = generations of *mkhan bu* (abbot and ["sons"] or disciples); T = taking over a former temple; F = founding a new temple

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The succession in this enumeration of foundations of the four/five communities (*tsho*, *sde ba*, *skor*) and their sub-groups are in accordance with the chronology regarding the arrival of the key persons that at the beginning of the 11th century returned from Eastern Tibet (cf. most recently Stoddard 2004). Their activities in Central Tibet initiated with a visit or a sojourn in bSam-yas. The Central Tibetan foundations (primarily in lHo-kha), which go back to the members of the gTsang communities, are not listed individually here. In question of the identification and the localization of the distinct sites and toponyms, see in particular Uebach (1987). See also Dung-dkar 1991: 32ff.

A The Religious Settlements and Dependencies of the Klu-mes Groups

(Ia) Klu-mes Tshul-khrims shes-rab (a.k.a. Glags Ba-lam-pa):

Kva-chu (T)

gTsang-thang (T) (*DC-I* 25; bTsan-thang in Yar-lung?; *VS* 216: **rTses-thang** lha-khang (F) in Yar-lung)

La-mo (F; 1009 A.D.) (Chag-de'u; Phya-re'u (*NGC*); sGyel (*DN*; *KG* 474.2–3 speaks of two La-mo sites: La-mo Chag-de'u (cf. *TDD* 211.4) and 'Gyel in La-mo erected in *sa bya* 1009 [*sa bya la mor 'gyel brtsigs*])

Tsher-seb (F) (see e.g. *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 110; sit. in the upper La-mo valley)

Grib-mda' lha-khang (in lower Grib; see *lHa ldan dkar chag* (2002 ed.) 28)

Yer-pa Ba-rang (~-reng/ring) (T/ F) (BA: in 1011; *GY, BC, DCH-I*: est. by rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas)

Ba-lam Sha-tsha (~za) (F) (found. together with his younger brother, Klu-mes 'Brom[-chung]; in Ba-lam)

dBas kyi g.Yu-sgro lha-khang dmar-po (in Ba-lam?; *DN, GY, BC*: est. by Sum-pa [together with rNgog])

Tshong-'dus-gnas (F) (east of Grva)

[Residence in] **Se-ra-phug** in Tshe-spong (Tshe-spong in Yar-stod?; he died on the way [from Tshe-spong] to Thang[-po-che]; BA Roerich 75; *NC* 453: on the way to India)

Thang-skya [of Mal-gro] (T) (*VS* 169: it was originally erected by Srong-btsan sgam-po as mTha'-'dul temple and later renovated by Klu-mes; it became a Jo-nang seat and was later a dGe-lugs-pa monastery from the time of Sems-dpa' Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan; cf. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* 52b3f.

(Ib) Sum-pa Ye-shes blo-gros:

rMe-ru (F) of 'Bre (~ 'Bro) Sa-thang

g.Yu-sgro khang-dmar [of dBas] (F) (*BA*, *GY*, *BC* (64): in sKyid-shod; see above)

(IIa) rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas (*mkhan bu* of Klu-mes, i.e. one of the *ka ba bzhi*):

Ba-rang of Yer-pa (F) (see above)

Brag-rgyab (F) (in 'Phan-yul; var.: ['Phags kyi] Brag-rgyab, i.e. Brag-rgyab of sPras. Part I: fn. 405. Here under rNgog, Po-to-ba was ordained; *Pu to ba rnam thar I* 4b5–6, II 2b2–3)

Rlung-shod 'Phan-yul (*DC-I* 26; i.e sites in Klung-shod [and] 'Phan-yul?; see also BA Roerich 61)

lDing-pa'i gnas (F) (of bZad [= b/gZad in Chu-shul (cf. the *yul dpon tshan* of gZad Chu-shul); *GY* 460: bZad gi lDing-ba; BA Roerich 75: lHing-pa of gZad); followed by the establishments of

dBu[s]-sde lTo-gong (sPu-sde/sBus-sde lHo-gong, also sDe-gong; *BC* 63; sPus-te lTo-gong; *NGC*; dBu-sde refers to the imperial district of dBul-sde in sKyid.smad (see App. IV); also given as sBud-de of gZad)

Kha-rag Labs-so (in Kha-rag); *KG* 474 lists: Lab-so [of Kha-rag], **Grol-ma-thang** [of Kha-rag?], **Kha-rag So-cig** [cf. also *BC* 64]): from here:

Tsha-chung-'gur

gYag-sde'i Sog-po dgon-pa (in Shangs or sNye-mo; MTP fn. 840)

rGyags-mda' lha-khang

Chu-shul Na-bo (~ sNa'o) (*BC* 63; *KG* 474); succeeding foundations:

Gru-gu-sgang

La-mo Ze-sna

Yol-thang

Chags Ra-sgang (var.: Cha Ra-sga)

dBus-sde gNas-gsar (on dBus-sde, see above)

Tsha-rags Gong-po-kha (var.: Tsha-brag Gong-po'i lha-khang)

Rog-dom (in Upper bZad)

Further foundations belonging to the lDing-pa school:

Ne'u'i gnas (= bZad Ne'u-kha ? BA Roerich 956) = sKyid-smad Ne'u [*DC-I* 55]?)

Byang-thang Val-gnas

Rab-btsun-gnas (probably identical with the later Tshal-pa *mi sde* of Rab-btsun-pa)

Gan-pa'i She-btsun-gnas

gZhug-gnas of gTsang

'Bre (BA 75: 'Bre in south-western lHa-mdo belonged to the school of rNgog; located in Myang-stod; cf. Part I: fn. 142; *MY* 37, 39, 105)

Kun-dga' ra-ba (F) (in gZhu of sNye-mo; found. by rNgog; *KG* 474; *DC* [BA Roerich 76])

Tsh[v]a (~m/'Tshal)-mig (F) (*BC* 64; *GY* 460; *DCH-I* 26; *VS* 229; *KG*: Tshe-mig). It formed the basis of a number of establishments and dependencies in the area of sNye-mo and neighbouring 'O-yug; a 'Brung Kun-dga' ra-ba counts among the Kyi-community of the gTsang *tsho ba*; *BC* 72

(IIIa) Ra-mangs Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (*mkhan bu* of rNgog):

Foundations in lHo-brag and lTam-shul ([in lHo-brag there are also foundations of the "gTsang communities" which go back to Lo-ston rDo-rje dbang-phyug; MTP 135, etc.]

(IIIb) Zhang-ston bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan:

sTe-dkyus of bsNyur (~ sDur) (T) (in gTam-shul?)

Gyang-ra lha-khang (F) (in gTam-shul); from here

Shol-mo'i gnas (F) (var.: Rol-mo lha-khang)

(IVa) Nya-ston Khams-gsum (Nyang-ston Khams-'bum) (*mkhan bu* of Zhang-ston):

Srad-thang-gnas (F) (in Yar-'brog sTag-lung)

(IIIc) ['']Be-so Ker-ba (Bhe-po skor-ba; the *Abhidharma* cycle transmission) (*mkhan bu* of rNgog):

Khra-rna'i gNyan-po-gnas (F)

Gral-ma-thang of Nyang-khol (F) (in N/Myang of gTsang; *BC* 64; *MY* 37–38)

(IVb) Gr[v]a-pa mNgon-shes (student of 'Be-so and Yam-shud rgyal-ba-'od; IIe):

Grva-thang *vihāra* (F) (*KG* 476.4: erected between the sNa[-nam] and Shud[-phu] [territories])

Further foundations / residences: **sKyid**/dKyil-**ru** temple (in Upper Grva) (F), **sPyan-g.yas** (F), **Ma-bkod** (F), **Phug-po-che** (T), etc. (on the latter sites, see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005)

(Va) *mkhan bu* of Grva-pa:

Foundation of '**Chad-mangs** (in Nyang-stod); **La-yag Mon-mda'** (*MY* 38; *MTP* fn. 870); **Cha-mda'** of sTag-lung (in Yar-'brog); **sNar-mda'** of Rong (in gTsang); [**r**]**Do'i 'Chims-mda'** (MTP fn. 873); **sNa-gor** of Gr[v]a; **sGa-'dra** (Part I: fn. 422); **Chog-phug** of Mar-ma (in Dol); **lCe-ti'i sTong-bu**; **Ka-gsum** of sGro-yul; **Yur-'go** of Lower Zhur; s**Gre-mkhar** (in gZhung, west of Dol)

(IIb) sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug (*mkhan bu* of Klu-mes, i.e. one of the *ka ba bzhi*):

Ra-tshag of Yab (F) (*KG* 474; BA Roerich 88: at eighteen (993) sNa-nam was ordained in the presence of Klu-mes at Ra-ba zlum-po (?); after that, he first erected the Chag gi gtsug-lag-khang (i.e. the La-mo Chag-de'u?, above Ia). Ra-tshag is in the Yab-valley of lower sTod-lung (acc. to the locals, the original name of the valley is sPang-khung; sPang-khung *rgyal po* is the representative *yul lha*). The Ra-tshag inscription lists Rva *ban de* Yon-tan rgyal-po as the founder of the temple (see Richardson 1998: 286f.; Chos-'phel 2004: 99 mentions Rva *lo tsa ba* [rDo-rje-grags] (b. 1016) as the original founder of Ra-tshag-dgon). A Ra-tshag Jo-mo is regularly mentioned in the 14th cent. in 'Bri-gung and sTag-lung materials)

rGyal lha-khang (a.k.a. rGyal-lug-lhas) (F) (in 'Phan-yul; est. 1012 A.D. BA Roerich 75; 87–93)

Gung-gsum (F) (in Srad = sPrad / sPras in 'Phan-yul)

sPyan-legs Byams-khang (F; acc. to the local tradition) (situated in upper rGyal, western'Phan-yul; see Part I: fn. 670. sNa-nam is also ascribed the foundation of the Se-smug-dgon, the Na-mo-dgon and still other sites located in the same area, i.e. the rGyal valley, today part of mTsho-stod *xiang* of lHun-grub county (*HSLG* Vol. 4: 51–52). The sites are related to the history the Three Maitreya Brothers of 'Phan-yul ('Phan-yul Byams-pa spun-gsum); see Chos-'phel 2004: 178f.)

Ra-ma (i.e. the Ra[g]-ma'i Byams-khang (in the Ra-ma valley of western 'Phan-yul), one of the 'Phan-yul Byams-pa spun-gsum shrines)

Brang gi Chu-bskor-gnas (F) (in lower sTod-lung)

Succeeding foundations:

The 4 Sites of Upper sTod-lung:

Zho-brang

dKar-sna

rDzing-stag

Tsha-t[h]og (Cha-thog; see below)

The two Sites of Central sTod-lung:

Nyan-rdzing-skam (perhaps identical with the later sNyan-dgon; cf. Chos-'phel 2004: 108)

Man-lung chu-nu (~-chung)

The six Sites of Lower sTod-lung:

dMar-sgang (in present-day dMar *xiang*)

Sa-la-tshugs

La-chung Ke-ku (MTP fn. 896)

Tsa-sdong (var.: Tsag-rong)

gNam-khang (perhaps referring to the later gNam gyi gSer-khang monastery, south of Ra-ma-sgang in sKyid-smad)

lHa-zhing gNas-gsar

(IIc) Klan (~ R/Glan) Ye-shes shes-rab (*mkhan bu* of Klu-mes, i.e one of the *ka ba bzhi*):

rGya-sar-sgang (var.: rGyal/s-gser/gsar-sgang, and other spellings; *BC* 64: T; BA Roerich 319; in Yar-lung (north of 'Phang-thang); associated with the dynastic sanctuaries of bTsan-thang g.Yu'i lha-khang, sTag-can 'bum-pa (both in Yar-lung), Rong-skam (= Rol-sgang (~khang) in 'Phyong-po rGyas-sman; later connected with sPyan-g.yas; see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index)

Glag[s]-mda' lha-khang (T) (*GY* 460/461; referring to the 8th cent. temple of sBas gSal-snang; it is probably to be located in upper Shing-tshang; see Part I: fn. 410)

mTshal-chu[ng] (T) (*GY* 461; *DN* (= BA Roerich 79); *KG* 475.1; in 'Brom-stod; also associated with Nyos Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan; BA Roerich 74)

(IId) Gru[m]-mer Tshul-khrims [chos kyi] 'byung-gnas (*mkhan bu* of Klu-mes, i.e one of the *ka ba bzhi*):

Mong-mkhar Bras-pa (F ?) (in sTod-lung? invitation of Klu-mes in 1013 A.D.)

Sol-nag Thang-po-che (F) (in Lower 'Phyong-po; found. 1017)

Branch temples:

Thang-chung (in Yar-lung; founded 1017 A.D.; see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: s.v. index)

Ba-shi (in lHo-brag; found. by Shud-bu gZhon-nu grags-pa; BA Roerich 76)
Cha-khrod (in Gru-shul)
De-kha-rga[**ng**]
So-kha (i.e. Yar-lung So-kha? in g.Ya'-bzang valley, Yar-stod)
Bye-ma[**-lung**] (?) (it became later a branch of Grva-thang; BA Roerich 75f.; *MY* 74–75 indicates that Gru Tshul-khrims erected the lHa-khang dmar-po in Myang-stod).

(IIIa) sKyogs Shes-rab 'byung-gnas (one of the three chief disciple of Grum-mer Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas):
[sKyogs] **Gad-pa-stengs** (F) (of Yar-lung; *DN* = BA Roerich 77)

(IIIb) gZus rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan (one of the three chief disciple of Grum-mer Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas, i.e. one of the *phyam bco brgyad*)
Ro-skam (T) (it refers to Ro[ng]-skam (Rol-khang) in the rGyas-sman valley in 'Phyong-po; a temple founded by Nang-tshul-ma in the late 8th cent.; see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index)

(IIIc) 'Phang dBang-phyug rgyal-mtshan (**a**), Kyi-dan Ye-shes g.yung-drung (**b**), Shud-pu/bu gZhon-nu-grags (BA Roerich 76: representing the "half" of the "seven and half" co-founders of Thang-po-che) (**c**), 'Or-brgyad Shes-rab 'byung-gnas (**d**), Sha-mi brTson-seng (**e**), Khu-ston brTson-'grus g.yung-drung (**f**) (four of the *phyam bco brgyad*):
a: **'Phang-thang** (T) (in Yar-lungs, northern Yar-stod)
b: **Gra'i mda'** (var.: Byams-rings of Grva) (F ?)
c: **Gro-sa** (F ?) (in 'Phan-yul; MTP fn. 929)
'Ju-ma (*KG* 475; *DN* = BA Roerich 76: situated at the border between Thang[-po-che] and Tshe[-spong] (in Yar-stod); it refers to 'Ju-bu village of lower 'Phyong-po)
Ba-shi (in lHo-brag; BA Roerich 76)
Bar-yul (BA 76: in Yar-stod; it may refer to Bar-thang of Upper Yar; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 321)
d: **sTong-mtshan**
e: **Phu-thang gSer-gdings** (probably to be located in rGyas-sman; cf. Phu-thang sPyan-g.yas, BA Roerich 98; cf. also TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 106)
f: **lHa-gdings** (i.e. 'Dren gyi lHa-sdings ('Dren perhaps is to be read as 'Dreng (~'Greng, Grang-mo), situated in upper 'Phyong-po (Hazod 2007); in the Yar-lung area related to lHa-sdings and / or Thang-po-che was Ra-rtsigs-pa'i-khang (in Yar-lung) found. by the Khu-ston disciple Ra-khri-bzang; Eimer 1979: 298)

(IVa) Glan Tshul-khrims byang-chub (**a**) and sBo-chung Tsul-khrims 'byung-gnas (**b**) (disciples of gZus; also listed among the *phyam bco brgyad*, i.e. IInd generation)
a: **rGyal** (of 'Phan-yul) (T/F) (BA Roerich 78)
b: **bTsan-thang** [**g.Yu'i lha-kang**] (in Yar-lung), **Rong-skam** (in rGyas-sman, see above); Kva-chu (T/F) (BA Roerich 78, 100; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index)

(Va) rGya 'Dul-'dzin dBang-phyug tshul-khrims (1047–1131; born in Myang-stod rGya Mang-rab; disciple of the "sons" of gZus):
sGa-gdong/dGa'[-ba]-sdong (F) (of Pa-snam dist. of Myang in gTsang (geograph. position: 29°09'50.1"N 89°31'19.2"E; Part I: Map 9); *MY* 128f.; BA Roerich 78, 79; *DC-I* 29–32; I198a1–3). These establishments such as dGon-pa Tshul-mig-lung, etc. in Myang-stod were erected in the period between 1077 and 1131 A.D. sGa'-gdong here must be considered a key Vinaya center for the subsequent spread of these centres. From here spread the settlements known as 4 pillars (*ka ba*), 10 beams, *gdung ma*)

(IIe) Yam-shud rGyal-ba-'od (disciple of Klu-mes; discip. of Gru-mer acc. to *DCH-I* 26)):
g.Yu-rtse (F)
Phug-po-che (T) (i.e. Ngam-shod Phug-mo-che (of rGyas-sman)? Part I: fn. 425)
Khrab-la-kha of Sa-smad (cf. *DC-I* 26)
Gad-pa Thog (T) (*KG* 475; *DN* = BA Roerich 75)
lCang-tshags (T) (*KG* 475; *DN* = BA Roerich 75: lCang-tshigs)

Yur-'og (T) (BA Roerich 75)
rTsi-'or (T) (BA Roerich 75: the Thang-pa of gNyal originated from the latter two settlements)

(IIf) [sKa-ba] Śākya dbang-phyug (disciple of Klu-mes [and of rBa.btsun, see group **C**]):
Brag Sog[-po]-dgon (F) (in Upper Cha, east of dGa'-ldan in sKyid-shod; *HSLG* Vol. 1, 46, 52)

B The Religious Settlements and Dependencies of the 'Bring Community

(I) 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan:
Khams-gsum Zangs-khang of bSam-yas (T)
dByi (~ sPyi)**-mo-dgon** of Ngan-lam (F) (in 'Phan-yul; centre of the Upper 'Bring *tsho*; *BC* 66; *GY* 461; Ngan-lam chen-mo, *NGC*; cf. App. II and IV)
sKar-chung (T) (*DG* 197: centre of the 'Bring *tsho bar* [*ab* early 12th cent.])
From here dependencies:
bsNams (~ rNams)**-khang** of Zhal (F) (probably Zhal south of Gung-thang)
[Later] branches or dependencies:
rGya-phibs of Sri (F) (south of Tshal Gung-thang; see App. IV)
rGya-gar (F) (var.: rGyang-'khar/mkhar, in 'Dus-byung dist. of Pa-rnam in gTsang, or the rGyal-mkhar in sNe'u? see Part I: fn. 435; App. II: fn. 7)
[**r**]**Gyang-ra dmar-po** of Myu-gu-sna (F) (see MTP Uebach, fn. 943)
Sribs-mda'-gnas of Byang-phyi (F) (var. Byang-byi Sri-mda'; i.e. the temple of Lower Sri in Byang-phyi (cf. Part I: fn. 412), or the 'Phan-yul sPyan-phyi'i lha-khang, MTP Uebach: fn. 944)

(IIa) rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab (*mkhan bu* of 'Bring):
gSang-phu Ne'u-thog (F) (in sKyid-smad)

(IIIa) rNgog *lo tsā ba* (Blo-ldan shes-rab, nephew of rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab)
found. of a *vihāra* in **gSang-phu** sNe'u-thog, etc.
sMan-chu dgon-pa (F, acc. to local trad.) (also called Lo-dgon; it is located in the sMan-chu valley east of lHa-sa, *HSLG* Vol 1: 52 lists rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab as the founder)
Nyi-ma-thang (F, acc. to local trad.) (situated in sNon, south of gSang-mda'/phu)

(IVa) lHa-rje D[v]ags-po (disciple of rNgog *lo tsā ba*):
Gye-re'i gnas (F) (probably the G[y]e-re of 'Brom-stod)
Rlung-mgo of lHas (F) (*DG* 197: **lHas kyi Klu-dgon**, centre of the Upper 'Bring [*ab* early 12th cent.])
Later branches (reg. as branches of the gSang-phu Gling-stod school):
dBang-mkhar of rNon (either the sNon in sKyid-smad or sNon/rGya-ma; see Part I: fn. 433)
rGya-ma [Rin-chen-?]**sgang** (in rGya-ma / sNon)

(IIb) An Shākya-skyabs (*mkhan bu* of 'Bring):
Tshul-chen of Zhal (F) (in Zhal, south of Gung-thang; see above)

(IIc) dBya'-btsun [= dBa's-btsun; of the sBa/dBa's clan?] dKon-mchog rgyal-ba (**a**), mTshur-btsun rGyal-ba (**b**), Mar-btsun rGyal-ba (**c**) (three *mkhan bu* of 'Bring):
a: **Zhogs-pa** (F) (in Zhogs of 'Phan-yul)
Thang-chung (F) (= sTod-lung Thang-phu? Or, less likely, in La-stod of gTsang (cf. V.5, fn. 4, above)
Brang Ra-mo-che (F) (est. as a "intermediate stop" (*lam stegs*) to sNye-thang Brag-sna (below) in lower sTod-lung; centre of the Lower 'Bring *tsho*; *KG* 477; *BC* 66; *GY* 461; cf. Table V.8, s.v. sKyor-mo-lung)
(['O-yug] **Klu-gong**] (founder uncertain; *BC* 66 and *GY* 461: basis of the Central 'Bring *tsho*)
b: **sNye-thang Brag-sna** (F) (*GY* 461: T; *DG* 197: centre of the Lower 'Bring *tsho* [*ab* early 12th cent.])
Succeeding foundations:
Zhogs-pa (? see **a**-1)

Thang-chung (? (*sic)* again see **a**)
Cha-dkar (Cha-dkar of rNams, in sKyid-smad; cf. App. II)
Sha-ngos
rNon gyi **lHa-sa mtha'-'og** (var. Nyang-bran mtha'-'og; north of lHa-sa ?)
Ram-pa rGyab-ma (~-mo) (in sTod-lung; probably identical with Ram-pa lHa-sdings, Table V.8)
c: **'Jangs-pa** of Bur (lJangs, west of sNye-thang in sKyid-smad); cf. e.g. *Rva lo rnam thar* 235)

(IId) dMar gSal-ba'i shes-rab (**a**), Tshes-spong gSal-'bar (**b**) (disciples of 'Bring):
a, **b**: **Khe-[l]dir** of **sKul** (F) (in the area between gZhung and Grva; Part I: fn. 421); followed by
Sogs-pa-ri (F) (in b/gZad in sKyid-smad; cf. App. II above); branches ("four sons"):
gSas-khang (F ?)
rJem gyi gnas (T ?) (perhaps the dynastic place of 'Jen (Byen, ~'Dzen[-thang] of Mal-gro; place of the 'Jen khog-sna rdo'i lha-khang; see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index)
Thang-skya (T) (in bZad of Chu-shur; or Mal-gro (see B-I); or sTod-lung Thang-skya? cf. App. II)
gNas-gsar (i.e. Grib-mda' gNas-gsar? Part I: fn. 231)

(IIIb) sNyos (= gNyos) 'Byung[-gnas] shes-rab (*mkhan bu* of dBya'-btsun dKon-mchog rgyal-ba):
Sil-ma'i gTsang-lug (in Kha-rag, see Table V.7 below)
So-'tshams-gnas
'Greng-smad-gnas (located in mKha'-reg/Kha-rag; cf. Table V.7)
sKam-bu'i-gnas of gZhung (west of Dol; founded from [sKul] Khe-ldir)
Nya-mo-[']**gyur**/skyur (in gZhung; founding also ascribed to rBa; Nya-mo-gyur is also known from Atiśa's visit in mid-11th cent. (*Yongs grags* 163; Eimer 1979: 249; *DK* 917. It is located close to Khyer-phu of lHo-brag *qu*.); from here:
'Brog-gzad[-gnas] (**F**)
Ra-la-sgang (F) (var.: Nu-ma-sgang)
Bye-zhing (F) (var.: dBya-zhing-gnas; i.e. the site of Bye-lung in gZad? see Part I: Map 2)
Sha-zan-gnas (F)
'Byung-gnas shes-rab also erected the **gNas byang-ma** of Brang Ra-mo-che; *gNyos gdung rabs* 16.4–5.

(IIIc) dMar Pu-rangs-pa (disciple of dMar and Tshes; i.e. II-**d**):
'Bras-mo lha-khang of 'Ching-ru (**F**) (not far from sKul; II-**b**)
Gong-mkhar (**F**) (in gZhung)
gSer-chung (**F**) (var. gSar-chung; in Dol?; MTP: the found. of IIIc belong to the Lower 'Bring *tsho*)

C Religious Settlements and Dependencies of the rBa and Rag-śi Groups

(Ia) Rag-śi Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas:
Lan-pa'i Pha-la-bu (T) (in lower 'Phan-yul)
sNang-gsal lha-khang (T) (in Zhogs of 'Phan-yul; Part I: fn. 403)
Ra[**g**]**-shi 'Phreng** ('Phrang-'og gi lha-khang) (F) (*BC* 65, *GY* 461; *KG* 477; in Rags east of the lHa-sa?)
Ka-tshal (T) (i.e. the dynastic temple of dBu-ru Ka-tshal in Mal-gro)
Zh[**v**]**a** (T) (i.e. the dynastic Zhva'i lha-khang in northern Mal-gro?)

(IIa) Tshul-khrims byang-chub (*mkhan bu* of Rag-śi):
['/m]**Tshar-sna** of 'Phan-yul (T)
Thag-ma of sTod-lung (T) (listed also under Mal-sems-dpa', see below; i.e. sTod-lung lHag-ma; MTP Uebach: fns. 617, 995; App. II: fn. 69; *gNyos rabs* 32.5)

(IIIa) Zhang-btsun Shes-rab-'phags (*mkhan bu* of mTha'-bzhi rGya-'phags (*BC* 66)
Lan-pa rTa-bres (F) (in lower 'Phan-yul)

(Ib-1) rBa-btsun Blo-gros dbang-phyug:
Nya-mo-'gyur of gZhung (F) (*GY* 461; see **B**-IIIb, above)
Yungs (~ sPungs)**-'gyur** (~['']gur) (F) (in 'Phan-yul)
Lan-pa sPyil-bu / lCil-bu (T) (Lan-pha'i pho-brang; i.e. Lan-pa'i Pha-la-bu?) (in 'Phan-yul)

(Ib-2) rBa, the younger brother:
Gye-re 'Tshar-sna'i mDa'-grong lha-khang (F) (*KG* 477: Gye-re'i mda' grong; apparently not the 'Tshar-sna of 'Phan-yul, see above; perhaps relating to the mTshar-snang of lower Gye-re in sKyid-smad)
bZho'i Chad-kha[**ng**] (bZhe'i Chang-khang (T) (*GY* 461; *BC* 65; *KG* 477)

(IIa) Mal Sems-pa/dpa' shes-rab (*mkhan bu* of rBa):
Tsha-theg (~ thog) (T) (*KG* 477: Cha-thog of sTod-lung; listed also as a sNa-nam *tsho* found; see above)
Thag-ma (T) (in sTod-lung; see above)
Mon-gr[**v**]**a** (~ 'dra, tra) (T) (MTP Uebach 113)

(IIb) [s]Ka-ba Śākya dbang-phyug (*mkhan bu* of rBa-btsun):
sNyan-dmar of mTshur (F) (in sTod-lung)
Ba-'angs kyi **Ra-gor** (var.: Bangs kyi Da-gor)
mTsho-smad (F ?) (in sTod-lung, in mTsho-smad *grong tsho* of dMar *xiang* (located at 29°49'N 90°43'E; described as a Srong-btsan sgam-po time establishment (main statue Vairocana) and [erreonously?] ascribed to Klu-mes (see *HSLG* Vol. 3: 43; cf. also Tshe-dbang 1989; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1736a; Chos-'phel 2004: 109f.; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 201); branch institutions and dependencies:
sNyan-btsun-gnas
Mon-'dra (see above)
sGa-ra sGal-po-kha
sPa-ra rTe-dkyus
Brag-rum gNas-gsar (in lower sTod-lung?; cf. the dynastic district of Brag-rum)

(IIc) sPyan-rngog Blo-gros rgyal-ba (*mkhan bu* of Ba-btsun):
lCe-pa-la'i gnas (F) (in Go-chul of lHo-brag)
Kho lha-khang (T) (i.e. the dynastic found. of Kho-mthing in lHo-brag)
(both settlements count a number of branch institutions established in the area of southern lHo-kha)

(IIIa) Nya-mi Dar-ma dbang-phyug (*mkhan bu* of Ka-ba):
sPyan-phyi'i lha-khang of 'Phan-yul (T) (i.e. Byang-phyi? see above)
Gra-thang of 'Phan-yul (F) (= sKyi[d]-shod Jo-mo-lung Gra-thang? K.-Paulenz 1993, s.v. index)

(IVa) dBang-phyug rGyal-ba (*mkhan bu* of Nya-mi):
Thag-ma'i lha-khang of sTod-lung (T) (see above)

D Religious Settlements and Dependencies of the rMa Community
(also called sKyi[d] *tsho* or rMa *tsho'i sde* of sKyid-shod)

(Ia) rMa Chos kyi byang-chub
Yer-pa Sog[**s**]**-kha lha-khang** (F)
Succeeding settlements:
sNye-thang rGyal-grong (sNye-thang district, in sKyid-smad)
'Phan-yul gNas-khang
sTe-po
Zul-phu (in sKyi[d]-smad, see Table V.8)
rDzing-khang of sNams (rNams/gNam in sKyid-smad)
rDo-ra (in sKyi-smad; MTP Uebach: fn. 1044)





12



11 *and 1****2.*** *La-mo-lcog in Upper sKyid-shod as seen from the opposite valley of Lo (alias Nyen-kar; below Map 1b.1). The temple which in the dGa'-ldan gzhung period was the residence of the La-mo Tshangs-pa state oracle is situated at the site of the La-mo 'Gyel (~ La-mo Chag-lde'u) temple founded by Klu-mes Tshul-khrims shes-rab in 1009 A.D. Tsher-gseb in the upper La-mo valley (12), place of the dGe-lugs-pa monastic complex of the same name, is similarly registered as a foundation of Klu-mes and his group* (2007, 2001)

13. *dGongs-pa rab-gsal, fountain head of the Rennaissance Period (phyi dar) in Central Tibet*
Statue kept in Potala



14



15

14, ***15***, ***16***. *Three monasteries which go back to foundations ascribed to sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug of the Klu tsho: Ra-tshag in the Yab (alias sPang-khung) valley of sTod- lung (14); rGyal lha-khang (15) and Ra[g]-ma lha-khang (16), both in 'Phan-yul*

Photo of Fig. 16: U. Roesler

15a. *The stone statue of Maitreya kept in the rGyal-stod part of the rGyal lha-khang (15) represents a (11th-cent.?) forerunner of the later Maitreya brother idol in the Byams-khang of rGyal-smad*

Photo: Pasang Wangdu



16



15a



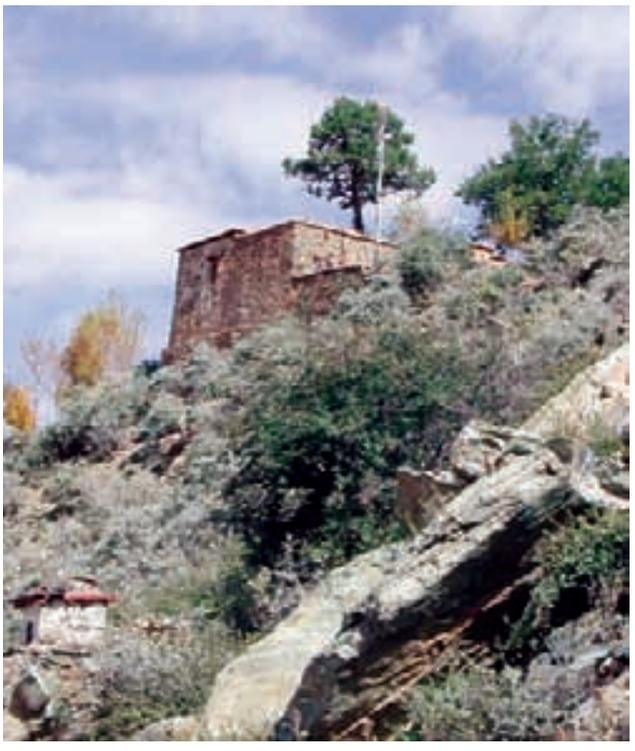
17. *Ngan-po dgon (2002). The place of the Sa-skya monastery in Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul corresponds to the site of the Ngan-lam dByi-mo-dgon founded by 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan. It is classified as the centre of the Upper 'Bring tsho*



18 *and* ***19.*** *Brang Ra-mo-che (located in Ra-mo-che village in the ancient Brang district of lower sTod-lung) is classified as the centre of the Lower 'Bring tsho* (2002)
Fig. 19 is the modern replica of (the original 11th cent.?) image of the Jo-bo Rin-po-che of Ra-mo-che which is said to hold conversation with the Jo-bo of lHa-sa in the east



19



***20**, **21**, **22.** Two less known religious sites in sKyid-shod which go back to early settlements of the rNgog lugs: sMan-chu-dgon (alias Lo-dgon) (20) and sNon Nyi-ma-thang (21, 22)* (2002, 2005)



21 Photo: Google Earth 2006

22



V.7 The gNyos Clan of Central Tibet and the Abbatial Succession of the Gye-re lha-khang

Based upon Primary Sources:
gNyos rabs (*NR*); *sMyos rabs* (*MR*); *lHa nang rnam thar I–III* (*HNT I*, *-II*,*-III*); *gTer bdag gling rnam thar I–II* (*TDNT I–II*); *gTer bdag gsan yig* (*TDGY*); *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (*NR*); *lHo rong chos 'byung* (*LR*); *Deb sngon* (*DN* = BA Roerich); *Deb dmar* (*DM*); *rGya bod chos 'byung* (*GB*); *rGya bod yig tshang* (*GY*); *bKa' gdams chos 'byung I, -II, -III, -IV* (*KD I, -II, -III, -IV*); *rMog lcog rnam thar* (*MC*); *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (*KT*); *dGa' ldan chos 'byung* (*GD*); *Vaiḍūrya ser po* (*VS*); *DL6*; *mKhyen brtse'i dbang po'i rnam thar* (*KB*); *dPag bsam ljon bzang* (*PS*); *Gu bkra chos 'byung* (*GK*); *rDzogs chen chos 'byung* (*DC*); *bShad mdzod* (*SD*); *sGrub thabs lo rgyus* (*GL*); *lCags stag zhib gzhung* (*CT*); *Mig 'byed 'od stong* (*MB*)

Secondary Sources:
Ming mdzod (*MD*); *Mi sna* (*MN*); *lHa sa'i dgon tho* (*HS*); *HSLG*; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* (*DK*)

[Sigla: | = descends in direct line from; = i.e. married to ....]. Almost only male members of a line are registered

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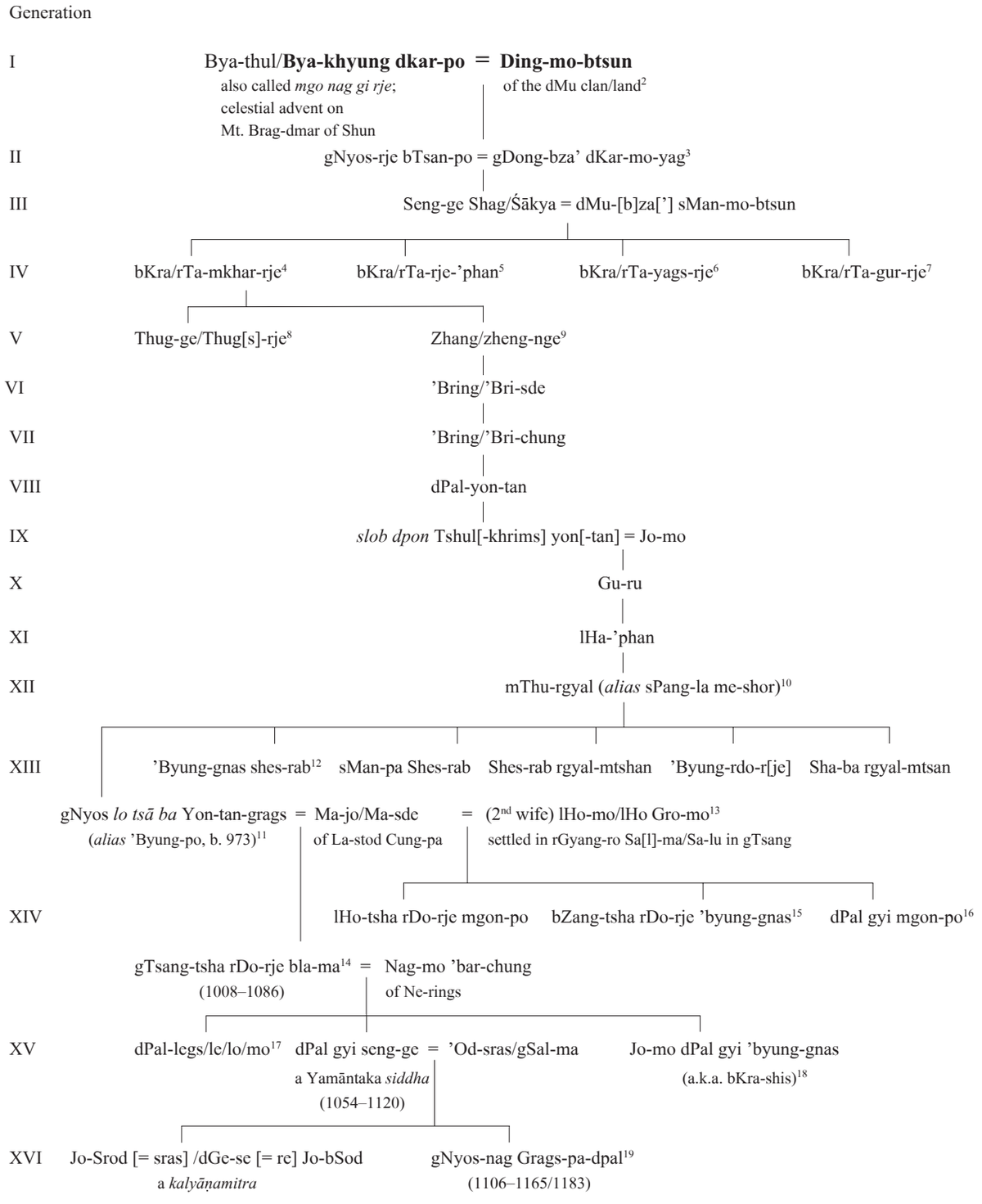
One of the most enduring and influential clans in Central and Southern Tibet throughout the medieval epoch was the gNyos clan. Its long and complex history is commonly known from a number of stray sources. Fortunately, its successful polylinear ramifications can be documented from the 11th century. The spelling in the various sources vacillates – even within one text – between the homophoneous gNyos / sNyos / mNyos / sMyos.[1] The genealogy or the lineage of the gNyos has been transmitted in a number of sources of which some are no more extant. The gNyos clan was an offspring of the rMu clan (see below fn. 2). The present conspectus thus only reflects a selective, extant segment of these genealogies found embedded in the above sources. The following listing is moreover restricted to the genealogy of the initial generations of the gNyos that were active in Central or Western Tibet (i.e. mainly those settling in sKyid-smad and Kha-rag of sNa-dkar-rtse along the border to gTsang). Another spread of the clan is well-documented too, namely the succeeding agnatic sub-lines of gNyos/sMyos in lHo Mon or Bhutan wherefrom e.g. Padma gling-pa and the 6th Dalai Lama should originate (see Aris 1979a; 1988; and especially *sMyos rabs*, *passim*). Cf. also App. I and App. II, Chap. 1 above for a detailed discussion of the most illustrious members of the sKyid-shod gNyos clan and their role in the lHa-sa (known as the lHa-pa) area in the 12th century.

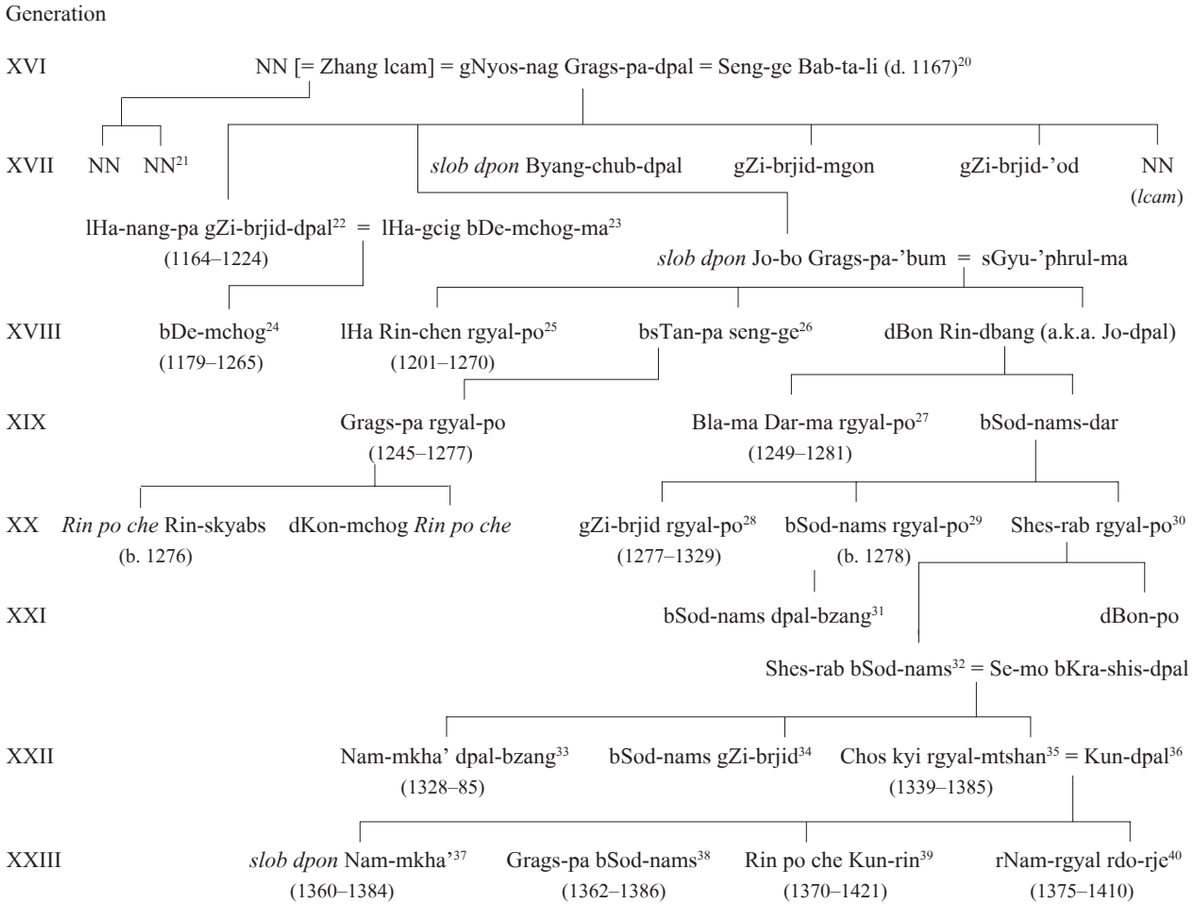
A number of religious personages and hierarchs claim descent from the widely ramified gNyos clan; aside from those main lines detailed below, one may individually mention the prominent bKa'-gdams-pa masters Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal (1027/31–1105) of 'Phan-yul, his favourite pupil and kin gNyos-ston Chos-'bar (1050–1112) and another pupil of his, Pho-brang sdings-pa gZhon-nu-'od; also the Kālacakra transmitter gNyos sKye/sGyi-khung-pa (b. 1067), further we register sTod-lung-pa Bya-yul-pa gZhon-nu-'od (1078–1138) as well as a further kin gNyos Bra-gor-ba (var. Bra 'Or-ba) – the latter e.g. erected the highly influential bKa'-gdams-pa seat of Bra-gor in gNyal; finally gNyos-pa Tshul-khrims-'bar. We should also list the late 11th-century gNyos 'Od and Ye-shes-mchog registered in the Kālacakra transmission, etc. The list below should therefore be regarded as preliminary, to be expanded when new lines and materials on the gNyos surface.

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[1] The original clan name evidently was and is gNyos, whereas one dominant line from the 18th generation allegedly descending from bDe-mchog *alias* gNyos-ston 'Khrul-zhig chos rje gradually was changed into [s]Myos ("insane"), as the clan was commonly known in Bhutan. Also the hierarchs of sMin-grol-gling, starting from gTer-bdag gling-pa, were descendents of the gNyos clan, and they too occasionally prefer the spelling sMyos.

7.1 The gNyos Lineage




Generation
XVI
NN [= Zhang lcam] = gNyos-nag Grags-pa-dpal = Seng-ge Bab-ta-li (d. 1167)[20]
XVII
NN
NN[21]
slob dpon Byang-chub-dpal
gZi-brjid-mgon
gZi-brjid-'od
NN (lcam)
lHa-nang-pa gZi-brjid-dpal[22] = lHa-gcig bDe-mchog-ma[23]
(1164–1224)
slob dpon Jo-bo Grags-pa-'bum = sGyu-'phrul-ma
XVIII
bDe-mchog[24]
(1179–1265)
lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po[25]
(1201–1270)
bsTan-pa seng-ge[26]
dBon Rin-dbang (a.k.a. Jo-dpal)
XIX
Grags-pa rgyal-po
(1245–1277)
Bla-ma Dar-ma rgyal-po[27]
(1249–1281)
bSod-nams-dar
XX
Rin po che Rin-skyabs
(b. 1276)
dKon-mchog Rin po che
gZi-brjid rgyal-po[28]
(1277–1329)
bSod-nams rgyal-po[29]
(b. 1278)
Shes-rab rgyal-po[30]
XXI
bSod-nams dpal-bzang[31]
dBon-po
Shes-rab bSod-nams[32] = Se-mo bKra-shis-dpal
XXII
Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang[33]
(1328–85)
bSod-nams gZi-brjid[34]
Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan[35] = Kun-dpal[36]
(1339–1385)
XXIII
slob dpon Nam-mkha'[37]
(1360–1384)
Grags-pa bSod-nams[38]
(1362–1386)
Rin po che Kun-rin[39]
(1370–1421)
rNam-rgyal rdo-rje[40]
(1375–1410)

Notes to Table 7.1

[2] Viewed historically, the first generation may tentatively be dated to *ca*. 5–6th cent. A parallel could here be drawn to the origin myth of the overall royal progenitor gNya'-khri btsan-po who was similarly married to a lady of the heavenly dMu (clan and land). Noteworthy is that the gNyos clan also was counted as one of the sub-clans of the rMu (see foll. note), wherefrom the gNyos ancestor (like gNya'-khri entitled a ruler of the Black Headed People; *mgo nag rje*) evidently took his wife. As for the name of the ancestral figure (i.e. Bya-khyung dkar-po or White Garuḍa) there may be a closer relation to the Khyung-tshang-brag cave of the Shun mountain described in a local account as the nest of a giant *khyung* bird who once terrorized the surrounding country. See Akester 2000; Hazod 2004: 35.

[3] Also called gNyos-rje 'Tsho-ba. *MR* 65 maintains that she was the daughter of a gDong-bza'. *DL6* 107 reads Gro = 'Bro-bza'. The gDong (var. lDong) clan is regarded as one of the *nang gi mi'u rigs bzhi*, the four primeval clan peoples, i.e. Se, rMu, lDong, sTong, which were divided into 18 great sub-clans. 'Bro is registered as one of the sub-clans of the lDong. Cf. *SD* 182.4 (Gene Smith 2001: 218).

[4] He crossed gTsang-po and settled in g.Yor-po where they became "lords of the *mgo nag*," here an euphemism for "common people or subjects." See e.g. also *MB* 46a6 in connection with the Rlangs clan. It could be expected that this sub-line of his in g.Yor-po or southern Central Tibet constituted the gNyos forebear behind those gNyos lines that developed in the 17th generations (see below) and spread further southwards.

[5] He went to Khams, a.k.a. gNyos *dmag dpon*. No information on this eastbound line.

[6] From him descended the gNyos line of La-stod of gTsang.

[7] The line settled in lHa-sa, known as dG[y]e[r], i.e. G[y]e-re gNyos. *NR* 25.1 reads dGyer gNyos, otherwise the reading lHa-sa dGe or sGer is also recorded (all close to the homophonous reading Gye-re/ Ge-re (bisyllabic vowel reduplication in the spelling variants -er ~ -e are not uncommon). This identification or equation is also surmised by Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho; cf. *DL6* 107. It is thus conceivable that it was bKra-gur-rje (*ca*. 7th cent.?) and his descendants that settled in the lHa-sa district, in G[y]e-re [lHa] Valley of sKyid-smad. This valley should become the seat of the lHa-pa (arguably contracted from lHa-sa-pa; the anteposition of lHa may, however, conversely refer to their divine origin from *'od gsal lha*) and remained their estates for the coming almost 12 centuries, in fact the homestead of the lHa-pa gNyos clan ("gNyos of the lHa-sa or of Divine Origin"), a stronghold in the immediate area of lHa-sa (App. II: Map 3a, b) It is small wonder that the lHa-pa in indigenous Tibetans literature commonly are regarded as a house with a very ancient stock.

A still unexplored issue is the possible – but not conclusive – affiliation or relationship that may have existed between the various Gyer sites (dG[y]er, Gye-re, Ge-re) in sKyid-smad and sKyid-stod and Grva, etc. Gyer-smad in *GD* 81a6. Cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: App. II. It may well be the case that distinct origins must be ascribed to the G[y]e-re of sKyid-stod and -smad and that the Upper Ge-re was related to the sGer/dGyer clan of Yar-lung and later Mal-gro (the same clan was behind the Rin-spungs-pa House, see *sGer gyi gdung rabs*).

[8] Settled in gZhung, this elusive sub-line was known as gNyos *sBan tsha* or scions.

[9] He arrived at Zhal gyi Khrims-mo/Srin-mo gung/gur-mkhar; subsequently he seized Kha-rag and 'Grang-sil/ 'Brang-sil. These areas, still known today, should become a future stronghold of the gNyos. From this line originated the famous Kha-rag-based gNyos line. Kha-rag originally is a side-valley of the southern bank of gTsang-po; today Kha-rag is a *xiang* in sNa-dkar-rtse county located at 29°15'N 90°24'E (mod. var. spelling: Kha-[db]rag, but occasionally also and commonly: mKha'-reg, "touching the sky," although this obviously is an attempt at popular etymology so cherished among the Tibetans).

Toponyms denoted or designated Kha-rag are regularly registered. Incidentally, a different toponym is Kha-rags located in rTse-chen *xiang* of rGyal-rtse *khul* (located: 28°56'N 89°33'E) of gTsang. Other texts, however, talk about (most confusingly and problematic) lHa-rtse Kha-rag (or mKha'-reg), which immediately is difficult to connect with the two other options.* Bon sources introduces a Kha-rag rTsang-stod (located adjacent to present-day bZang-bzang in La-stod Byang, Ngam-ring county). *DL6* 107 assists us considerably by saying that the gNyos Kha-reg location is situated in Upper g.Yor. It indicates the geograph. position of the upper (= western half) of the ancient Left Horn province. Kha-rag in fact constitutes the western border of imperial-time g.Yo-ru (see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 230).** Finally, a Kha-rag of sTod-lung is registered; cf. *Chos kyi grags pa rnam thar* 394; *Nor bu'i do shal* 294 (there at Tshe-chu-phug, Zhig-po gling-pa extracted treasuries), possibly referring to Kha-rag-mdo of present-day Chu-bzang *xiang* at 30°02'N 90°53'E.

Kha-rag as distinct area originally bordered on as well as remained part of later (and present-day) Gong-dkar, sNye-mo as well as of Chu-shur districts. Associated with old Kha-rag of g.Yo-ru, relevant here for our discussion, is the holy mountain Kha-rag Jo-mo, famous for its many hermitages. In fact, the mountain range of Kha-rag is generally located north, north-west of Yar-'brog. The area is most readily known as a mountain valley area comprising the mountain range and an old and cherished hermitage area that, as said, long served as border between dBus and gTsang. The core area of Kha-rag / mKha'-reg is the side-valley and area south of gTsang-po towards Yar-'brog, but mKha'-reg also covered the area on the northern side of gTsang-po en route between present-day Chu-shul and sNye-mo. The two most famous mountain twins are, as said, Kha-rag Jo-bo and Jo-mo (resp. located 29°14'N 90°20'E and 29°16'N 90°20'E), the latter associated with the activities of Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal; cf. Ricard 1994: 571.

'Brang-sil (of Kha-reg), in fact refers to two places, where at one point gNyos 'Byung-gnas shes-rab established a few 'Bring communities 'Greng/'Breng-smad-gnas and Sil-ma'i gTsang-lug located respectively on the southern and the northern shore of gTsang-po; cf. Table V.6 (IIIb) above; these sites were also known as 'Bren[g]-mo-che and Sil-ma-la of Kha-rag rtse (= *rtsa ba*; the heart or central part (*rtsa*) of Kha-rag area, as it is called; evidently adjacent to present-day Sil-ma-la/Sim-la Pass: 29°12'N 90°25'E),*** the latter e.g. being the birth place of Sangs-rgyas ston-pa brTson-'grus seng-ge (1207–78 A.D.) of the Ya-ngal dkar-po clan that had a branch line (of early Bon-po and *grub thob*) here in the 13th cent. Cf. *Sangs rgyas ston pa rnam thar* 209ff. where his activities in Kha-rag and his meeting with one Jo-sras Sil-ma-ba is mentioned. In the Shangs-pa tradition a sNying-gong of Kha-rag is mentioned. In 'Brang/'Breng, *chos rje* Kun-dga' seng-ge built his temple Chos-'khor-sdings and the great Tāranātha was born here in 1575 (in the home-land of the Rva clan); see his biography 7a3–6; BA Roerich 743–46; *Si tu bka' chems* 58.4 and also *Ming mdzod* 1738. Further, *lHa 'dre bka' thang* (Blondeau 1971: 71–72). A few hermitages are found in the area such as Kha-rag lHa-mtsho, etc. A famous *grub thob* was Kha-rag sGrub-chen bSod-nams rgyal-po active in the area in the mid-1500's. In the 1830 Tax Survey (*CT* 54), Kha-reg is registered as part of Gong-dkar *khul*, which included the following communities: mTsho-phu, Dril-thang, mDa', and Sing-ma (alt. name for Sil-ma). In the 17th cent., a [Gong-dkar] Kha-reg Sing-ma-dgon was established in the area (with its own *bla sprul* line; cf. *Bla sprul deb gzhung* 319). These were old imperial-time sites: In *Padma bka' thang*, Canto 92: 565, 569–570, 573 both Sil-ma-la and Sil-bu and Kha-rag are mentioned. Kha-rag was the seat of *ma mo* and *bse mo*, which were oath-bound by Padmasambhava, and the latter bond-slaved the local *sman mo* of Kha-rag Sil-ma-kha; cf. e.g. *Thang yig gser 'phreng* (*Le'u* 59). In Bon-sources, Kha-rag-yul and Kha-rag sGo-dgu or the area's "nine doors / exits" are mentioned. For an essay on the area, cf. bDe-chen sgrol-dkar 1988 (incl. pictures). In the 14th cent., it became a *mi sde* of the Tshal-pa *khri skor* (App. III). A full-fledged study of the complex settlement history of Kha-rag is a major desideratum.

* However, lHa-rtse may be an abbreviation of sKyi-smad lHa-ri-rtse; cf. *gTer ston lo rgyus* 58b3. Or it may indicate the Kha-rag-pa side-line that indeed had settled in lHa-rtse dist. Cf. *Rva lo rnam thar* 150.

** As is commonly known, the older g.Yon-ru was later known as g.Yor or g.Yo-ru; cf. *Khra tshang rtogs brjod* 11b1.

*** Above the gTsang Sil-ma-la or Sil-ma Pass, considered a strategic location, five temples were erected in the early 20th cent. in order to ward off the intrusion of foreign (here British) armies; cf. *DL-13* 278.

[10] *MR* 67 and *TDNT-I* 16a5 maintain that sPang-la me-shor was a younger brother of mThu-rgyal.

[11] Elder contemporary of Mar-pa, who similarly went to India. He was born in Kha-rag, according to *GL* 112b3. Cf. App. I and II above, for more details on this famous *lo tsā ba*. Through matrimonial affairs, his line should spread out from Kha-rag and settled in La-stod (La-stod Byang dist., at Cung-pa; cf. Table V.4–5, fn.4) and rGyang-ro of Myang-stod. His teachings and esoteric cycles constituted the gNyos spiritual lore and esoteric legacy. Members of the sMyos or gNyos line was related to the transmission of *kilaya* (*GK* 333), such as sMyos-ston Nyi-ma rdo-rje active in Nyang-stod area. The latter may have been related to the Kha-rag line. *HNT III* 5a6f., slightly at variance with other sources, mentions that he had seven sons.

[12] Ordained in the presence of dBya'-btsun dKon-mchog rgyal-ba of the 'Bring-smad communities; became *mkhan po* of Brang Ra-mo-che and subsequently ruler of the sKyid-smad 'Bring *tsho*. *HNT III* 5a4 lists as his remaining brothers: 'Byug-chung, 'Byung-gnas rdo-rje and Sha-ba rgyal-mtshan.

[13] She came from the Gro-mo (Chumbi) district. Unfortunately we possess no detailed information on the lines that issued from this branch line. For the Upper rGyang-ro/ru district including Sa-lu (Sa-ma) district of present-day rGyal-rtse area; cf. S.S. Wanggyal, *rGyang ru sa ma mda' khul gyi dgon pa lha khang khag gi lo rgyus*; see also *lCags stag zhib gzhung* 469; later these areas were part of the private estate of the Pha-lha nobles.

HNT III only lists three sons of gNyos *lo tsā ba* and further seems to suggest that his sons had different mothers. So rDo-rje mgon-po was son of Yon-tan-grags and lHo Gro-mo, whereas he fathered two or three sons with one Ma-jo. The same text purports that rDo-rje mgon-po was the youngest of the three sons. *TDNT-II* 16a7f. conversely maintains that Yon-tan-grags had four wifes and fathered 6 children.

[14] Well-versed in the gNyos transmission, and himself a famed *siddha*, later ruler of numerous 'Bring *tsho* communities. His residence (*gnas gzhi*) in Kha-rag was located in 'Brang; cf. *Tāranātha rnam thar* 7a3–6. A-khu refers in his *dPe dkon* to a *rnam bshad* composed by him devoted to the celebrated *rGyud gsum* of gNyos *lo tsā ba* Yon-tan grags-pa along with *Saṃvara* and *Hevajra tantra*. *LR* 425 purports that rDo-rje bla-ma was a nephew (*dbon*) of gNyos *lo tsā ba*. *HNT III* 6a1–2 calls him Jo-dpal and makes his son the younger brother.

[15] He evidently settled in bZang = gZad of Chu-shur district. He went to India and became a competent *lo tsā ba*.

[16] A Vajrabhairava ascetic.

[17] Well-versed in the gNyos cycles and a great religious master. *HNT* 3: Jo-dpal. He was also a student of sPu-rangs Lo-chung gZhon-nu/Grags-mchog/'byor shes-rab (*fl*. early 12th cent., a significant Hevajra cycle transmitter) and of Phyva-ba Chos kyi seng-ge (1109–69). Considered one of the latter's celebrated disciples (among the latter's dBus-gtsang Jo-sras *bzhi* or four "Noble Birth Disciples") called gNyos Jo-sras dPal-le, cf. *YL* 129.5–6; *gSang 'dus chos 'byung* 60b2–3; BA Roerich 332; *KD* 162.

He was also registered as student of rNgog/rDog Nyi-ma seng-ge (*alias* Mu-ne) who resided in 'Jad of gTsang, a transmitter of *Guhyasamāja* (see App. II). This may immediately cause some chronological problems since he was born around 1050 A.D. and his teachers active in the early 12th cent.

DL6 112–13 informs that he e.g. composed commentaries on the *Saṃvara* and *Hevajra tantra*. This must refer to the *bDe dgyes dang mtshan brjod kyi dka' 'grel* ascribed to him and listed in A-khu's *dPe dkon*. He had many students such as She-rab-grags of gZhu. He became a master of the Yamāntaka practice. *LR* 425, on the other hand, registers dPal-mo and dPal gyi seng-ge as nephews of rDo-rje bla-ma, not as sons. His mother stemmed from the Ne-ring family, evidently a powerful local house of Chu-shur; cf. *lCags stag zhib gzhung* 174. As to the Ne-ring-pa, a Zang-zang Ne-ring-pa 'Chi-med rab-rgyas and Ne-ring bDe-legs mgon-po-grub and Ne-ring zur-pa dBu-ma-pa Sangs-rgyas-dpal wrote a biography and was pupil of bTsong-kha-pa.

HNT III 6a3f., contrary to the list presented here, enumerates ten sons and daughters of Grags-pa-dpal in all, fathered with six consorts [*sic*]: Zhang *lcam* with whom he fathered sTon Ma-tsha rags-ma [*sic*] and Jo-chung. With one dKar-re, he fathered two unnamed daughters, both died in their infancy. With Yong-mo Bab-ta, he fathered rJe Rin-po-che i.e. lHa-nang-pa and the daughter dKar-'bum. With one dPon-don gyi Jo-mo, he fathered *slob dpon* Jo-grags. With one Ma-jo Ye-shes-skyid, he fathered *slob dpon* Byang-chub-dpal. Age 66, he finally married one Jo-mo gNyan-mo, with whom he fathered gZi-brjid-mgon and gZi-brjid-'od. The latter two died in their early years.

[18] An ascetic of the Yamāntaka cycle. He settled in Kha-rag wherefrom the gNyos Sil-ma-ba line developed.

[19] Conflicting data concerning his dates. *MR* 79–85 gives his age as 78 and situates him 1106–1183 A.D. We shall preliminarily favour these dates. *NR* 31.1, 33.5 maintains that Grags-pa-dpal died in a *lcags rta* year = 1210 but that he reached the age of 61,* which would place his birth in *ca*. 1150 A.D. This is quite untenable when we consider that he in the 1150's had already emerged as a leader in Central Tibet and subsequently met Dvags-po sGom-tshul. Opting more appropriately for an earlier date, it may be argued that the *lcags rta* is a slip of the hand for *lcags stag* or 1170, thus situating his dates to 1110–1170 A.D. However, whether reaching 61 or 78 years of age, the dates 1106 until 1182/3 would far more seem to dovetail with the information in his biography where he indeed seems to have passed away in the 1180's. *LR* 425 moreover maintains that Grags-pa-dpal merely was a nephew of dPal-seng. The sources differ as to the number of children he produced, some texts only speak of five children altogether.

Grags-pa-dpal's elder brother was Gye-re Jo-bo bSod[-nams], and as the name indicates he may stem from or be associated with the Gye-re valley.

* Also preferred by *DL6* 114. The age 61 was also the age reached by his son lHa-nang-pa and Phag-mo-gru-pa, wherefore these figures may be questionable. *NR*, a primary gNyos source, tends to postdate some persons and incidents at least one *lo skor* later.

[20] *HNT* reads Yong-mo dPag-rka or dPal-ka; *MR* 86 reads Song-mo Pa-ti as the name of the mother. *HNT III* 6b3 reads sPong-mo sPang-ta, also named sPong-zho Hum-grags of Ba-ma in Bur district.

[21] In *TDNT-II* 16a5–6 a half-brother (by different mother) of lHa-nang-pa is listed by the name bKra-shis dbang-phyug (unknown from other lists). *HNT III* 6a5–6 reads the two eldest sons of Grags-pa-dpal as sTon Ma-tsha Ma-rags [*sic*] and Jo-chung. The members of the gNyos clan according to the former text (identically listed up until then) were hitherto known as the *phyi rus* or "Outer Clan Line." See also *DL6* 105. The members of the line following the latter's son by the name Grags-pa rdo-rje were known as the *nang rus* or "Inner Clan Line" – the division may have been made along purely geographical criteria where "outer" alludes to the northern (i.e. sKyid-shod) part and western (i.e. Kha-rag) Central Tibetan gNyos lines and "inner" to the gNyos settlements in g.Yor-po in southern Central Tibet (lHo-kha), rather than assuming any exogamous or endogamous distinction. Another temporal reading of the *phyi*/*nang* division into *phyi* (outer, here former or remoter, i.e. generations) vs. *nang* (inner, more recent generations) seems untenable, since *phyi* conventionally connotes "later" and not "former."

In fact, Grags-pa rdo-rje was born in sNye-mda' (or Lower sNye-mo) of dBu-ru-smad.

The linear (or filial) succession:



All subsequent sMin-grol-gling hierarchs were patrilinear descendants of gTer-bdag gling-pa of the gNyos/sMyos clan until the 19th century. Also the celebrated *ris med* propounder 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po (1820–92) was gNyos (cf. e.g. *KD* 12b2f.) where however it is said that the forefather is linked to a Byang-chub gling-pa, one of the thirteen favourite students of the 'Bri-gung founder, this may be true since he is usually identified with lHa-nang-pa.

* Also called *sngags 'chang* 'Gro-mgon gNyos-zhig chen-po Grags-pa dpal-bzang (or Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan). The line is also called the mThing-ma-ba; cf. *TDNT-I* 16a4. In Tibet, mThing-ma-ba gNyos-zhig attended on many contemporary Indian ascetics and Tibetan masters such as his principal mentor Myang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer, Kha-che Paṇ-chen, Mitrayogi as well as relied on Glan Nya-tshal-pa (a.k.a. Glan rDo-rje-'od or Glan Śākya byang-chub; cf. e.g. *DL5 gSan yig IV* 235b1–3) as well as on Ko-brag-pa, etc. One of his pupils was rTa-ston Jo-yes (1169–1230); cf. BA Roerich 142; *GK* 283–84. The ascetic gNyos-zhig in particular became a master of a large range of cycles stemming from Myang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer. Renown as the *bka' babs* of the latter's *Las kyi mkha''gro* cycles. Cf. also *Khra tshang rtogs brjod* 11a3–4, 35a5–6; *DL5 II* 95b2–96a5; *DL5 gSan yig II* 122a5–6, 275a4–6, 276a5–b6, 278a6–5, 306b3–307b3; *TDSY* 69b5–70b1, 77b4–5, 266b3ff, *IV* 304a1–3, 306b3; *Myang ral rnam thar* 136.1, 137.5, etc. This constituted the background for the ascription of the line as holders of the Old Translation School. He erected the temples of rDo-mthing-ma and Yar-klung Gu-ru lha-khang. These informations are not without chronological problems for a dating of him and his flourit must be safely situated to early 13th century. The prominent *mantradhara* Grags-pa rdo-rje or Grags-pa dpal-bzang (and his line) was considered *zhal ngo* of Gung-ru-ba (until Grags-pa 'od-zer). In the late 1670's, a gNyos Gung-ru-ba *chos rje* dBang-rgyal lhun-grub is registered. The former had four consorts with whom he fathered six children. The most prominent among these was Padma rdo-rje.

** gNyos-sgom was active in the mid-13th cent. Among his pupils counts Se-ston Jo-bo rDo-rje khro-bo of rGyang-ro.

*** It is recorded that Grags-pa 'od-zer received a *'ja' sa* edict from the Mongols as well a citation and title of *dishi*. Not to be confounded witth an earlier namesake, the famous Sa-skya Khang-gsar-pa Grags-pa 'od-zer; *dishi* 1291–1303; cf. Petech 1990b: 73–76. *TBRC* (P8528) maintains that Klong-chen Dri-med 'od-zer was father to Grags-pa 'od-zer and gives his dates 1356–1409. This is untenable.

He became a private guard and preceptor of the Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler Gong-ma Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374–1432; recte: *spyan snga* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, 1293–1360) and a teacher of Kun-mkhyen Klong-chen (1308–64 A.D.), cf. *Klong chen rnam thar* 32, 176; *GK* 215 (here is a reference to gNyos mThing-ma-ba (name Sangs-rgyas grags-pa/grags-'od, so acc. to *The rNyingma School* 577; *Nor bu'i do shal* 247; *GK* 215) = Grags-pa 'od-zer. He administered the lineage-temples of rDo-mthing-ma, Gu[ng]-ru lha-khang and later the Khra-tshang in Yar-lung (known as the three mantric seminars (*sngags sde*) in Yar-lung: Gung-mThing-Khra gsum.**** These sites should become the ancestral family temples of the line. From him descends the gNyos line(s) of Yar-klungs, being known as gNyos kyi *sngags 'chang* (even registered in the 1660's; in 1676 a gNyos Gung-ru-ba *chos rje* dBang-rgyal lhun-grub is registered cf. e.g. *DL5 II* 144b2, 277b7–78a1). It would be tempting to see in this family (or a side-line) the rulers of the neighbouring g.Ya'-bzang-pa in Yar-stod (cf. Gyalbo *et al.* 2000: 98). Any connection between the title of a key text in the g.Ya'-bzang tradition, the *bKa' chems mTho mthing ma* and the gNyos seat rDo-mthing-ma is thus worth noting, but still speculative.

**** This line issuing from the Grags-pa 'od-zer brother-line settled down and ruled Khra-tshang, either as a father-son or an uncle-nephew line. The line eventually bifurcated into the *chos rje* Khra-tshang-ba and the sMan-lung-pa. Cf. *Khra tshang rtogs brjod*, *passim*; *mGon po rnam thar* 55b3f. They similarly were recipients of teaching cycles from Myang-ral. Cf. e.g. *DL5 gSan yig II* 278b1–6; *GK* 666. Under *chos rje* sMan-lung-pa, rDo-rje gling-pa received religious training; cf. *rDo rje gling pa rnam thar II* 16–17.

***** He went to Yar-rgyab. He had been born in Dol of g.Yo-ru and was considered a manifestation of *chos rje* dPal Don-grub. He became a monk of the Chos-rdzongs gdan-pa (*sic* = Bye-rdzings/tshogs gdan-pa, one of the four *jo gdan* seats ascribed to Kha-che Paṇ-chen) in Grva where he later expanded his temporal power. It was his line or from that of his father who as *sku mag* married into the line of the Zhang sNa-nam (former rulers of Grva Dol and gZhung) which led to the line of gTer-bdag gling-pa; *GK* 703–04.

****** If he is identical with rJe sMan-chu-ba Nam-mkha' rin-chen, then his *flourit* is situated in the early 16th cent.; cf. *gTer ston lo rgyus* 92a2.

******* Or rDo-rje tshe-dbang, his spouse was also called bSod-nams bu-'khrid. He died at Dar-rgyas Chos-gling. *DC I* 138b3–141a4.

******** His spouse also called dGos-'dzoms mdzes-ma. He was considered an emanation of Lang-'gro *lo tsā ba* dKon-mchog 'byung-gnas; he was invited to Dar-rgyas Chos-gling of Grva-nang (location: 29°13'N 91°19'E). Cf. *DC I* 141a4–44a4.

********* Also called gNyos-ston O-rgyan tshe-'phel.

********** gTer-bdag gling-pa's life is foremost retold in his biography *TDNT I–II*. He had seven children, three sons and four daughters. For a brief note on his brother bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma and his sons, Chos-dpal rgya-mtsho, Padma 'gyur-med rgya-mtsho, Yid-bzhin legs-grub and Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, all with a hapless fate, see *GK* 697–715. For the eventful life of his prominent daughter rJe btsun Mi-'gyur dpal-sgron 'gyur-med 'od-gsal (1699–1769), see her vivid biography *Dad pa'i gdung sel*.

[22] Principal student of the 'Bri-gung founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po. *HNT-I* 124 suggests that lHa-nang-pa had two brothers and two sisters, contrary to those listed here.

[23] Daughter of one bTsan-po Mang-bkur (the clan affiliation of this important 12th-cent. local king in sKyid-smad remains unknown).

[24] bDe-mchog *alias* gNyos-ston 'Khrul-zhig. This paternal line allegedly went to Mon-yul wherefrom the "Bhutan" sMyos line issued that should include Padma gling-pa, the 6th Dalai Lama but also the present royal family; for details see *sMyos rabs*, *passim* and Aris 1988. It should be noted that the entire Bhutanese pedigree legitimacy of gNyos / sMyos is hinged upon the existence of this nebulous figure.

[25] Upon his demise in 1270, his nephews Grags-pa rgyal-po and Dar-ma rgyal-po carried out the commemorative service and erected a *nang rten*. Its consecration was conducted by 'Bri-phyug Rin-chen bzang-po and Bla-ma Ri-gong-pa. A statue of Ras-chen was installed in Gye-re (after 1250); cf. the writings of *chos rje* sPyil-dkar (1227–1300 A.D.), a pupil of Rin-chen lHa-pa (1201–1270) and rGod-tshang (1189–1258); *Chos rje spyil dkar gsung sgros* 2b2. Dar-ma rgyal-po wrote a biography on the 3rd 'Bri-gung throne-holder entitled *spyan snga Grags pa 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar rin po che 'bar ba* (non-extant).

[26] Cf. *NR* 51.1f. He seized and occupied areas in 'Brog sNa-dkar-rtse, and other places in Upper g.Yor-po (cf. fn. 9 above). Before long, however, he was killed in g.Yor-stod by settlers from Kha-rag, i.e. the Gral-ma thad-pa (*sic*) (still not identified) and the Thang-skya-pa. The latter refers to the dPal Thang-skya-mo establishment, one of the previous establishments of gNyos 'Byung-gnas shes-rab (cf. fn. 12).* The latter groups had had lingering conflicts during the time of his uncle lHa-nang-pa as recounted in the latter's biography.

* A Thang-skya in the 12th century was also associated with sMyug-rum-pa (*alias* Mang-ra sgom-pa) brTson-'grus-'bar (1091–1166), but this may refer to the highly important Thang-skya seat of Mal-gro.The Thang-skya referred to here was located in gZad district of Chu-shur.

[27] *NR* 53.3–55.2. Studying with his uncle lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po, he was trained in the profound cycles of *bla rdzogs thugs gsum*, and with Khams-ston and dGe-brag-pa he studied the commentaries of the *gNyos Tantra Triology* incl. Saṃvara. During his tenure at Ge-re dgon-pa (*ca*. 1273–81), he was visited by the 'Brug-pa and lHa-pa ascetic sPyil-dkar; cf. *Chos rje sPyil dkar rnam thar I* 7a3.

[28] Cf. *NR* 56.5–68.1. The sources provide details on his life. The 5th Ge-re lha-khang throne-holder *Rin po che* gZi-brjid rgyal-po was born in bSe-khrod (= bSe-khrab?) dgon-pa of 'Khol-ma-phu (i.e. Upper Khol-ma of Chu-shur district; located *ca*. 29°24'N 90°46'E; see below Fig. 26 and Part I: Map 1a),* a site once established by *ācārya* [Guru Rinpoche?]. Age six or seven (*ca*. 1282), he and his brother bSod-nams rgyal-po arrived at 'Bri-phyug (the site deplorably still unidentified), where they studied the Paternal gNyos Triology with gNyos Bla-ma Rin-chen bzang-po. 1284 A.D., he was ordained at sKyor-mo-lung in the presence of the 6th sKyor-mo-lung throne-holder 'Byung-rin. Final ordination he took age 20 in 1296 A.D. with dBang-shes acting as secret preceptor. In 1289, he went to Sa-skya, at a point when (the 9th Sa-skya throne-holder) 'Jam-dbyangs Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (1258–1306; *rl.* 1286–1303) was residing in bZhi-thog; from him he e.g. requested for and received empowerment of the Hevajra and Tārā cycles. From Bla-ma Shar-pa Kun-dga' seng-ge, he received the cycles of Hevajra and Nairatmya and on Lam 'bras. He sojourned for three years at Sa-skya. He eventually went southwards to Phag-ri where he taught the benefactors of lHo-kha-bzhi religious instructions. He returned to Gye-re only to return again later to Phag-ri where he erected many *nang rten* relics, a golden caitya and executed wall-paintings. After one or two years again, he returned to Gye-re.

* Khol-ma is an old site already visited by Rva-lo in the 11th cent. (*Rva lo rnam thar* 233–34), much later visited by 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho in 1569 A.D.; cf. *DL3* 83a4. Its adjacent *mgon khang* was visited by the 5th Dalai Lama in 1654; cf. *DL5 I* 230a4–5. As part of old lHa-pa territory, Khol-ma is registered as religious estate of the G[y]e-re gSang-sngags pho-brang in the 1830 Tax Survey (*CT* 178) remaining so probably up until the mid-20th century.

[29] Cf. *NR* 68.1f. He studied extensively with *mkhas pa* Byang-chub-dar. He passed away at 'On-'dul spyil-dkar of Mon. The commemorative service and reliquaries of his were executed and raised by 'Jam-dbyangs *rin po che*.

[30] He went to Mongolia, serving as tutor at the Yüan court, where he contracted smallpox and died age 26.

[31] He passed away age five.

[32] *Slob dpon* Shes-rab bsod-nams received from lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po teachings in the cycles of gNyos and bKa'-brgyud cycles. Age 12, at the Mongol court he met *dishi* Kun-dga' blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1299–1327). He became a specialist in Hevajra.

[33] Cf. *NR* 70.3–86.3. Also known as 'Jam-dbyangs Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang. He early received the cycles of the ancestral gNyos *lo tsā ba*. Age 11, he went to the sKyor-mo-lung (1338), where he was ordained in the presence of the 9th throne-holder Shes-rab rdo-rje. Here he also completed his final ordination. At Yol-bu Ri-gong,* he went into the presence of Gu-ru bsTan-rten [= bSam-gtan] rin-chen. He thereupon went into the presence of *spyan sng*a rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan at 'Bri-gung. He there executed an extensive religious offering feast for the congregation, strengthening again the old sKyu-ra – gNyos bonds. Returning to Gye-re to practice spiritual realization, he later invited the 9th sKyor-mo-lung-pa throne-holder to Gye-re. In 1349, warring conflicts broke out between the Sa-skya *dpon chen* dBang-[phyug] brtson[-'grus] and *khri dpon* Byang[-chub] rgyal[-mtshan]. 1350, *Ta'i si tu* Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan was invited to Gye-re dgon-pa [i.e. lha-khang]. The latter requested him to ensure happiness in his realm on an universal level, in particular requested him to safeguard and provide service to whose under the lHa-pa political jurisdiction (*lha sa* (= *pa*) *sde srid la rtogs* (= *gtogs*) *pa rnams khyed kyi* [= *kyis*] *skyong bran mdzad*),** to which he acquiesced. In 1358, he was invited by g.Yag-sde Paṇ-chen (1299–1378 A.D.) and *slob dpon* bDe-legs to the hermitage on Ri-gshogs where they revolved the Wheel of Dharma. At the hermitage of rTse-rgyal, he erected a *gzims khang* and requested g.Yag-sde Paṇ-chen to take up residence. At this point (*ca*. 1358–64 A.D.), an all-out warfare broke out which entailed warring conflicts between family members and between master and servant (among the lHa-pa? at Gye-re). He later grew seriously ill. In 1368, he held a religious teaching session (at bSam-yas?), where he attended on *chos rje* bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1312–75 A.D.), from whom he received many Sa-skya cycles. In 1380, Zhags-phrad/phrang (location unidentified, but in Chu-shur) was seized by Commander (*dben sha* > *du dben shva* = *duyuanshuai*) Tshul-bzang and in 1381, the Phag-gru seized mGu-la (= ? present-day sGa-la: 29°21'N 90°53'E of Tshal-sna *xiang* in Chu-shur *rdzong*) and the gZad-pa (gZad, including the present-day Sras (= gZad) Valley and the area of lCags-zam area at the confluence of gTsang-po with sKyid-chu in Chu-shur) seized mKhar-nag (of sNye-thang). Many people were killed. *Slob dpon* Chos-rgyal and the secular ruler (*dpon skya*) built a *rdzong* at Dum-bu-ri (?located in present-day Dar-grong *xiang* (29°25'N 90°09'E) of sNye-mo *rdzong*; cf. *HSLG* Vol. 9: 40).*** At that point, the Gye-re dgon-pa was in ruin due to warfare. In 1382, a war broke out in Zhags-phrang between *bdag po* bSod[-nams] grags[-pa], uncle and nephew. People of the districts (of sKyid-smad) such as gNam-ljangs (= lJang or 'Jang of gNam, lJang in present-day gNam district: 29°27'N 90°53'E),**** Ha-ra-sa (i.e. Ha-rva-sa of Chu-shur, located: 29°22'N 90°45'E; cf. also *CT* 178–80) requested for and sought refuge in the temple (of Gye-re).

* The famous Yol-phu Ri-gong hermitage e.g. treasured a self-created statue of Mahākāla and the retreat site was situated on the opposite side (i.e. southern bank, in present-day Bye-nub *xiang*, at 29°20'N 90°34'E) opposite the Gye-re Valley in Chu-shur rdzong; cf. *Tāranātha rnam thar* 127b3-5; *CT* 174. Seat of Sangs-rgyas gnyan-ston Chos kyi shes-rab (1175–1255) and his pupil Sangs-rgyas ston-pa brTson-'grus seng-ge (1207–78) of the Shangs-pa bka'-brgyud-pa, the latter also called Ya-ngal sgom-chen or Ri-gong-pa. See also *rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog rnam thar* 106. The latter's patrons of gZad Yol suggests that Yol-bu Ri-gong (abbr. Ri-gong) of Yol-phu was located in gZad district. Cf. *Sangs rgyas ston pa rnam thar* 257, 264 and *Shangs ston rnam thar* 280.

** The reading lHa-sa is retained by Petech (1990: 21), but this seems untenable.

*** Dum-bu-ri hermitage was est. by one of the rDo-rje phag-mo incarnates, later it was a Bo-dong seat. Other suggests a different location for the important hermitage of Dum-bu-ri.

**** In 'Jang *grong tsho* of gNam *xiang*, a 'Jang-dgun dgon-pa was established by the 15th-cent. 'Jam-dbyangs mNgon-mkhyen-pa. The site had close relationships to the adjacent Gye-re dgon-pa; cf. Bya-rigs-pa 2000a; *HSLG* Vol. 8: 9–11.

[34] He died in his infancy.

[35] *NR* 86.3f. *Slob dpon* Chos-rgyal ruled as secular leader.

[36] Of sNa-dkar-rtse. She was sister to *dpon chen* Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan.

[37] His birth date is wrongly sitated to *sa byi*, untenable due to his father's age and since he passed away age 27 in 1384, his birth year must be situated to *lcags byi* or 1360. He was trained in the gNyos cycles in the presence of his uncle Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang.

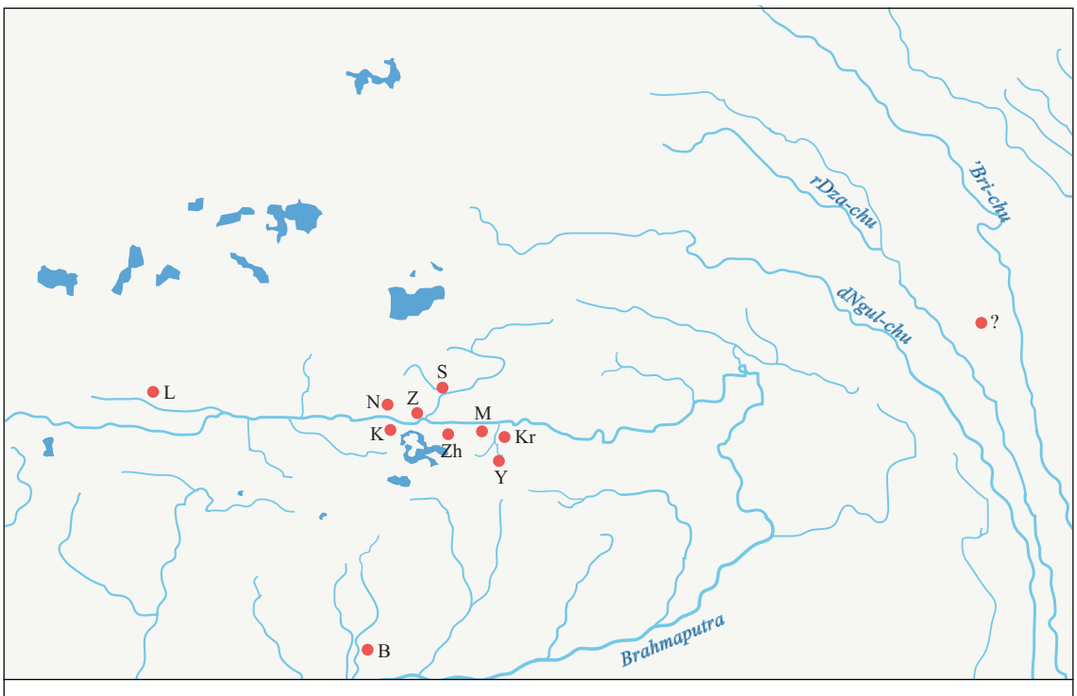
[38] Also known as lHa-sa [=-pa] *dpon* Grags-pa bsod-nams. He became temporal ruler of lHa-sa (= the lHa-pa).

[39] *NR* 87.5-94.1. Full name *Rin po che* Kun-dga' rin-chen rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po. Age 12, in the presence of his uncle Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang he was ordained, wherefrom he also heard the key gNyos cycles. In 1383, he occupied the chair of the Gye-re seat. In 1385, he conducted the commemorative service upon the demise of his uncle. He erected a *bkra shis sgo mangs* ossuary containing his uncle's remains. Upon the *caitya* the deities of the *Guhyasamāya tantra* were depicted and on the *parisaṇḍa* were countless statues of bKa'-brgyud-pa teachers and of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. At

that point (a part of? Gye-re dgon-pa) called sGom-pa Chos-rgyal dgon-pa* was destroyed by fire. In 1388, he erected a *nang rten* of *Rin po che* bDe-gshegs-pa installed in the lHa-khang. Thereupon the see was repaired. In the presence of *chos rje* Kun-bkra, he listened to and received empowerment and *upadeśa* related to the Saṃvara and Vajrabhairava cycles, etc. In the presence of Thams-cad mkhyen-pa Blo-bzang grags-pa (i.e. bTsong-kha-pa), he received *lam rim* and esoteric teachings and with Rin-bzang, teachings on longevity, etc. In the presence of the 10th 'Bri-gung spyan snga Chos kyi rgyal-po (1335–1407/19 A.D.), he received the five-fold Mahāmudrā. Later, he received from 'Bri-phyug-pa Śākya bzang-po e.g. the cycle of Vajrabhairava. He remained on the seat for 30 years. He thereupon retired, and erected a *gzims khang* recluse at Ri-gshogs rTse-rgyal where he practised spiritual attainment related to Guhyasamāya and Vajrabhairava, etc.

* The name may also refer to a part of the secular residence, later? known as Chos-rgyal Nor-bzang pho-brang, cf. App. II: Chap. 1.4. For a different construe of the text, see Akester 2005.

[40] *NR* 94.5f. He too should take over secular power.



S = Shun gyi Brag-dmar, the ancestral mountain of the gNyos (1st Generation [**G-I**])
Z = The branch lines in sKyid-smad (i.e. Gye-re [G-IV] and in the neighbouring gZad [G-IX])
N = The gNyos of sNye-mo (G-XVI) **K** = The Kha-rag gNyos lineage (G-V) **Kr** = The branch of Khra-tshang-pa
Zh = The gNyos in gZhung (G-V) (and later in the neighbouring Dol and Yar-rgyab [G-XXIV])
M = The gNyos branch-line behind the sMin-grol-gling-pa (*ab* G-XXXII)
Y = The gNyos lineage behind the ruling house of the g.Ya'-bzang *khri dpon* (probably the line of rTa-mkhar-rje [G-IV])
? = The gNyos clan settlement in Khams ([*ab* G-IV; exact location of this branch unknown)
B = The gNyos presence in Mon-yul / Bhutan (*ab* G-XVIII)
L = The gNyos in La-stod [Byang?] (G-IV) and later branch in La-stod Byang [*ab* G-XIV])

Map 3. Main stations of the gNyos clan settlement history

7.2 The G[y]e-re lHa-khang *khri dpon*

After its completion in 1244/46 by lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po, the initial abbatial (uncle-nephew) lineage included

[**I**] lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po (1201–70 A.D.; tenure: 1244/46–1270)
[**II**] *dBon* Grags-pa rgyal-po (1245–1277 A.D.; tenure: 1270–1273)
[**III**] Bla-ma Dar-ma rgyal-po (b. 1249 A.D.; tenure: 1273–1281)
[**IV**] *mKhas pa* Byang-chub-dar (tenure: 1281–1287)
[**V**] gZi-brjid rgyal-po (1277–1329 A.D.; tenure: 1287–1329)*
[**VI**] Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang (1328–1385 A.D.; tenure: 1338–1383)**
[**VII**] Kun-dga' rin-chen [rgyal-mtshan] (1370–1421 A.D.; tenure: 1383–1413)
[**VIII**] *dPon po rin po che* bSod-nams dpal-bzang (tenure from 1413)

VS 163 (*GY* 554–55 at variance; *GD* 62a6–b2) has:

[1.] lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po [2.] gNyos-ston rDo-rje-ma [3.] *spyan snga* Nam-mkha'-dpal [4.] Kun-dga' rin-chen [5.] Sangs-rgyas dbang-phyug*** [6.] Chos-'byor rgya-mtsho [7.] lHa rin po che lHa-dbang rgya-mtsho [8.] lHa dPal-'byor bsod-nams dbang-po (16th cent.).

Deb dmar 126 briefly has as the secular seat:

[1.] Bla-ma Dar-ma rgyal-po [2.] *dbon po* gZi-brjid rgyal-po.

The religious throne: [1.] dGe-brag-pa Tshul-khrims gZhon-nu**** [2.] 'Jam-dbyangs gZi-brjid rgyal-po.

It is unclear when the abbatial Gye-re dgon-pa line was discontinued. We possess little or no information on the abbatial successor into the 16–17th century. It thus was not replaced by the gSang-sngags pho-brang dgon-pa and its abbatial line. After the old Gye-re dgon-pa went into decay after a fire in the 1380's, it is reported that it was the 7th throne-holder Gye-re bka'-bzhi-pa Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan – a student of bTsong-kha-pa – who *ca*. 1388 A.D. renovated the old Gye-re dgon-pa and – in addition – erected the Gye-re gSang-sngags pho-brang dgon-pa (cf. e.g. *KD-II* 91b3–4; he was supported by the sNe'u *gzhis ka*; in the 17th cent., it accommodated *ca*. 37 monks; *KD-IV* 66a1–2 maintains that it was established by one *slob dpon* Dharmaśrī). The monastery of gSang-sngags pho-brang (now in ruins, below Fig. 24) was located in a side valley of Upper Gye-re in sKyid-smad (App II: Map 3a, b). None of its tenants evidently were of gNyos kin or affiliated. As a dGe-lugs institution, it should replace the original construction and its initial and little-known abbatial succession up until the 17th century is as follows (based upon *Vaiḍūrya ser po* 163), but without known tenancies:

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* It is unclear who ruled between 1329–1338 or whether the seat was vacant.

** Cf. *Blo gros seng ge rnam thar* 34a5, 46.1, 48.5,

*** Gye-re bKa'-bzhi-pa lHa-pa Sangs-rgyas dbang-phyug was a pupil of Tsong-kha-pa and during his tenure it turned into a dGe-lugs institution. Cf. *sKyor lung chos 'byung* 34a; *GD* 44b4.

**** He is registered as a pupil of lHa-nang-pa. There is reason to believe that the first tenant is identical with *dbon* Shar-gling-pa; cf. *gNyos gdung rabs* 37.5, 39.3.

7.3 G[y]e-re gSang-sngags pho-brang

[**I**] Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (1370–1421) [= 7th Gye-re dgon-pa throne-holder]
[**II**] bSam-gtan-mchog (During his tenure? in 1430, 'Gos *lo tsā ba* received gNyos-related teachings from a lHa-pa *rin po che* rDo-rje bla-ma; cf *'Gos lo rnam thar* 14b4–5)
[**III**] *Rab 'byams pa* Thub-bstan rnam-rgyal
[**IV**] Chos-grags lHa-dbang
[**V**] Zhang-mkhar-ba
[**VI**] gSer-'od-pa
[**VII**] sTod-lung Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin
[**VIII**] Gye-re Byang-pa
[**IX**] Nags-shod dGra-lha
[**X**] sTod-lung Thang-phu-pa
[**XI**] 'Phan-po bKra-shis rgya-mtsho
[**XII**] Zhang-mda' Blo-bzang chos-rgyal
[**XIII**] 'Phyong-rgyas bKra-shis phun-tshogs
[**XIV**] Khams-pa Kun-rig (tenure *ca*. 1690's).

gSang-sngags dgon-pa was linked with the bDe-yangs, Byes, and Byang-rtse colleges of Se-ra.



23a



23b



***23a**, **b, c**. Three leading representatives of the gNyos lineage: gNyos-ston Grags-pa 'od-zer (14th cent.) (23a), gNyos lo tsā ba (11th cent.) (23b) and gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646–1714)*



24. *Ruins of the Gye-re gSang-sngags dgon-pa in the upper part of the Gye-re-valley (see also App. II: Map 3b)* (2002)



25. *Stone engraving of a not closer identified figure to be found in the ruins of Gye-re dgon-pa*



26. *The ancient site of Khol-ma in sKyid-smad*
Photo: Google Earth 2007

V.8 The Abbatial Succession of the Monastic Seats and Seminars of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog and sKyor-mo-lung

Spiritually and organizationally related to Tshal Gung-thang *vihāra* and its colleges, it may be deemed convenient to offer the abbatial lineage of two minor, but significant centres or colleges of erudition and learning in medieval Tibet, the gSang-phu Ne'u-thog and sKyor-mo-lung (resp. influenced or controlled by the rNgog and the sBal clans): they constituted two out of in all six centers of erudition or the *chos grva chen po drug* of the dBus province (also *nyi ma dbus phyogs kyi mtshan nyid chos grva chen po*) established in the 11th to the 13th century, the remaining being Zul-phu, dGa'-ba-gdong and bDe-ba-can as well as Gung-thang (i.e. Chos-'khor-gling). These seats exerted signal influence on the formation of the ensuing establishments of the dGe-lugs-pa key monasteries in the 15th century, being later incorporated into their network. The lists are merely meant to facilitate easy access for the readers and their abbot lines should by no means be considered final, being mainly based upon a selected number of primary and secondary sources. The seminars chosen were related to Tshal either through longish spiritual or doctrinal bonds with a long scholarly interaction or through being regarded as dependencies. Most of these seminars and colleges played a role into the 20th century, whereas the importance of others like Zul-phu already faded a number of centuries earlier.

V.8.1. The Abbatial Succession of the gSang-phu Ne'u-thog Seminar

Based upon
Primary Sources:
Deb ther sngon po (*DN*); *Deb ther dmar po* (*DM*); *rGya bod chos 'byung* (*GB*); *rGya bod yig tshang* (*GY*); *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (*KT*); *Yar lung chos 'byung* (*YL*); *Vaiḍūrya ser po* (*VS*); *dPag bsam ljon bzang* (*PS*); *Bod kyi deb ther* (*BD*); *gSang phu gdan rabs* (cf. Onoda 1989, 1990);[1] *dGa' ldan chos 'byung* (*GD*); *JCh*; *bKa' gdams chos 'byung I–IV* (*KD I–IV*); *bKa' gdams gces btus* (*CT*); *rNgog lo bstan bskyangs* (*NGL*); *Bla sprul deb gzhung* (*BP*); *Lam rim bla ma brgyud rnam thar* (*LRNT*); *Rva smad gdan rabs* (*RM*)
Secondary Sources:
Ming mdzod (*MD*); *Mi sna* (*MN*)*; lHa sa'i dgon tho* (*HS*); *HSLG*; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* (*DK*)

The gSang-phu Ne'-thog monastery was erected 1073 A.D. by rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab, a disciple of Atiśa. Initially, the seat comprised 500 pupils. Considered the *bod yul bshad grva'i thog ma* and successively treated as a rDo-rje-gdan *gnyis pa*, it developed into the most influential college and center of erudition and hermeneutics in the ensuing centuries, producing a number of the leading scholars in Tibet such as rNgog Blo-ldan shes-rab (1059–1109) and Phyva-ba Chos kyi seng-ge (1109–1169), both founding figures in Tibetan scholasticism. In the first part of the 1100's, the gSang-phu seat split into two branches, known as Gling-stod and Gling-smad, Upper and Lower Monastery. It is generally argued that Gling-stod was the seat of rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab and the Gling-smad that of the Phya-ba line, in other words what later should be considered Sa-skya and bKa'-gdams colleges respectively. The gSang-phu district in sKyid-smad was in the 13th and 14th centuries a *mi sde* under Tshal (cf. Part I: Map 1). Down through history a cluster of in total 11 *grva tshang* or colleges, distributed with four colleges to the Upper Monastery and up to seven colleges to the Lower Monastery existed within the precinct dominated by the dGe-lugs and Sa-skya sect.[2] In most recent time prior to its destruction, gSang-phu was attached to and administered by Rva-ba-stod.

The following list is far from exhaustive and is basically hinged upon the succession as presented by Shunzo Onoda (1989, 1990) and van der Kuijp (1987; for the initial throne-holders), to which occasionally variant readings in other lists are added. For further chronological details one may con-veniently refer to the discussions and indexes of each individual abbot given by the above scholars, yet the list of names and tenure of each individual is evidently still open to improvement.

gSang-phu Ne'u-thog *mkhan rabs*

I rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab[3]
II rNgog Blo-ldan Shes-rab (1059–1109; rl. –1109)[4]
III Zhang Tshes-spong Chos kyi bla-ma (rl. 32 years: 1109–1140)
IV gNyal-ba Ri[l]-lu (rl. 2 years: 1140–1141)
V rNam-'phar-ba (~ rNam-bar-pa; gNas-[g]sar-pa) (rl. 8 years; abbotship starts 1151 [*sic*])
VI Phya-ba Chos kyi seng-ge (1109–1169; rl. 18 years)
VII rTsags (~ rTsad) **dBang-phyug seng-g**e (rl. 5 years)
[**VIII**] **gTsang-pa 'Jam-dpal seng-ge** (rl. 13 years)[5]

[Division into two Branches:]

Gling-smad

I gNyal-ba Dad-pa bzang-po (rl. 5 years)
II 'Jam rTsan-ne (rl. 7 years)
III gZad-pa Dar-ma-'od (rl. 30 years)
IV gZad-pa Don-grub

V gTsang-pa Jo-nam (rl. 15 years)
VI **Rog** (rl. 6 months)
VII Slob dpon 'Od-zer mgon-po (rl. 32 (~35) years)

VIII 'Jam-dbyangs Śākya gzhon-nu (rl. 27/28 years)
IX rGya-ma bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan (rl. 1293–1301)
X mNyal-ba Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (rl. 8 years: 1301–09)
XI Yar-'brog-pa gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan (var. Yon-tan rgya-mtsho; rl. 1(~14) months)
XII rGya[s]-sde-pa gZhon-nu seng-ge (rl. 8 years)
XIII gTsang-dkar (rl. 3 years)

XIV Blo-gros seng-ge (rl. 17 years)
XV Dar-dbang (rl. 3 years)
XVI Bla-ma ye-shes (10 years)
XVII Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (rl. 3 years)
XVIII gZhon-nu blo-ldan (rl. 6 years)
XIX Blo-gros brtan-pa (rl. 3 years)
XX Tshad-ma sngon-po (5 years)
XXI bSod-nams-'phel (rl. 19 years)[7]
XXII Seng-ge rgyal-mtshan (rl. 8 years)
XXIII bSam-gtan bzang-po (7 years)

XXIV Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan (rl. 10 years)[9]

XXV brTson-'grus seng-ge (6 years)

Gling-stod

I gZhu-ston Hral-mo (rl. 7/9 years)
II Blo-gros-'bar (rl. 5 years)
III gNyal-zhig 'Jam-dpal seng-ge (rl. 8 years)
IV rGya 'Phying-ru-ba Shes-rab dbang-phyug (rl. 18 years)
V Chu-mig-pa Seng-ge-dpal (rl. 18 years)
VI lDan-ma Grags-rin (rl. 8 years)
VII lHo-brag-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (var. Seng-ge; rl. 22 years [in all])
VIII Nyan[g]-stod Ye-shes mgon-po (rl. 7 years)
IX lHo-brag-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan
X bTsan[g]-dgon-pa gZhon-nu bsam-gtan (rl. 20 years)
XI Bla-brang-pa Chos-dpal rgyal-mtshan (rl. 6 years; 1320's)
XII Chos-grags gnyis-pa gZhon-nu rin-chen (rl. 12 years)
XIII lHa-ston zhig-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (rl. 17 years)
XIV Yang-rtse-ba Tshul-khrims bzang-po (5 years)
XV lHa-yul-ba Grags-pa bshes-gnyen (13 years)
XVI Bon-ston Shes-rab bzang-po (rl. 7 years)
XVII 'Jam-dbyangs Rin-chen grags-pa (rl. 7 years)
XVIII dKa'-bzhi-ba Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (rl. 14 years)[6]
XIX dKon-mchog tshul-khrims (rl. 7 years)
XX Rin-chen rnam-rgyal (rl. 22 years)
XXI Sangs-rgyas 'Od-chen-pa (rl. 6 years)
XXII Grags-pa-dpal (5 years)
XXIII dBon-po dge-ba dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho (rl. 17 years)[8]
XXIV Mi-nyag Rin-chen rgya-mtsho / bzang-po (rl. 7 months)
XXV dPal-ldan seng-ge (rl. 11 years)

XXVI Grva-chung-pa Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (rl.5 years)[10]	**XXVI Tshogs-chen Kun-dga' dbang-phyug** (rl. 13 years)
XXVII gSang-mda'-ba Sangs-rgyas chos-skyong	**XXVII Gung-ru Rin-chen byang-chub**
XXVIII Gling-smad-pa Shes-rab dpal-ldan (rl. 3 years = *ca*. 1447–49)[11]	**XXVIII rTses-thang-pa Nam-mkha' brtan-pa**
XXIX gTsang-pa Sangs-rgyas bzang-po	**XXIX Tshal-pa Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan**
XXX *rJe'i dbon* Blo-bzang nyi-ma (1439–92)	**XXX dMyal-ba Chos-dpal rgyal-mtshan**
XXXI Shangs dGe-'phel-ba Phyogs-las 'od-zer (1439-1500; rl. 11 years)[12]	**XXXI gTsang Chos-lung-pa bSod-nams legs-mchog**
XXXII gSang-mda' Chos-rgyal (rl. 1 year)	**XXXII A-mdo-ba rDo-rje seng-ge**
XXXIII sTag-ston Kun-dga' dpal-'byor[13]	**XXXIII gSang-'brog-pa rGyal-ba 'od-zer**[14]
XXXIV Ra-chung-ba Yon-tan chos-'phel (13 years)	**XXXIV rTa-nag-pa Nam-mkha' chos-'phel** (rl. 13 years)
XXXV rTses-thang-pa (var. rGya-ma-pa) **lHa-dbang dpal-'byor** (rl. 16 years)	**XXXV mNga'-ris-pa Legs-pa don-grub**[15] (rl. 4 years; *ca*. 1549)
XXXVI mNga'-ris-pa bSod-nams dpal-bzang (rl. 6 years)	**XXXVI gZhung-pa Kun-dga' 'od-srung** (rl. 5 years)
XXXVII Byams-pa gling-pa Chos kyi grags-pa (rl. 2 years)	**XXXVII Zha-lu-pa sMon-lam-dpal** (rl. 3 years)
XXXVIII gSang-mda'-ba bSam-grub dpal-bzang	**XXXVIII Shes-rab nyi-ma** (rl. 1 year)
XXXIX Shar-pa Don-grub seng-ge	**XXXIX rTses-thang-pa Blo-gros 'byung-gnas** (rl. 17 years)
XXXX *Chos rje* Rin-chen ['byor-ldan?][16]	**XXXX Shangs-pa Shes-rab blo-gros** (rl. 26 years)
XXXXI *Chos rje* 'Phrin-las dpal-'byor	**XXXXI mNga'-ris Ratnadhvadza** (rl. 3 years)
XXXXII *Chos rje* 'Phags-pa nor-bu	**XXXXII mNyes-thang-pa Blo-gros rgya-mtsho**[17]
XXXXIII Byams-gling 'Jam-dbyangs dKon-mchog chos-'phel[18] (rl. 1619–1638/44)	**XXXXIII rTses-thang-pa dPal-ldan blo-gros**
XXXXIV mNyes-thang-pa Kun-dga' sangs-rgyas	**XXXXIV Zha-lu-pa bsTan-pa rab-rgyas**
XXXXV Dol-pa dPal-ldan don-grub	**XXXXV Gung-ru 'Brog-khang-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan**
XXXXVI sPyan-g.yas bsTan-'dzin rgya-mtsho	**XXXXVI Byams-pa Kun-dga' 'byung-gnas**
XXXXVII Grva-phyi Phun-tshogs rgyal-mtshan (*DL5 III* 88a4; tenure expired 1678?)	**XXXXVII sGrom-lding-pa Rin-chen bkra-shis**
XXXXVIII lHa-sa-ba Phun-tshogs chos-ldan	**XXXXVIII mNyes-thang-pa Blo-gros rgya-mtsho** (second term?)[19]
XXXXIX Klungs-chod Blo-bzang rgyal-mtshan	**XXXXIX bSam-yas-pa dKon-mchog dpal-'byor**
L mNyes-thang-pa dPal-ldan grags-pa	**L Gong-dkar Kun-dga' dbang-rgyal**

[The last generations of abbots (from the 17th cent. onwards) until the decay and destruction of this college are still unrecorded]

Notes to Table 8.1:

[1] This *gdan rabs* used by Onoda is entitled *dPal ldan gSang phu'i gdan rabs gsal ba'i me long* (Otani Catalogue no. 13981) written by Byams-pa Kun-dga' 'byung-gnas, the 46th Gling-stod abbot who was also responsible for the erection of the Dvags-po college at gSang-phu. Two additional primary sources for the *gdan rabs* history of the gSang-phu seat are still not available: Nyi-thang [sMan-rgyal] Ngag-dbang gzhon-nu bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma's (considered a *sprul sku* of Gling-stod Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho) *gSang phu gdan rabs*, as well as *zhabs drung* Rin-chen 'byor-ldan's g*Sang phu gdan rabs* as listed by A-khu in his *Rare Bibliographical List*.

Another source of some relevance for the religious history and seat of gSang-phu is *gSang phu'i chos srung bskang rim* by mKhyen-rab bsTan-pa'i chos-'phel (1840–1908).

The *bstan skyong* or protector deity (*srung ma*) of gSang-phu *spyi so* is *btsan rgod gnod sbyin* bSe-khrab-can. A beautiful *thangka* of the protector was executed in 1626, and hung up in gSang-phu by Rong-po sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho (1607–77 A.D.) during his appenticeship there; cf. *sKal ldan rgya mtsho rnam thar* 8. See also *Dam can Chos srung rgya mtsho* by the 5th Dalai Lama in his Vol. 11 (Coll. Works).

[2] We shall not list here the different colleges such as gSang-phu Nag-rong *grva tshang* (later merged with Shar-rtse *grva tshang* in dGa'-ldan); for its *mkhan rabs*; cf *Shar rtse chos 'byung* 714–17. see also *RM* 64–5.

[3] Rightly considered the father of Tibetan scholasticism. For his biography, see *CT* 147f; *CD* 47b6f. He descended from Yar-'brog Do.

[4] He was the son of the lay ruler Chos-skyabs, younger brother of Legs-pa'i shes-rab. Cf. *GD* 47a5f.

[5] *YL* 130.7–8 registers this pupil of 'Jam btsan-ne followed by 'Dzin-ston as the first and second Gling-smad abbots. dGe bshes 'Jam-seng may well have been a pupil of 'Jig-rten mgon-po; cf. *'Jig rten mgon po rnam thar II* [B] 130.2, 154.5–6.

[6] Cf. *GD* 45b4f. During his tenure Klong-chen rab-byams-pa held debates in the 1350's at gSang-phu.

[7] During his tenure, Re-mda'-ba met both the XXIth Gling-smad and Gling-stod throne-holders.

[8] Cf. *mKhyen rab rnam thar* 3a.

[9] Cf. *mKhyen rab rnam thar* 3a.

[10] Under him (rl. *ca*. mid-1430's) studied the young mKhas-grub Shar-rab rab-'jam Sangs-rgyas seng-ge (1427–70); cf. *Sangs rgyas seng ge rnam thar* 3a5–b1.

[11] Paṇḍita Shes-rab dpal-ldan was the founder of the Sa-skya-pa monastery Rva-ba-smad (located in sKyid-shongs of present-day Gong-dkar county; cf. *RM* 64f. Go-rams-pa bSod-nams seng-ge (1429–89) met him in lHa-sa *ca*. 1449; cf. *bSod nams seng ge rnam thar* 10.1.

[12] Onoda in *Studies in Genre* (1996) 192, following van der Kuijp 1989) gives his name alternatively as mChog-lha 'od-zer (1429–1500).

[13] He was on the throne in 1490; cf. *bSod names seng ge rnam thar* 77.6.

[14] He was on the throne in 1490; cf. *bSod names seng ge rnam thar* 77.6.

[15] During his tenure, the 3rd 'Bras-spungs chos rje bSod-nams rgya-mtsho took his *dge tshul* vow; *DL3* 33a2.

[16] Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, cf. *Tshar chen rnam thar* 17a4.

[17] Also Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan. He was on the throne in 1594. It was during his tenure that dPal-'byor lhun-grub (1561–1637) conducted repairs at Nyi-ma-thang.

[18] His dates are 1573–1644 A.D. He held several seats simultaneously: 1618 sKyor-mo-lung, 1619 gSang-phu, 1620 rDzing-phyi, 1621 gSang-sngags-mkhar, and 1625 dGa'-ldan; cf. *dKon mchog chos 'phel rnam thar* 13a7. He conducted repair work at gSang-phu in 1629.

[19] Instead of a second term of the 42nd throne-holder, it may be another namesake, namely the *chos rje* lHa-rje Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho active in the 1660's, registered in *DL5 I* 338b2–3.

V.8.2 The Abbatial Succession of the sKyor-mo-lung *chos sde*

Based upon
Primary sources:
sKyor lung chos 'byung (*KL*)[1]; *Yar lung chos 'byung* (*YL*); *lHa nang pa'i rnam thar* (*HNT*); *bKa' gdams chos 'byung I –IV* (*KD I–IV*); *rGya bod chos 'byung* (*GB*); *rGya bod yig tshang* (*GY*); *Myang chos 'byung* (*MY*); *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung I–II* (*DCH I–II*); *dGa' ldan chos 'byung* (*GD*); *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (*KT*); *lHo rong chos 'byung* (*HR*); *Vaiḍūrya ser po* (*VS*); *bsTan rtsis nyin byed* (*TT*); *'Brug chos 'byung* (*BCh*); *Deb ther sngon po* (*DN*); *Zul phu mkhan rnam thar* (*ZK*)*; Klong rdol gSung 'bum II* (*KS*); *JCh*; *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* (*TK*); *rNgog lo bstan bskyangs* (*NGL*); *dBu ma'i byung tshul* (*BU*); *Bod kyi deb ther* (*BD*)*; DL1, DL2, DL3, DL4, DL5*
Secondary Sources:
Ming mdzod (*MD*); *Mi sna* (*MN*)*; lHa sa'i dgon tho* (*HS*); *HSLG; Dung dkar tshig mdzod* (*DK*)

The sKyor-mo-[k]lung *chos sde* located in present-day sTod-lung bDe-chen *rdzong*/*xian*[2] was a famous Vinaya institution and school associated with the bKa'-gdams-pa tradition, whose abbatial seat over several centuries was occupied by a nephew lineage of the mNga'-ris sBal-ti (~ Val-ti) clan. The following abbatial list is mainly based upon *KL* (until the 21st abbot) and *DCH-I* and *DCH-II*. As a center of erudition, scholasticism and hermeneutics,[3] in the period up to the close of the 15th century, it counted among the six main seats (*gdan sa*, also *grva sa*) of erudition in Central Tibet, which were reckoned both as a center of hermeneutics (*bshad grva*) and as a center of spiritual attainment (*sgrub grva*), which under the triad: dGa' sKyor Zul respectively under the triad: bDe gSang Gung in all comprised

dGa'-ba-gdong[4]	**sKyor-mo-lung**	**Zul-phu**[5]
[sNye-thang] **bDe-ba-can**[6]	**gSang-phu Ne'u-thog**	**Gung-thang Chos-'khor-gling**[7]

where Zul-phu and dGa'-ba-gdong thus seem to have been associated with sKyor-mo-lung and may be regarded as branch settlements of the latter. bDe-ba-can and Chos-'khor-gling respectively were erected as dependencies on the initiative of the gSang-phu throne-holders. In the 15th century, sKyor-mo-lung turned into a dGe-lugs institution and thus was incorporated into the latter's monastic turnus network. sKyor-mo-lung main *curricula* was Vinaya being considered the *'dul bstan bye ba'i 'byung gnas*. The sKyor-lung *chos skyong* or Protector is known as Yon-tan Bya-rgod thang-nag.

Following the end of the sBal-ti clan's dominance (end of 1520's), the *dpon sa* of sKyor-mo-lung was headed by a branch line of Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler of sNe'u-gdong-rtse Ngag-dbang bKra-shis grags-pa (1488–1564), who was married to Sangs-rgyas dpal-'dzoms-ma, the powerful sKyor-mo-lung *sa skyong ma* from the sNel-pa house (see Table 12.1, fn. 10). It coincided with the control of the seat through the ascent of the celebrated Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa as throne-holder and the on-going presence of dGe-lugs-pa at the seat.[8] In the 17th century sKyor-mo-lung accommodated three colleges: Khyams-pa, Phug-khang-pa and mTshan-nyid-pa set up in accordance with dGe-lugs monastic pattern.[9] During the sweeping changes in recent times, the monastery was destroyed in the wake of the excesses of the Cultural Revolution; in 1989 it underwent a minor renovation. The present monastery can still boast of some well-preserved murals. Formerly (mid-20th cent.), it accommodated *ca*. 120 monks, today it is reduced to *ca*. 18. Over long periods of the most recent centuries (starting from the 20th throne-holder), the monastic administrator and patron was the sKyor-mo-lung mNga'-ris *sprul sku* line, the last embodiment being bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal (b. 1946) – younger brother of the 14th Dalai Lama.

sKyor-mo-lung *mkhan rabs*

I sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa brTson-'grus dbang-phyug dpal-bzang-po, *aliases* ~ dBang-phyug tshul-khrims (*VS*),[10] ~ Sems-dpa' rgyal-mtshan (1129–1215)

Father: sBal-ti Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan

Born in Shel-dkar of gZhung,[11] he erected the sTod-lung Beng-smad Ra-mo-che monastery,[12] raised upon a former 'Bring *tsho smad pa'i* lha-khang in 1168. It was called the Dri-gtsang-khang of Beng (~ Bran[g]) Ra-mo-che and in 1169 A.D., he established the sKyor-mo-lung *chos sde* in the close vicinity.

He was ordained in the presence of *dge bshes* rGya Nya-mo Ku-ru, sMar-lung-sgang-pa and sPangs-dgongs-pa. Becoming abbot of both institutions, his tenure as the 1st sKyor-mo-lung abbot lasted 1169–1215 A.D.[13] He also practiced at Thag-ma lha-khang in sTod-lung,[14] and took over the institution at the Ra-mo-che bZhi-sde (in the 12th century known as Ra-sa sPang-lung dgon-pa; cf. Tables V. 9 below).

The gNyos master, rJe lHa-nang-pa a.k.a. gZi-brjid-dpal (1164-1224) studied here and was ordained in the presence of dGra-bcom-pa.[15] In 1202, Sangs-rgyas sgom-pa rDo-rje gzhon-nu (of gZhung) was ordained in his presence.[16] Lo ras-pa dBang-phyug brtson-'grus (similarly descending from gZhung) was ordained in the presence of sBal-ti at sKyor-mo-lung; also 'Gro-mgon *rin po che* Byang-chub-'od / dBang-phyug-'od (1186–1259 A.D.) of the *bKa' gdams gzhung drug* transmission line in the same year. Among other figures that were ordained under him: Sangs-rgyas dbon-gzhon (1171–1264) of the dGyer clan received his final ordination in sBal-ti's presence,[17] and Sangs-rgyas sgom-pa rDo-rje gzhon-nu. Finally, Shud-phu mKhan-chen Nam-mkha' seng-ge was ordained age 13 in the presence of Jo-sras.[18]

II Tshul-khrims brtson-'grus (1172– 1232)

Father: sBal-ti lHa-rje Blo-brtan

Tenure: 1215–1232

III Zhig-po Tshul-khrims-'od *alias* Zhig-po Shes-rab seng-ge (1181–1253)

Father: sBal-ti Mon-chung

Tenure: 1232–1253

During his successful tenure in 1244, the Mongols allegedly donated sKyor-mo-lung landed estates (covering 100 *hor dud*) that included (lHa-sdings) Ram-pa, gZhong-pa (lHa-chu) and Beng [= Brang]-gzhon. It may have followed in the wake of the participation of this throne-holder when 'Phags-pa Bla-ma was ordained at neighbouring Zul-phu monastery and who studied under this throne-holder.[19] They were also tendered edicts, tax and corvee exemption. This abbot later established dGa'-ba-gdong around the mid-1240's.[20] He also established the Phug-khang-pa college at sKyor-mo-lung (*VS*).

IV gZhon-nu brtson-'grus (1213–1281)

Father: sBal-ti Dar-shi

Tenure: 1253–1281

V Thams-cad mkhyen-pa brTson-'grus 'byung-gnas (1248–1284)

Father: sBal-ti Dar-po

Tenure: 1281–1284

During the Chu-mig chos-'khor (in 1276), he received the epithet "Allknowing." Under him studied 'Jam-dbyangs Śākya gzhon-nu and Chos-'khor gling-pa Don-grub-dpal.

VI Byang-chub-sems Rin-chen 'byung-gnas/'Byung-gnas rin-chen (1234–1290)

Father: sBal-ti dBang-phyug seng-ge

Tenure: 1284–1290

During his tenure at sKyor-mo-lung, the Kun-dga' ra-ba (or library) was built. The 5th throne-holder of Ge-re dgon-pa gZi-brjid rgyal-po in 1283–84 was ordained in the presence of this throne-holder.

VII bZod-pa dpal-ba (1262–1310)
Father: sBal-ti dBang-phyug seng-ge
Tenure: 1290–1310

VIII dBang-phyug shes-rab (1268–1338)
Father: sBal-ti dNgos-grub-mgon
Tenure: 1310–1335

IX Shes-rab rdo-rje (1294–1372)
Father: sBal-ti Grags-pa
1st Tenure: 1335–1342
During his tenure, around 1337, lHo-brag *grub chen* Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1326–1401) received Vinaya teachings at sKyor-mo-lung in the presence of Sangs-rgyas dbon-ba.[21] During his first tenure, the 6th Gye-re dgon-pa throne-holder Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang (1328–85) requested for ordination in 1338.[22] Shes-rab rdo-rje *inter alia* resided in Gye-re dgon-pa between 1342–49.[23] In 1342, he had become an ascetic.
2nd Tenure: 1349–1357
Due to the wish of the 10th throne-holder to become a *kun spangs*, the 9th resumed the throne in 1349. If this is counted as a separate entry in the abbatial succession then this counts as the 11th abbotship and the rest *mutatis mutandis*. 1357 A.D. he went to Chos-sdings-dpal *ri khrod* to practise asceticism. During his tenure, due to the fightings in 1352 between the 'Bri-gung-pa and the Phag-gru-pa, the sKyor-mo-lung *chos sde* was destroyed by the 'Bri-gung army.[24]

X Kun-dga' 'byung-gnas (1308–1353)
Father: sBal-ti Phur-tsa
Tenure: 1342–1349
After the 10th throne-holder, the 9th Throne-holder Shes-rab rdo-rje again held tenure (see above). This tenureship may therefore count as the 11th abbotship.

XI bKa'-bzhi-pa Blo-gros bzang-po *alias* Blo-gsal (1326–1409)
Father: sBal-ti bSod-nams rgyal-po
Tenure: 1357–1386
The throne-older considered the greatest Vinaya teacher of his time. During his tenure, bTsong-kha-pa and Rong-ston Śākya rgyal-mtshan (1367/69–1449) studied Vinaya at sKyor-mo-lung.[25] It was from this period that sKyor-mo-lung turned into a dGe-lugs-pa seat. The throne-holder acted as teacher to 'dul 'dzin Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and *chos rje* bKra-shis dpal-ldan, the founder of 'Bras-spungs.[26] He ascended the throne through the initiative of Ta'i si-tu.

XII dGongs-pa gsal-ba (1346–1406)
Father: sBal-ti bSod-nams rgyal-po
Tenure: 1386–1401

XIII Chos-skyong [**Nam-mkha'**] **bzang-po** (1368–1419)
Father: Brother of bKa'-bzhi Blo-gros bzang-po: sBal-ti Don-grub bzang-po. Tenure: 1401–1419. After his tenancy, he took over the see at the dependency Chos-dpal. During this throne-holder, 'Gos *lo tsā ba* studied with bSam-gtan don-grub at sKyor-mo-lung (*'Gos lo* 8a6–b4).

XIV Chos-rgyal dpal-bzang (1400–1483)
Father: sBal-ti Jambhala. Mother: bSod-nams. Also called 'Brog-gnas
Tenure: 1419–1469

A great Vinaya specialist. Considered an incarnation of the 9th/11th throne-holder Shes-rab rdo-rje. Pupil of bTsong-kha-pa (*KD-II* 94b6–95a2). From 1469 until 1483, he practised asceticism at the sKyor-mo-lung hermitic dependency Chos-sdings-dpal. At the beginning of his tenure, the rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang *spyan snga* Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1402–70 A.D.) studied *sūtra*.[27] During his period gSer-mdog Śākya mchog-ldan (1428–1507) studied Vinaya following the writings of the sKyor-mo-lung masters, such as bSod-nams tshul-khrims. During his tenure sKyor-mo-lung became a dGe-lugs institution.[28] In 1419, the Beng (= Brang) Ra-mo-che and sKyor-mo-lung *vihāra* were renovated. Especially the murals of the gSer-khang-shod were redone.

XV Rin-chen dbang-rgyal (1446–1476)
Father: sBal-ti Nor-bzang
Tenure: 1469–1476

XVI Legs-pa bzang-po (1422–1506)
Father: sBal-ti dPal-ldan bzang-po
Tenure: 1477–1502
The last five years he lived an ascetic life (*kun spangs*).
(*VS*, *GD* conversely insert Legs-pa bzang-po, followed by Rin-chen dbang-rgyal).

XVII Nam-mkha' chos-bzang (1475–1514?)
Father: sBal-ti dBang-phyug shes-rab
Tenure: 1502–1514

Sedis vacantia 1515–1517 A.D.

XVIII Phun-tshogs rgyal-mtshan (1458–1527)
Tenure: 1517–1527
This was the last throne-holder stemming from the founding sBal-ti clan. He began manufacturing (1524 A.D.) a silver and gold-written bKa'-'gyur in the sKyor-mo-lung monastery.

XIX Blo-gros seng-ge (*alias*? Blo-gros dpal-bzang)
(*VS*, *GD* list this throne-holder as Khang-mo-che-ba Blo-gros dpal-bzang)
Tenure: 1527–1543
Since 1492, the Phag-gru administration had increased their influence in sKyor-mo-lung. Their local retainers, the sNe'u/sNel-pa ruled over sKyor-mo-lung; cf. Table V.12.1. sKyor-mo-lung was repeatedly visited (1536, 1542) by the 2nd Dalai Lama dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho.

XX Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa [**rgyal-mtshan**] **dpal-bzang-po** (1478–1554)[29]
Tenure: 1543–1554
Between 1512 and 1524, this famous hierarch was active and held abbotships at rGyud-stod *grva tshang*; successively at Zho-sna, Nyi-sdings, 'Bras-spungs Blo-gsal-gling and dGa'-ldan Shar-rtse. From 1529, he had occupied the throne of dGa'-ldan (as its 15th incumbent) and later of Se-ra.
Ascent to the throne 1543. The sNe'u ruler *lcam* Sangs-rgyas dpal-'dzoms (see Table V.12.1) – married to the sNe'u-gdong ruling house – invited bSod-nams grags-pa to sKyor-mo-lung. The 3rd Dalai Lama was invited to sKyor-mo-lung in 1545, where the present throne-holder examined him for the final recognition (*DL3* 16a1f., 17a6f.), as well as served as patron.[30] Several times (between 1541–50), sKyor-mo-lung was visited by the 16th 'Bri-gung throne-holder Rin-chen phun-tshogs and by the 8th Zhva-nag Karma-pa.[31]

In 1554 A.D., the warring conflict at the mother seat of Phag-mo-gru-pa led to the invasion and occupation of sKyor-mo-lung by dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa;[32] it was raided the throne-holders were taken captive. The Phag-mo family was released through the mediation of the 17th 'Bri-gung throne-holder. The sKyid-shod-pa appropriated the monastery until 1561. During his tenure, the 30th dGa'-ldan throne-holder sTag-lung brag-pa Blo-gros rgya-mtsho (1546–1616/18) was ordained.

A number of the following throne-holders were recognized as reincarnations of the *sprul sku* lines, both the 'Bras-spungs gZims-khang gong-ma and sKyor-mo-lung mNga'-ris line, issuing from this hierarch.

XXI *Chos rje* Blo-bzang E-vam
Tenure: 1554–
In the 1560's, temporary support to sKyor-mo-lung was given from the 17th 'Bri-gung-pa (see *NT* 61–62).

XXII? **rGyal-khang-rtse-pa dPal-'byor rgya-mtsho** (1526–1599)[33]
During his tenure, sKyor-mo-lung in the mid-1570's was raided by the sKyid-shod-pa. He was also throne-holder at Phag-mo dgon in Lo and at bTsun-mo-tshal.

XXIII? ***sPrul sku* bSod-nams ye-shes dbang-po** (1556–1592)[34]
1. Tenure: 1566–
During his tenure, the 30th throne-holder of dGa'-ldan stag-lung brag-pa Blo-gros rgya-mtsho was ordained. In 1576, he followed in the entourage of the 3rd Dalai Lama to Mongolia. He passed away at 'Ol-kha gzhis-mkhar.

XXIV? ***Chos rje* Rin-chen bshes-gnyen** (1529–1598)

XXV? **bSod-nams ye-shes dbang-po** (1556–1592)
2. Tenure: ?–1592

XXVI? **sTag-lung Brag-pa Blo-gros rgya-mtsho** (1546–1618)[35]
Tenure: 1592–1618

XXVII? **Gling-smad *chos rje* dKon-mchog chos-'phe**l (1573–1644/46)[36]
Tenure: 1618–1644

XXVIII? **Gad-kha-sa-pa Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan** (1618/19–1655)[37]
Tenure: 1644–1655

XXIX? **bSam-grub sgang-pa Blo-bzang ngag-dbang** (1591–1663)[38]
Tenure: 1655–1663

XXX? **Co-ne Blo-bzang dpal-'bar**
Tenure: 1663–

XXXI? **Zhogs-pa Blo-bzang don-yod** (1602–1678)[39]
Tenure: –1678

XXXII? **sGang-mgo Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho**[40]
Tenure: 1678–

XXXIII? **Grong-gser-ba Blo-bzang rgyal-mtshan**[41]

XXXIV? **Tshul-khang-pa Legs-pa don-grub**

XXXV? **gSang-mda'-ba sngags-pa che-chen *sku skye* Nam-mkha' dbang-po**

XXXVI? **'Phyong-rgyas Ngag-dbang grags-pa**

XXXVII? **Klu-'bum Blo-bzang 'jam-dbyangs**

Tenure: *ca*. 1698

The abbatial succession until the 20th century is not listed

Notes to Table 8.2:

[1] The sKyor-mo-lung* abbatial succession is well documented. Its secular rulers (*dpon sa*), on the other hand, not, but the secular chair was likely held by the brother line of the respective abbots in a traditional *khu dbon* arrangement. Our key source *KL* (which terminates abruptly with the 20th throne-holder – as if a second section or part is missing – was compiled *ca*. 1830–31 by *dge slong* (i.e. Hor-sprul) Blo-bzang rab-brtan rgya-mtsho (*fl*. early 19th century), basing himself upon a number of sources, foremost among which an abbreviated abbatial succession account of the sKyor-mo-lung lineage written by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (the 28th throne-holder) and in particular the still non-extant abbatial lineage history written by bSam-sgang-pa (the 29th abbot bSam-grub sgang-pa Blo-bzang ngag-dbang) with the title *sKyor lung mkhan rabs rtogs brjod*; these must have been based upon the Vinaya History written by the 20th throne-holder Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa, see his *DCH-1*. as well as a source like Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's *VS*, Las-chen's *KD* and the indispensable *DN* had been consulted. The author is recorded to have written a *sGo mang chos 'byung* and as said the present *sKyor lung chos 'byung*; cf. TH Martin no. 297.

* The etymology of sKyor-mo-lung suggests a fence or holder (*skyor*)[of water]), in connection with an embankment.

[2] Later the temple was denoted: sKyor-mo-lung dGa'-ldan Chos-'khor-gling. It was more precisely located in gNas-chung village (*grong brdal*) of sByar-ra *xiang* ("Poplar Fence" alluding to a site to which was also affiliated the sByar-ra noble family; it later was a *mchod gzhis* under the 'Bras-spungs Har-gdong college); location *ca*. 29°37'N 90°59'E, close to gZhong-pa lHa-chu.* In the early 12th century, Brang, gZhong and Ram [= Ram-pa lHa-sdings; the monastery which had been est. by the 5th gSang-phu throne-holder gNam-'phar-pa]** pertained to Brang Ra-mo-che under the rule of sBal-ti Jo-sras; for the dispute concerning these areas in the early 1200's, cf. *HNT* 56–57. sTod-lungs Ram-pa is recorded in Atiśa's *rNam thar rgyas pa yongs grags* (a site related to imperial-time minister mGar and his clan; Ram-pa is the valley due south-west of sKyor-mo-lung; see App. IV). It is maintained that sKyor-mo-lung was located in sBrang-mda' (= Brang-mda'); cf. *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 430.3.

* Both Brang and gZhong-pa lha-chu of sTod-lung are part of the old sNa-nam clan land and both sites linked to the imperial-time Padmasambhava; cf. *Myang chos 'byung* 282; *Thang yig gser 'phreng* 187b1–5; *Rva lo rnam thar* 259–262 (where sKyor-mo-lung is also named? chronology uncertain); *DL5* [B] 4b3–6; Akester 2001. A later gZhong-pa lha-chu monastery adhered to the rNying-ma-pa. rGyal-ba dKon-mchog-skyabs descended from gZhong-pa-steng. In the area of sTod-lung Brang (or Brang-phu) Ra-mo-che, Bla-ma Zhang practiced asceticism. Cf. *Zhang rnam thar zin bris* 67a4.

** The initial chair-holders and the abbacy of Ram-pa lHa-sdings-pa (abbr. Ram-sdings-ma) seems in part identical with that of Zul-phu (see below).

I. Ram-pa lHa-sdings-pa [? = gNam-'phar-pa[+]]
II. Sangs-rgyas-dbon gZhon-nu 'byung-gnas[++]
III. Yon-tan-dpal
IV. *mkhan chen* bDe-ba-dpal
V. *mkhan chen* bKa'-bzhi-pa Grags-pa gzhon-nu (1257–1315)
VI. *Rin po che* bSod-nams grags-pa (1273–1345)[+++]
VII. rGyal-sras Thogs-med-pa (1295–1369).
VIII. Re-mda'-ba gZhon-nu blo-gros (1349–1412)?

The biographies of these *blo sbyong* Ram-pa lHa-sdings-pa abbots can be found in a currently non-extant work written by mTshal-min-pa (also gNyag-dbon/-phu) *mkhan chen* bSod-nams bzang-po (1341–1433 A.D.); cf. *KD-I* 128–29; *KD-IV* 62a1–4; Part I: fn. 423. They entertained close bonds to the early bKa'-gdams-pa seats such as Zul-phu and sPyil-bu and to the Bye/Bya-rdzing-pa seat as well as to the seat of rTse-chen *chos sde* college of the great Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal (1345–1439); to Thang-po-che in 'Phyong-rgyas and to 'Phan-po Nalendra (see e.g. also Ehrhard 2003c: 39f.; Jackson 2007) for its initial *mkhan rabs*, cf. *MT* 93–94. See also the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* 457–59 in *Pha chos* sect. of the *bKa' gdams glegs bam.*

[+] *KD-IV* 62b1–4 identifies the founder as rGya sPang-pa thang-pa Nyi-ma dbang-phyug; *GB* 18b1 lists 'Byung-gnas rdo-rje, a pupil of Po-ta-ba. Cf. also *Tshal rnam* 62b3: rNam-par-ba chen-po.

[++] He may be identical with the nephew of Sangs-rgyas dbon-ston, namely Sangs-rgyas dbon-gzhon (1171–1264). He had been ordained in the presence of the sKyor–mo-lung founder; cf. *GD* 75b5–76b3; Ram lHa-sdings-ma Sangs-rgyas 'byung-gnas rdo-rje is known to have written commentaries on Hevajra in the tradition of rNgog-ston Chos-sku rdo-rje. He was also a transmission-pupil of Po-to-ba related to the transmission of "emptiness" teachings; cf. Ye-shes shes-rab 1989: 80.

[+++] This *mkhan chen* later became known as a Jo-gdan *mkhan po*. See also van der Kuijp 2004: 41.

[3] Also known as chos *grva chen po drug* of the dBus province. Cf. e.g. *TK* 256; *Klong rdol gSung 'bum II* 360.6–7; Kaschewsky 139; Bya-rigs-pa 2001b etc.* The seats rose to eminence during and following the period of Tsong-kha-pa. Of these six centres, dGa'-ba-gdong and gSang-phu were not traditional convent monasteries, but did hold *dbyar chos* sessions. As centres or seminars of learning, transmitting their own individual teaching cycles, they were later incorporated into the *bka' bzhi'i grva skor* tournement; a *grva skor*, popular in dGe-lugs circles and curricula, designated monks

who had finished their initial training and studies in different fields within the canonical field of the Tripiṭaka and who subsequently conducted a row of visits to different colleges testing their skills in debate and scholarly erudition through trials, examination and teaching.

* Other cherished triad classifications include: Lo Bya-yul Rin-chen-sgang gsum (in Mal-gro); rGyal Glang-thang Gro-sa gsum (in 'Phan-yul), Rva-sgreng 'Chad-kha, sPyil-bu gsum; 'Bri[-gung], sTag[-lung] and Tshal gsum and g.Ye gNyal Dvags gsum; cf. *JCh* 149a5.

[4] **dGa'-ba-gdong** of sKyid-smad (also called sKyid-shod dGa'-ba-gdong) was erected in the mid-1240's by the 3rd sKyor-mo-lung abbot (see below), and is located in present-day sTod-lung bDe-chen *xian* in dGa'-gdong village (it is also said that it is located in gDong-dkar *grong brdal*. Its initial Vinaya teaching line descends from Bya 'Dul-'dzin brTson-'grus-'bar (1091–1166). *YL* 185 gives the following dGa'-ba-gdong specific Vinaya transmission line:

I. Bya 'dul-'dzin
II. dPal-chen Ye-shes g.yung-drung
III. gNyan-ston
IV. Shun-pa
V. Zhig-po Shes-rab ye-shes (1181–1253 A.D.)*

It was Bya 'Dul-'dzin that initially went to Pa-rnam dGa'-gdong (in gTsang; in Pa-r/snam *xian* at 29°12'N 89°10'E),** where rGya 'Dul-'dzin was active. The sTod-lung dGa'-gdong had derived its name from its gTsang namesake. It was visited 1400 by Tsong-kha-pa, and occasionally by Re-mda'-ba gZhon-nu-blo-gros (1349–1412) and Rong-ston (1367–1449), cf. *TK* 257–58 and *Re mda' ba rnam thar, passim*. dGa'-ba-gdong 'Og-min-gling was destroyed during the 1642 warfare; cf. *Paṇ chen chos rgyal rnam thar* 208. Rebuilt, in the mid-18th cent., it accommodated *ca*. 100 monks; cf. *dPal ldan chos skyong rnam thar* 221.1; *'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rnam thar* 78. Its *bstan srung* was dGa'-gdong Yon-tan rgyal-po (*DL10* 110–11). See also *Dam can Chos srung rgya mtsho* by the 5th Dalai Lama in his Vol. 11 (Coll. Works).

* I.e. Zhig-po Shes-rab seng-ge (the 3rd sKyor-mo-lung throne-holder) is considered the founder.

** Later called Dar-rgyas-gling. It was erected by rGya *'dul 'dzin* dBang-phyug tshul-khrims (1047–1131). See now dGra-lha bzang-po 2000.

[5] The **Zul-phu** monastery was located in present-day Tshal-sna *xiang* of Chu-shur county; cf. *HSLG* Vol. 8: 24, on the left (= eastern) bank of sKyid-chu river. In earlier texts, it is generally called Zul-phu of sKyid-smad. It apparently went into decay already in the late 16th cent. and only its ruins (*dgon shul*) are found today (albeit mentioned in the 1830 Tax Survey (*CTZhZh* 20) as monastic estate). See below Figs. 17, 18. Zul-phu's founding history and abbacy lineage are still deplorably little known. It too was a Vinaya settlement and Vinaya teachings and hermeneutics long remained it stable curricula. Most of the following Zul-phu throne-holders, we retrace in the traditional lineage transmissions of the basic *'Dul ba mdo rtsa* and treatises like *Bodhicaryāvatāra* in Tibet and within dGe-lugs-pa (cf. e.g. *DL5 Thob yig I* 21a6–22b1, 42a6–b6; *BCh* 256). It owed its establishment and initial activity to one of the "Ten Men of dBus," namely followers of the teachings transmitted through Bya *'dul 'dzin* brTson-'grus-'bar (1091–1166), pupil of rMa Chos kyi byang-chub (also called rMa-Bya/*tsho* Byang-chub rdo-rje); cf. Uebach 1988: 153. The founder should safeguard his community for nine years. The Zul-phu *mkhan rabs* (*YL* [A] 181, 185; *DN* (= BA Roerich 80); *DCH-1* 46–55):

I. **Sangs-rgyas Bya *'dul 'dzin* brTson-'grus-'bar** (1091–1165/66)

Father: Bya rGyal-ba-'od; mother: Rog rDo-rje-lcam; tenure: rl. *ab* 1130's?, or 1157–66? Ordained in the presence of Tshe rGyal-ba-'bar of Tshe-dmar (= Ye-dmar) gtsug-lag-khang (usually it is maintained that he was ordained at the feet of 'Bre Shes-rab-'bar; for the latter, see Part I: fn. 142). Studied Vinaya under *slob dpon* Sog and later in lHa-sa, in the presence of rNgog *lotsāba*'s pupil Khyung Rin-chen-grags, he took his final ordination and in the latter's presence, he at Myu-gu-sna (one of the seats of the 'Bring *tsho*) in lHa-sa studied *Madhyamaka* and *Pramāna*. In 'O-ljang-mdo, he continued his studies in the presence of rMa *tsho*, where he also met Rong-pa Phyag-sor-ba (pupil of Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba, b. 1101),* in whose presence he studied for three years being introduced to key bKa'-gdams-pa teaching systems and *bstan rim* treatises. He furher carried on his studies in 'Phan-yul and at 'O-ljang-mdo, in the presence of sTod-lung-pa chen-po Rin-chen snying-po, and eventually established a *bshad grva* at Zul-phu. The date for the establishment is unfortunately not clear but may have taken place already in the 1130's. Later in the presence of Zangs-dkar *lotsāba*, he received a number of tantric cycles.

II. Rog Chos kyi dbang-phyug (a.k.a. Bla-ma Chos kyi dbang-phyug, Byang-chub rin-chen, 1130/40–1210/20?).

Maternal Nephew (*snag dbon*) of the founder. Belonged to the Rog clan. Tenure: rl. 1150's?, or *ca*. 1169/70–1220?

Age 21, he took his final ordination. He was maternal nephew of Bya *'dul 'dzin*. He at one point went to rTsib-pa-can in gTsang. He took over the abbacy of Zul-phu three years after the demise of Bya *'dul 'dzin*. See also *DCH*-1 48–51.

III. **Chos kyi Byang-chub** (a.k.a. Na-bza' 'Phred-gsol) (*ca*. 1194/1206–1271/83)

Nephew of the last abbot. Tenure: rl. *ab* 1220?/1225?

Born in Rong of gTsang into the Rog clan. Recipient of the entire Zul-phu-transmitted Vinaya *curricula*, but also bKa'-gdams-pa precepts and the *lam rim* graded teaching system. He probably ruled as abbot from *ca*. 1225. 'Phags-pa bla-ma (1235–1280

A.D.) as neophyte took his *dge tshul* ordination in 1244 *en route* to China in the presence of this throne-holder (who was also addressed Zul-phu-ba). Cf. *YL* 154.2–4; Mang-thos, *bsTan 'dzin nyin byed* 104; *Sa skya gdung rabs* 150–51; *'Phags pa'i rnam thar* 12b5–13a1. During his tenure, rNgog Rin-chen bzang-po (1231–1307 A.D.) of sPre'u-zhing was ordained in Zul-phu in 1248 and his final ordination in 1263 (cf. *LR* 61). In addition, the early 13th-cent. abbots of Jo-gdan tshogs-pa, rDo-rje-dpal, Byang-chub-dpal (and bDe-ba-dpal (1231–97)) were also ordained in his presence. He reached the age of 78.

IV. **Chos kyi brtson-'grus** (*ca*. 1214/26/38–1285/97/1309?)

Nephew of the last abbot. Tenure: *ab* 1240?

Born in Rong of gTsang. Ordained at an early age. Received the entire curricula and syllabi of his predecessors. He erected a number of statues. Passed away age 72.

V. **Chos-grags** [**Rin-chen**]**-dpal** (*ca*. 1235/1247–1296/1308?)

Nephew of the latter abbot. Born in Rong of gTsang into the Rog clan. Tenure: *ab* 1270?

Pupils included dKa'-bzhi-pa Grags-pa gzhon-nu (1257–1315), abbot of Tshogs-pa and the latter's disciple Jo-gdan *mkhan po* bSod-nams grags-pa (1273–1345); see also BA Roerich 80–81and *rGya bod chos 'byung* 9b3–4.

VI. **Chos kyi dpal** (1270–1340)

Nephew of former throne-holder. Father: A-skyid; mother: *sras mo* Chos-dpal; tenure: rl. until 1337

Born in rDzing-kha of gTsang. Ordained age 11.

VII. **Byang-chub Rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po** (1316–1390 A.D.)

Father: Bla-ma-'Bum. Mother: *sras mo* 'Dam-mdzes. Tenure: 1337–1376

He was considered a rebirth of the 5th sKyor-mo-lung throne-holder brTson-'grus 'byung-gnas (1248–78). Born in rDzing-kha. Age 20, he was ordained. In 1337, he assumed the seat of Zul-phu which he held at least until 1376. Studied under a long row of masters. According to *DL5 gSan yig I* 105b5–6, he and the subsequent throne-holders of Zul-phu received teachings related to the Vaiśrāvana cycle. *YL* maintains that 1376 this throne-holder was still residing on the see.

Like sKyor-mo-lung, to which it entertained close contacts, Zul-phu was established as a *bshad grva*. It entertained close teaching and syllabi bonds with gNas-rnying in Myang district of gTsang (Part I: Map 9); cf. *MY* 87 through the abbot *mkhan po* Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po. Following the establishment of the four Jo-gdan tshogs-pa settlements by Kha-che Paṇ-chen, a connection with these and with Zul-phu was established in the early 1200's through the activities not least of Byang-chub-dpal; cf. *YL* 180.1f.; *DCH-1* 54–55; *-II* 101a4f. It was from these abbots (esp. no. VII above) that Bu-ston received many Vinaya teachings; cf. *Bu ston gsan yig* 29a–30a.

A signal event, Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po took his final ordination in 1134 at Zul-phu in the presence of Bya *'dul 'dzin* (*'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 59, *Rlangs* 356). The link to gNas-rnying is confirmed through the teacher of Phag-gru, gNas-rnying-pa or La-stod-pa dKon-mchog mkhar-ba. 'Phags-pa bla-ma (1235–80) here as neophyte took his *dge tshul* ordination in 1244 *en route* to China in the presence of Na-bza' 'Phred-gsol (also called Zul-phu-ba) and the 3rd sKyor-mo-lung-pa throne-holder; cf. *YL* 154.2–4; *TT* 104; *Sa skya gdung rabs* 150–51; *'Phags pa'i rnam thar* 12b5–13a1. Zul-phu in 1545 was donated to the Karma-pa and remained so until *ca*. 1639 A.D. when dKon-mchog chos-'phel (1573–1644) renovated the site and reconverted it into a dGe-lugs site; *dKon mchog chos 'phel rnam thar* 17b7; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1293–4. It is said that its original main-relic was a statue of Śākyamuni, now kept in Se-ra Byes grva-tshang; other objects and relics were subsequently transferred to Grib Tshe-mchog-gling in the 17th century; *TK* 316–17. The 1830 Tax Survey (*lCags stag zhib gzhung* 20) speaks of the religious estate of Zur-phu.

* The four disciples (*bu bzhi*) of Rong-pa Phyag-sor-ba were Zhu-lhan-pa, Rog 'Ching-phu-ba, Bya-'dul and finally rNam-'bar-ba; the latter was the 5th throne-holder of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog.

[6] The *chos grva chen mo* **bDe-ba-can** refers to the original seminary that later, in the 15th cent. turned into R[v]a-stod bDe-ba-can (at Ra-stod-phu, *ca*. 29°32'N 90°53'E) situated in mNyes-thang *xiang* of present-day Chu-shur *rdzong*. It was erected 1205 by rGya m/'Ching-ru-ba Shes-rab dbang-phyug, pupil of gNyal/dMyal-zhig 'Jam-dpal seng-ge, resp. the 3rd and 4th Gling-stod abbot of gSang-phu (see above). Cf. *BU* 15a2–3; *GD* 45b3f.; *YL* 130.15–16, 133.5–6; *GB* 23a4–5 where the initial *mkhan rabs* is listed:

I. Shes-rab dbang-phyug
II. dBon-po Sangs-rgyas-dpal (the former's nephew)
III. gNyan (or gNyag) Grags[-pa] Tshul[-khrims]
IV. rGya-ston bSod[-nams] rin[-chen]
V. dGe-brag-pa
VI. gNye [= sNye]-thang-pa bKra-shis seng-ge
VII. *Slob dpon* Blo-rin
VIII. *Slob dpon* bKra-shis seng-ge* (*fl. ca*. 1345–75)
IX. 'Jam-rin
X. Sangs-grags (var. Grags-pang (= -seng, -sangs?))
XI. dGe-skongs-pa?
XII. Dar-ma seng-ge
XIII.? Rong-ston Śākya rgyal-mtshan (1367–1449)**

bDe-pa-can's history is otherwise deplorably little known or only fragmentary reconstructable. As dGe-lugs seat, it was later designated Rva-ba-stod (to distinguish it from the Rva-smad bDe-ba-can, assoc. with Sa-skya). It had close bonds with rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang and rGyal lha-khang in 'Phan-yul, etc. Cf. e.g. *Ga zi gdung rabs* 430b2, 431a2–5 for visits there in about 1761–62. Thar-phu was a monastic estate of Rva-stod. During the Cultural Revolution, it was destroyed and 1988 it witnessed a partial renovation. Today it accomodates *ca*. 60 monks. *HS* 301–02; Chan 1994: 476.

* He evidently served twice as 6th and 8th throne-holders. Also called Na-thang-pa chen-po; cf. *Mi nyag lnga rnam thar* 16. He welcomed Tsong-kha-pa to bDe-ba-can in 1374–75, a site the latter should repeatedly visit. During his stay, he also met the 9th throne-holder (who was a specialist on the Five Treatises on Maitreya). bKra-shis seng-ge was also active at 'Brug monastery, where he met the 7th Rva-lung throne-holder; cf. *TK* 118–19; *GD* 62a5; *Kun dga' seng ge rnam thar* 412.5–413.4.

** Rong-ston may have served for three years *ab ca*. 1417 in some capacity at bDe-pa-can; *Rong ston rnam thar* 318.6, 326.

[7] On gSang-phu Ne'u-thog, see Table 8.1; Gung-thang refers to the college Chos-'khor-gling; above Table 3.

[8] Other texts refer to *sa skyong* or *dpon sa* Sangs-rgyas dpal-'dzoms, consort of the Phag-gru *Gong ma* Ngag-dbang bkra-shis grags-pa. It may have taken place in the mid-1530's. A.D. She was also the one persuading bSod-nams grags-pa in 1543 to come to the throne of sKyor-mo-lung. Cf. *KL* 88f. See also App. II above; *DL5 gSan yig II* 123b1; *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 394.1.

[9] The incomplete list of throne-holders of these seminars are given in *VS* 157–59. The colleges were formerly under the gDong-dkar *rdzong* (the residence of the Shun *zhabs drung* in the late 16th cent.) in Shun *khul* of sTod-lung *xian* located: 29°35'N 91°06'E),* often listed as Shingdongkar constituting the portal to lHa-sa from the west – throughout the latest centuries, the neighbouring Grong-chung as religious estate was under the sKyor-mo-lung *grva tshang*, whereas sTod-lung Ra-mo-che was under rTse rNam-rgyal *grva tshang* (Potala). The former Ra-tshag, Mar-khu spus-kyu of Shun (located on the hill-side of sKyor-mo-lung) and the Tsher-gseb-dgon (all in lower sTod-lung) were affiliated with resp. Khams-pa *grva tshang* and Phug-khang colleges; *VS* 160–61, 418. At some point, gDong-mkhar *rdzong* as private estate served as a station for the Karma-pa to and fro mTshur-phu; cf. *mTshur phu dgon dkar chag* 597. Other estates during the dGa'-ldan pho-brang period located in the Shun area or *rdzong* due west of lHa-sa were rGya-yags, Khri-zam-sgang and sGung-mtsho adhering to Kun-bde-gling. In the 14th cent. the 9th Tshal *dpon* sMon-lam rdo-rje erected a temple at Shun 'phrang; *Tshal rnam* 23b4. The 17th 'Bri-gung throne-holder, assisted by the sKyor-mo-lung-pa, erected a fortress on the Shun gyi brag in 1565 (cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 211).

* Attached to the Shun *rdzong* (under the Potala Zhol), we find the communities of bZang-mo, bCo-brgyad *mchod gzhis,* bCu-bzhi *mchod gzhis* and dGon-gsar mKhar-grong byang-pa. Another list (for the 1680's) includes under Shun: Dan-'bag dGos-pa, sKyor-lung, Ra-ba-stod, 'Brug *phyag mdzod*, Zhang-ston phu-mda' and lHa-khang-pa; cf. *DL5 III* 136a1–2. In 1698, we have the foll. settlements: 'Khor-sgang-sgang of Shun, Phug-mo-che, sGang-mkhar grong-stod, Tsher-gseb; cf. *DL6* 459. The Shun *rdzong* may refer to the one est. by the 17th 'Bri-gung throne-holder (see prev. note).

[10] Ngor mkhan-chen sGrub-khang-pa dPal-dan don-grub's *gSan yig* even lists his name as Byang-chub tshul-khrims; cf. *DL5 Thob yig I* 51a4–5.

[11] The pedigree of sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa (also called g.Yor-po'i sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa), in brief, as contained in *KL* is as follows: During the reign of King Mu-khri btsan-po, three sons of the sBal-ti clan, viz. Seng-ge gung-btsan, sTag-gung-btsan and gZig-gung-btsan, known as *Gung btsan spun gsum*, emerged victorious as military commanders. As reward they received the three areas of Gr(v)a, Dol and gZhung (south of gTsang-po river in lHo-kha, later a Tshal *mi sde* area; see App. III). Among these, Seng-ge gung-btsan received the gZhung district. His son was sBal-ti gTsug-tor rgyal-mtshan. His son again was sBal-ti 'Bum-chung, and among the latter's four sons, the third was sBal-ti Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, the father of sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa. The hereditary religious lineage of the sBal-ti clan should occupy the seat of sKyor-mo-lung until at least 1527 A.D. much in the same fashion as the gNyos clan (lHa-pa) should control the Gye-re dgon-pa in sKyid-smad, the 'Khon control the see at Sa-skya, the sKyu-ra clan control 'Bri-gung, the rGya clan ruling the Rva-lung and 'Brug see and the Ga-zi clan occupying the sTag-lung seat, to mention the more celebrated clan-based hierarchs. Signally, there are grounds to assume that the clan-name sBal-ti clan is historically associated with the dPal-[s]de district located west of Yar-'brog lake. The clan is already registered for the pre-imperial period; it was *inter alia* the lineage of the wife of Gri-gum btsan-po, i.e. dPal-za (~ dBal-bza') Khri-btsun; see Hazod 2007.

At sKyor-mo-lung, a set of *thangka* (*zhal thang*) of the 80 *siddha* was erected in the 1590's and consecrated by Tāranātha; cf. *Tāranātha rnam thar* 93a7–b1.

The *5DL gSan yig I* 108a1–2 appears to distinguish between sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa Sems-dpa' rgyal-mtshan and brTson-'grus dbang-phyug. It is not impossible that the latter was an alternative name of the 2nd throne-holder.

HS falsely situates dGra-bcom-pa's dates to 1129–1256, consequently postdates the tenure of first throne-holders one sexagenary cycle respectively. sBal-ti was ordained in the presence of rGya Nya-mo-skyur-ba as *mkhan po*, dMar-lung sgang-pa as *las dpon* and sPangs-sgom-pa as *gsang ston*. For the Vinaya lineage of sKyor-mo-lung; cf. *DCH-1* 35–36.

[12] Ra-mo-che in gNas-chung *xiang* of sTod-lung *xian*, located: 29°37'N 90°58'E (*Dimimgzhi I* 101a). The Beng (var. Brang)-smad Ra-mo-che (also called Dang-po-lung) monastery was erected 1168 by sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa, evidently raised upon a former 'Bring-smad Ra-mo-che establishment. Listed in the early topographical survey of the lHa-sa site; cf. TBH Sørensen: 257. This former 'Bring-smad establishment was called gNas *byang ma* of Brang Ra-mo-che and was established by a younger brother of gNyos *lo tsā ba* Yon-tan-grags (11th cent.), called gNyos 'Byung-gnas shes-rab; cf. *gNyos gdung rabs* 16.4–5. Brang Ra-mo-che had been established as a *lam stegs* or intermediate station (i.e. dependency; on the way to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang / Jo-khang) of sNye-thang Brag-sna in sKyid-smad. sBal-ti should pass away there. It was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Until then, it stood under the sKyor-mo-lung monastic administration. It has since then undergone renovation and has survived on a most modest scale accommodating today three monks.

sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa was also active at the other more famous temple, the lHa-sa Ra-mo-che, i.e. Ra-mo-che sde-bzhi; cf. Table 9 below. It is also reported that he erected the adjacent sTag-lung-brag temple; cf. Chos-'phel 2004c: 93–95.

[13] *YL* 185 mentions that the Vinaya tradition of sKyor-mo-lung descends from the pupils of Lo-ston rDo-rje dbang-phyug, one of "the Ten Men of dBus" during the initial *phyi dar* wave of the spread of Buddhism in Central Tibet: dBa' Ye-shes dbang-po and rMa gSal-ba shes-rab that were followed by sBal-ti Jo-sras (= dGra-bcom-pa), also considered a pupil of Sha-mi sMon-lam-'bar (1084–1171) and sBal-ti dBon as well as later by Zhig-po Sher-seng, the third incumbent.

[14] Cf. *DCH-1* 33; *DCH-II* 91b5. Thag-ma lha-khang was one of the Vinaya settlements of the Rag-shi group (cf. Table IV.6 above). The first important figure at Thag-ma was *'dul 'dzin* Thag-ma Ka-ba Dar-[ma] seng[-ge], pupil of sNe'u zur-pa (1042–1118) and of Sha-mi sMon-lam-'bar (1084–1171). dGra-bcom-pa was pupil of the latter masters and the *'dul 'dzin* Thag-ma-ba or dPal-chen rDo-rje gZhon-nu.

[15] His final ordination took place in Thag-ma lha-khang (a settlement of the Rag-shi group) of sTod-lung around 1179 A.D. Cf. *HNT* 18–19, 125; *sMyos rabs* 87; *DL6* 115; *GY* 554, conversely and incongruously, appears to maintain that it was rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa's nephew lHa Rin-chen rgyal-po (1201–1270 A.D.) who was ordained in sBal-ti's presence, but this refers to the latter's studies under the second incumbent; *gNyos gdung rabs* 44.4; *DCH-1* 36; *-II* 92a5–6.

[16] *GB* 16a4–5.

[17] Of the rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang tradition, he was related to but different from Sangs-rgyas dbon-ston (1138–1210); *GD* 75b5–76ab3.

[18] Cf. *Lo ras pa rnam thar* 6a6–7; *KD* 127–28; *DCH-1* 36; *lHo brag grub chen rnam thar* 654.5–6.

[19] Many ascetics studied under this throne-holder such as Kong-po Darma shes-rab (1228–1310), a pupil of the 3rd sTag-lung Sangs-rgyas yar-ston; cf. *sTag lung chos'byung* 299.

[20] Cf. above. It was famous not least because bTsong-kha-pa, dBu-ma-pa brTson-'grus seng-ge and 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtsho resided there over a long period. It should later accommodate a famous medium which rose to become one of the state clairvoyant oracles during the dGa'-ldan pho-brang government. It refers to the Chos-skyong or bsTan-srung chen-po dGa'-gdong Yon-tan rgyal-po (named after the oracle deity Yon-tan rgyal-po of Pehar rgyal-po *sku lnga* group). Cf. *TK* 542 etc. and also *HS* 247–48.

[21] Cf. *lHo brag grub chen rnam thar* 8.6.

[22] Cf. *Kha rag gNyos gdung rabs* 71.5–72.1.

[23] Cf. *Kha rag gNyos gdung rabs* 75.2–3.

[24] Cf. also *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 955.4–7; *Rlangs* 214f.; *DCH-1* 39; *-II* 93b1–3; *mTshur phu dkar chag* 391–2; *HSLG* 3: 18. The 4th Karma-pa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje should serve as mediator in the warring conflict.

[25] Cf. *Tsong kha pa rnam thar* 126; *GD* 8a6; *Rong ston rnam thar* 307, 331; *GD* 59b2–3.

[26] Cf. *bKra shis dpal ldan rnam thar* 19–20.; For the list of his disciples, see *DCH-1* 40–41; *-II* 93b2-94a2.

[27] Cf. *rGya ma rnam thar* 374.6–7.

[28] Cf. *Se ra chos 'byung* 51–53. He est. a *grva skor* turnus with Zul-phu, etc. For his disciples, cf. *DCH-1* 42–43.

[29] He repeatedly visited sKyor-mo-lung to receive training (by rGyud-pa Shes-rab bzang-po) before he ascended the see; *bSod nams grags pa rnam thar* 20, 43 (other ed. 3b2–3, 12a6–b1). Celebrated dGe-lugs master who held, not uncommon, more chairs simultaneously. He was both recognized as the 1st sKyor-mo-lung mNga' ris *sprul sku* (after his demise) and as the first 'Bras-spungs gZims-khang gong-ma incarnation whose incarnation lineage should play a major role at sKyor-mo-lung following the former sBal-ti clan dominance; cf. *MD* 986; *MN* 577; for a different list of the mNga'-ris *sprul sku* line, cf. *Bla sprul deb gzhung* 293. His immediate incarnation was bSod-nams dGe-legs dpal-bzang-po (in whose

presence, the 4th Dalai Lama took his full ordination; cf. *DL4* 46b1). The former text leaves out e.g. the 3rd incumbent and lists six incarnations until *ca*. 1820 A.D. Cf. also G. Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts* 129.

[30] Cf. *DL3* 17a6ff, 33b3. The sKyor-mo-lung-pa had sponsored the *dngul gdung* or silver ossuary of the 2nd 'Bras-spungs *chos rje*. Indeed, the sKyor-mo-lung-pa had a great saying behind the recognition of the 'Bras-spungs incumbent. We shall anticipate some relation between the lay *dpon sa* of sKyor-mo-lung and that of the family of the neighbouring *sde pa* rNam-rgyal grags-pa (bSod-nams rgya-mtsho's father), both of sTod-lung-mda'. As said, the 2nd incumbent dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho had repeatedly visited, during the last part of his life, Khang-gsar-gong (the 3rd Dalai Lamas's future birth place) on his way to sKyor-mo-lung. See App. II.

[31] As detailed in his biography, *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar*.

[32] See for details O. Czaja 2006. Cf. also *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 209–11; *JCh* 279a4. Cf. Part I: fn. 694, *passim*; Part II: Table V.12.3; Introduction: Chap. 9.

[33] Born in the vicinity of sKyor-mo-lung. He was the 25th throne-holder of dGa'-ldan, from 1582 to 1589. Cf. *GD* 21b1–6; *MD* 783; Kaschewsky 1970: 282.

[34] Cf. *GD* 13b1–3, 17a1–6. He established the Li-thang Thub-bstan chos-'khor in 1580 A.D. He was the 2nd gZims-khang gong-ma.

[35] 1614 he ascended the throne at sTag-lung-brag, subsequently at gSal-khang dgon-pa of 'Phan-yul (*VS* 177) and as the 30th throne-holder of dGa'-ldan his tenure started 1618. He wrote an important (currently non-extant) *dGa' ldan gyi gdan rabs*. Cf. *MD* 762.

[36] In 1602, he practised in Rva-ba-stod. From 1619, he simultaneously held the see at gSang-phu and between 1626 and 1637, he also held the see at dGa'-ldan as its 35th incumbent. Cf. *MD* 310. The 1st Paṇ-chen bla-ma paid a visit and performed ceremonies during his tenure; *Paṇ chen chos rgyal rnam thar* 191.

[37] He was son of the influential *sde pa* Gad-kha-sa (located: 29°39'N 90°54'E in sByar-rags *xiang* of sTod-lung). He initially was one of the most serious candidates for the re-embodiment of the 4th Dalai Lama. As Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho was chosen as the 5th Dalai Lama, as compensation, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was identified as the 3th gZims-khang gong-ma (initiating with Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa) and thus also as the 3th sKyor-mo-lung mNga'-ris sBal-ti *sprul sku* line, his embodiment(s) should subsequently manage the sKyor-mo-lung monastery. He was also known as Byang-rtse dPal-ldan bsTan-pa rgyal-mtshan, the 40th throne-holder of dGa'-ldan (cf. *KS* 377). In 1659, the Gad-kha-sa seat in sTod-lung, due to its proximity to Potala, was shifted to lHo-kha. Cf. *DL5 I* 278a6. From this tenure, the bonds to neighbouring dGa'-ba-gdong was strengthened; *GD* 59b5–b1. During his tenure a lCang-lo-can *rab 'byams pa* 'Phrin-las rgya-mtsho is listed.

[38] Born at sTod-lung-mda' bSam-grub-sgang, he became abbot of sGo-mang grva-tshang. 1650–52 he became the 11th abbot of dGon-lung Byams-pa-gling, and is also listed as abbot of Rva-sgreng; *VS* 183. Regularly mentioned in the literature; e.g. *Tāranātha rnam thar* 100a6; *JCh* 320b2–323a3.

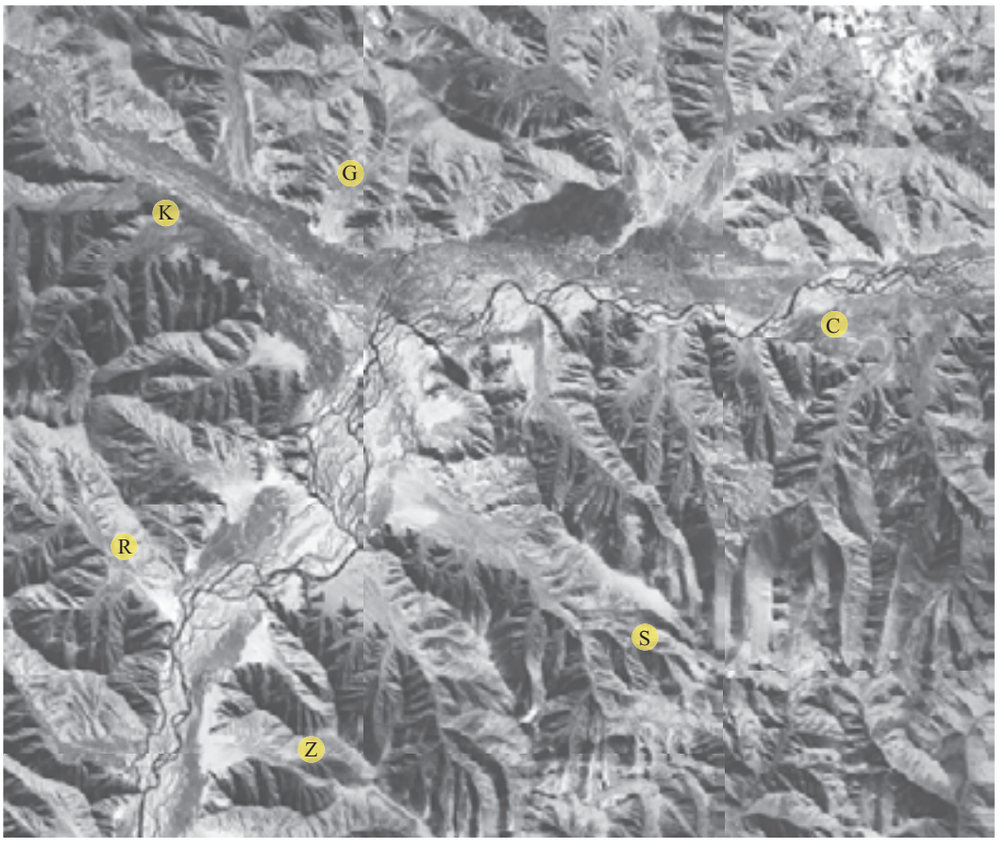
[39] Born in 'Phan-yul (Zhogs), he also served as 42nd throne-holder of dGa'-ldan (1668–1675); also known as Khri rNam-dag rdo-rje. Cf. *MN* 651.

[40] Reported for 1679; cf. *DL5 III* 152a3. See also *sMon lam chen mo bca' yig* 337.

[41] He was also abbot of Glo-bo-dgon in lHo-brag. See *VS* 214.5.



***27**. sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa, the founder of sKyor-mo-lung chos sde*
Modern statue kept in the sKyor-mo-lung monastery



Map 4. The Six Seminars (chos grva drug) of sKyid-shod: gSang-phu Ne'u-thog (S); Zul-phu (Z); Ra-stod bDe-ba-can (R); sKyor-mo-lung (K); dGa'-ba-gdong (G); Gung-thang Chos-'khor-gling (C)



***28**. The monastic complex of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog*
Photo: Google Earth 2006



29. *gSang-phu Ne'u-thog* (2001)



30. *The Zul-phu valley in dBus-bde/ mTshal-sna district of sKyid-smad, where only ruins of the former Zul-phu monastery and college are to be found (Fig, 15)* (2005)



31. *The site of Zul-phu dgon-pa*
Photo: Google Earth 2006



32. *sKyor-mo-lung chos sde* (2002)

33. *bTsong-kha-pa at sKyor-mo-lung*
Detail from a bTsong-kha-pa *thangka*



33



34. *The monastery of dGa'-ba-gdong* (PKS 2006)



35. *dGa'-ba-gdong, monastery and village*
Photo: Google Earth 2006



***36**. Ra-stod bDe-ba-can; Main Temple* (2004)



***37**. Ra-stod, monastery and village*
Photo: Google Earth 2006





***38a**, **b**. bSe-khrab-can, the protector of the Six Seminars of sKyid-shod*
38a: Mural in Ra-stod bDe-ba-can
38b: Statue kept in gSang-phu sNe'u-thog

V.9 The lHa-sa Ra-mo-che bzhi-sde/sde-bzhi Institution

Based upon Primary Sources:
Vaiḍūrya ser po 143.14ff.; *dPag bsam ljon bzang* 598.10–16; *DL7* 865, 926; *Chos `byung bstan pa nyi ma* 89a2–3; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1422.10–11; *lHa ldan dkar chag* 33–34; 7th Dalai Lama, *gDong lnga'i sgra dbyangs* 78a3–92a4
Secondary Sources:
Lhasa Interviews 1–4; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* 1798–1800; *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 24–6, 37–8; Larsen *et. al.* 2001: 138, 141; Ferrari 1958: 41, 94; Chab-spel 1982: 37; Chayet 1994: 148; Alexander 2005; *HSLG* Vol. 6: 41–42

The Ra-mo-che sde-bzhi/bzhi-sde, in the last phase of its history known as bZhi-sde-pa dGa'-ldan bSam-gtan-gling, originally stems from what in late dynastic times were known as six chapels, other sources again speak of four institutions, erected in the four directions around lHa-sa [Jo-khang], viz. rMe-ru (orig. dMar-ru? or "Red Horn," which should later developed its own line of abbots), Ke-ru (orig. dKar-ru? or "White Horn"), dGa'-ba, dGa'-'od, Brang-khang as well as Brang-khang [m]tha[']-ma (cf. also TBH Sørensen 416). It is commonly argued that among these, the convent called dGa'-ba later was transferred to the environs of Ra-mo-che by the Tshal khri-dpon dGa'-bde bzang-po (i.e. dGa'-bde-dpal) where four so-called *mchod 'bul bzhi grva* were established, i.e. minor convents erected to provide ritual and liturgic service to the two lHa-sa sanctuaries, the Ra-sa and Ra-mo-che. The settlement of these shines around Jo-khang in lHa-sa no doubt had developed in the course of time through the process of synoecism.

At some point they were in the hands of the 'Bri-gung-pa (otherwise not documented). Later it was appropriated by Rva-sgreng monastery as a dependency, and it is reported that it shared until the tenancy of one Tshal-pa Byams-pa (mid 17th century) abbacy with rMe-ru (cf. *VS* 143), which was discontinued at the end of the 17th century. In 1754 A.D. the 7th Dalai Lama established anew the bZhi-sde dgon-pa in Me-tog lcang-gseb (= lCang-gseb-shar, east of Potala; its present location; now the neighborhood is wholly urbanized; cf. Alexander 2005: 223–40) area of lHa-sa, and the following year an assembly hall was erected anew. The disciple of Tshe-mchog-gling Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, sMyung-gnas bla ma Ye-shes bzang-po erected the bZhi-sde sMyung-gnas lha-khang.

The institution is one of the oldest and most celebrated in the inner lHa-sa area and appears to have had a versatile history. It was the 7th Dalai Lama who with the composition of a *bca' yig* for the bZhi-sde *grva tshang* dGa'-ldan bSam-gtan-gling denoted *Don gnyis nor bu'i bang mdzod* offers us the hitherto fullest and most detailed history of the bZhi-sde institution. It is an account which had been based upon oral accounts delivered to him from a number of elderly bZhi-sde monks (cf. *gDong lnga'i sgra dbyangs* 82a3–84a3); paraphrased here:

The roots of bZhi-sde go back to the reign of king Ral-pa-can when an attempt was made to meet the needs of an ever-growing monk body in the lHa-sa area. Therefore the communities of Ke-ru and rMe-ru were raised to the east of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, to the south the dGa'-ba and dGa'-ba'i 'od were erected to the east of 'Phrul-snang. Of these it was the dGa'-ba community (*sde*) that should develop into the later bZhi-sde ("Four Community" or lit. "The Community of the [original] Four" Institution).

Later, the direct pupil of Bla-chen dGongs-pa rab-gsal (b. 832?) called ***mKhan chen*** **Tshul**[**-khrims**] **rdo**[**-rje**] re-established it at the so-called Khang-ser-ma located at the foot of lHa-sa dMar-po-ri, where he conducted a renovation of the dGa'-ba community. Thereafter one ***Slob dpon*** **bSod-nams-'phel** took over the see and greatly expanded the teaching there.

Still later again, one **Bla-ma sTon-pa bSod-nams-dpal** set up the institution at the location called dG[o]n-gseb shar-nub (also known as?) the lHa-sa'i khang-gsar. There the practice and the study of the three basic Vinaya rituals (*gzhi gsum*: *poṣadha*, *vārṣika* and *pravāraṇā*), etc. expanded greatly. ***mKhan chen* bSod-nams shes-rab** thereupon safeguarded the see.

Subsequently, it is reported that one direct pupil of Pha Dam-pa sangs-rgyas (d. 1105/1117) called **bSod-nams bla-ma** [re-]established the institution in [the area of] Dogs-sde (cf. Part I: fn. 417), giving it the name Ra-sa sPang-lung dgon-pa (later a *ri khrod* was est. there; cf. e.g. *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 88).[1] There the study of *Prajñāparāmitā* etc. expanded greatly. *rTogs ldan* Shes-rab rdo-rje became the [presiding] *bla ma* [of the see] and he expanded the teaching and practice of gCod.

At the point when Jo-bo-rje or Atiśa established his immaculate tradition of Buddha's Teaching [in Tibet], the site was appropriated by **sBas-ti** (= sBal-ti) **dGra-bcom-p**a who greatly expanded the practice of Vinaya.[2]

Then followed many noble personages such as Bla-ma Zhang etc. and on account of the[ir] injunction that bespoke the necessity to establish this former tradition [of the dGa'-ba community], the Tshal-pa *khri dpon* – in order to expand the Teaching of Buddha in general and specifically in order to ensure that the institution of sacristans that rendered service to the Jo-bo statues in [the Ra-sa] and Ra-mo-che *vihāra* were upheld, etc. – they ensured that it was re-established in the Bar-skor district of Ra-mo-che. Its name was altered to bZhi-sde. Many Tshal-pa *khri dpon* in the lineage of dGa'-bde dpal-bzang-po, himself an incarnation of mGon-po Bya-rog gdong-can (Nātha Mahākāla), took control of the community and produced the following line of [presiding] masters (*bla rabs*) that disseminated teaching traditions based upon the pure doctrine and philosophical views of the bKa'-gdams-pas, viz.

> ***mKhan chen* dKon-mchog bla-ma**, thereupon in succession
> ***Slob dpon* sTon-pa bSod-nam**s,
> ***mKhan chen* Kun-bzang-pa**,
> ***mKhan chen* bKra-shis bzang-po**, etc.

Later, at the time when the light of the sun of the immaculate tradition of *chos kyi rgyal po* Tsong-kha-pa chen-po penetrated all places on earth (i.e. Tibet), the Dharmarāja sNe'u-pa (i.e. the sNe'u governor), the Great Patron of the Teaching [of bTsong-kha-pa] took over the control of the community whereupon the direct pupil of rJe [Tsong-kha-pa] named

***Byang sems* Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan** was elected to the see. He greatly expanded the treachings of the two stages (*utpattikrama*, *nispaṇṇakrama*), etc.

After many successive masters upholding the institution such as ***Slob dpon* dNgos-grub rgya-mtsho**, etc. had come,[3] during the tenure of the All-knowing Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho (i.e. the 6th Dalai Lama), it was safeguarded by one **Tshangs-dbyangs chos-grags** adhering to the group of local *dge rgan*. At that point the institution was transferred to the frontside of Ra-mo-che temple, whereupon the see was safeguarded by one ***Slob dpon* mTha'-yas rgyal-mtshan** who spread the Vinaya practice of the three basic rituals (*gzhi gsum*). Then the see was safeguarded by ***dPon slob* Grags-pa blo-gros**. In the Iron Rat year (1720 A.D.) [in the wake of the Dzungar invasion] the building collapsed. It was subsequently renovated after the local *grva tshang* had been included under the Treasury [of the government] and after re-establishing all the statue inventories, the land and property, and the monastery, etc. Repeatedly and successively ***Bla ma* Ngag-dbang mkhas-mchog** and ***dPon slob* mTha'-yas rgyal-mtsha**n were elected to the see. Thereupon it was safeguarded by ***Grub dbang sems dpa' chen po* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan** who greatly expanded the practice of the two *krama*, etc. Currently – so the above text by the 7th Dalai Lama purports – i.e. in the mid-1750's, the bZhi-sde institution was safeguarded by ***Bla ma* dNgos-grub Nyi-ma**.

Not addressed by the 7th Dalai Lama, it was in the 17th century attached to the Rva-sgreng monastery as a dependency. Since the n it constitutes the seat of Rva-sgreng Rin-po-che.

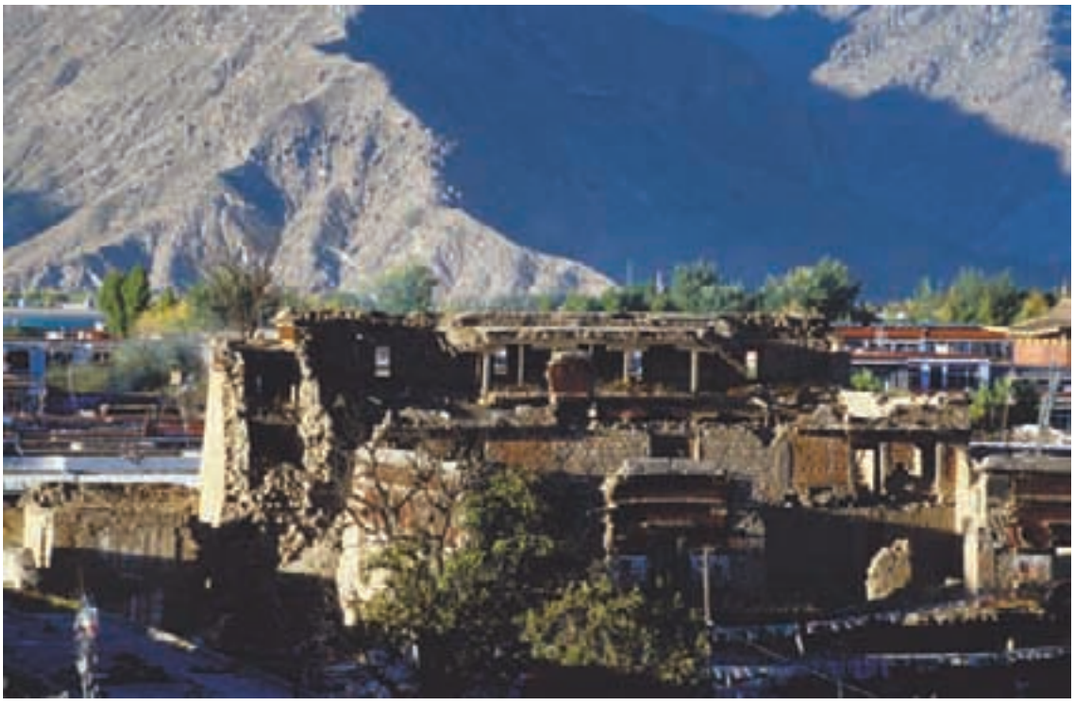
Today 2002 A.D. the temple is in utter decay (see Alexander 2005), the Rva-sgreng mother-monastery however plans to restore the temple.

Notes to Table 9:

[1] Cf. *HSLG* Vol. 6: 62. lCe-ston [= sKyo-ston] bSod-nams bla-ma erected the *ri khrod* of Ra-sa sPang-lung; cf. *DL11* 365.

[2] sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa brTson-'grus dbang-phyug (1129–1215 A.D.) was the founder of sKyor-mo-lung *chos sde* in 1169; cf. *sKyor lung chos 'byung* 11bff. and the Table V.8.2 above. Notably is the discrepancy, the activities of sBal-ti was the 12th century, whereas that of Atiśa was the 11th century.

[3] It refers to Thang-sag-pa *rin po che* of 'Phan-yul.



***39**. The bZhi-sde grva-tshang in lHa-sa* (2002)

V.10 The Abbatial Succession of rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang

Based on Primary Sources:
bKa' gdams chos 'byung I (*KC-I* 246.14–298.20); *bKa' gdams chos 'byung-III* (*KC-III* 155.15–158.13);
Khu dbon rnam thar (*KB* 423.1–511.3); *Deb ther sngon po* (*DN* = BA Roerich 314–317));
bKa' gdams chos 'byung II, *-IV*; *rGya bod chos 'byung*; *rGya bod yig tshang*;
rGya ma rnam thar (*GM*); *Bod kyi deb ther* (*BD*); *Vaiḍūrya ser po* (*VS*);
Pha dam pa rnam thar; *dGa' ldan chos 'byung* (*GD*); *dPag bsam ljon bzang* (*PS*);
Lam rim bla ma brgyud rnam thar (*LR*); *Se ra chos 'byung* (*SR*);
lHo rong chos 'byung (*HR*); *Si tu bka' chems* (*SK*);
Secondary Sources:
Ming mdzod; *Mi sna*; *Dung dkar tshig mdzod*; *lHa sa'i dgon tho; HSLG*; Hor-khang 1999: 571ff.; rDo-rje 2006

The temple and monastery of Rin-chen-sgang (situated in sNon-phu of rGya-ma valley; loc. 29°44'N 91°40'E) was founded by dGyer gZhon-nu-grags (1190–1171), a disciple of the bKa'-gdams-pa masters sNe'u zur-pa Ye-shes-'bar (1042–1118) and Bya-yul-pa (1075–1138). Found. date 1119 A.D. During the time of his nephew Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston (1138–1210) Rin-chen-sgang developed to become one of the major teaching centers of the bKa'-gdams-pa tradition with a number of branch institutions established in Mal-gro, 'Phan-yul and in different parts of the lHo-kha region in the 12th and 13th century (below fn. 3). It counts among the seats visited by the Kha-che Paṇ-chen in the early 13th cent. dBon-ston who called himself the "Lord of the bKa'-gdams doctrine of Northern dBu-ru" (cf. e.g. *KC-I* 273) was a prominent figure beyond the borders of the bKa'-gdams-pa school as it is expressed not least by the fact that he was invited to conduct the consecration ceremony of the "Zhang Tshal-pa'i lHa-chen dpal-pa," i.e. the main statue and support of the Gung-thang *vihāra* (*KC-I* 271; cf. also *GT* 57a; Part I: fn. 743). In rGya-ma, Rin-chen-sgang represented at the same time the spiritual seat of a local ruling house whose territory later formed the core area of what was known as the rGya-ma *khri skor* (with its administrative centre at rGya-ma Khri-khang; the myriarchy appears to have included also parts of the area or estates related to the various branch institutions of Rin-chen-sgang). In the Phag-mo gru-pa period the rGya-ma rulers were among the patrons who helped Tsong-kha-pa to establish the New bKa'-gdams-pa school in sKyid-shod (mentioned by name is here the rGya-ma *khri dpon* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan). As a teaching center, Rin-chen-sgang had close bonds to the "Six Seminars of sKyid-shod," especially with gSang-phu Gling-smad, bDe-ba-can and sKyor-mo-lung (Table 8). In the 16th century (in the time of the 'Bri-gung-pa Rin-chen phun-tshogs), rGya-ma became part of the 'Bri-gung territory (cf. Table 11.1) before the area later was redistributed by the Fifth Dalai Lama as an estate and fief to the aristocratic family of Hor-khang (from Phod-mdo in Byang; see Part I: fn. 177).

The following brief overview of the abbatial succession of Rin-chen-sgang is restricted to the period until the end of the 15th century; it follows here mainly the description in *KC-I* and *KB*, the latter composed by the (XVIth) Rin-chen-sgang throne-holder *spyan snga* Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1402–1470 A.D.), one of the leading representatives of the rGya-ma-pa in the 15th century. As most of his predecessors in Rin-chen-sgang he was of the dGyer, the dominant lineage of the religious and secular house of rGya-ma-pa. The name is also known as the lineage name behind other ruling houses (such as those of Rin-spungs-pa, sKu-rab-pa or sNe'u *rdzong*) and much earlier it appears in the sources as the lineage closely connected with the Srong-btsan sgam-po temple of Khra-'brug in Yar-lung, from where a branch of the inner (*nang*) dGyer immigrated to the sKyid-chu Region in the 11th century. (See TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005). With their residence in rGya-ma (*alias* sNon, Yar-snon), the dGyer-pa occupied the area known as the birthplace of Srong-btsan-sgam-po, a connection of paricular symbolic significance which also formed part of the rGya-ma-pa tradition, its prestige and legacy.

rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang *gdan rabs*

I dGyer-sgom chen-po gZhon-nu grags-pa (1090–1171)
Father: '/dGyer Shes-rab-skyabs (from Yar-lung from where he immigrated to rGya-ma (*alias* [Yar] sNon; the village dGyer opposite Rin-chen-sgang arguably is related to this first dGyer settlement in rGya-ma)
Mother: g.Yang-mo Klu-lcam (from upper bTsun-mo-tshal, i.e. upper Byen-chen valley)
Clan: dGyer lHa-snang (also Bram-ze dGyer lHa-snang, a side-line of the dGyer of Yar-lung 'Phyong-rgyas)
Birthplace: Rog-sna/sne in lower sNon
Birth name : Khye'u-la-stag (*KC-III*: Khre-la-stag)
Age 12 he was ordained in the presence of Dharmaratna (*Chos kyi rin-chen)
Ordination name: gZhon-nu-grags
Foundation of the temple and monastery of Rin-chen-sgang (in sNon-phu) in 1119 A.D.[1]
Tenure: 50 years (until 1169; *KC-III*)[2]

II Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston (*alias* 'Gro-mgon Sangs-rgyas-dbon gZhon-nu 'byung-gnas) (1138–1210)
Father: *yon bdag* Bu-mo-stag (also [sGyer/dGyer] Bu-mo Kha-stag)[3]
Mother: Sha-mo-mdog (var. Sha-mo-rdog [= rNgog?])
Birth place: Mal-gro Ba-rab[4]
Age 17 he was ordained (with dBen-thang-pa as *mkhan po* and lTe'u *sgom* as *slob dpon*; in *KB*, the *mkhan po* is sKyid-shod *mkhan po* Nyang-bran)
Ordination name: gZhon-nu 'byung-gnas
Expansion of rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang (construction of the dBu-rtse, *khyams chen*, *mgon khang* etc., in 1182)
Foundation of sKam-dgon and bZang-mo *dgon*[5]
Consecration of the (new) Bya-sa temple and the Byang-chub chen-po in Gung-thang etc.[6]
Glang-thang was entrusted to him (*DN*)[7]
Tenure: 40 years (1169–1210 [*DN*: 42 years])

III Sangs-rgyas yon-tan (Bla-ma Sangs-yon) (1181–1242)
Father: *yon bdag* Ya-po (~Ya-so, i.e. the younger brother of no. **II**)
Erection the *glo 'bur nub ma* at Rin-chen-sgang
Tenure: 1211–1242

IV bDe-gshegs chen-po (b. *ca*. 1201; d. 1266)
Younger brother of no. **III**
Tenure: rl. 25 years (1242–[*me*] *stag* 1266)

V dGyer gZhon-nu-'bum (a.k.a. sKam-dgon-pa)
Father: sMon-lam seng-ge (= the brother of no. **II** and no. **IV**)
Tenure. 18 month (1266–1268)

VI Sangs-rgyas 'od-byung
Father: *dpon* Seng-ge-dpal (= the son of sMon-lam seng-ge)
Tenure: 24 years (1268 – *ca*. 1291)

VII Sangs-rgyas gZhon-'od (*ca*. 1268–1326/29)
Age 24 he came to the chair
Tenure: 40 years (*ca*. 1291–1329; d. age 60)

VIII Rin-po-che bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan (a.k.a. *chos rje* rGya-ma bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan)[8]
He was active in gSang-phu (where he functioned as (IXth) abbot of the Gling-smad college; Table 8.1) and

also in Glang-thang (in 'Phan-yul) before he came to the chair of Rin-chen-sgang age 43 (d. at 62)
Tenure: 19 years (= *ca*. 1329–1348)

IX *sPyan snga* Kun-bzang-pa
Father: [*Slob*] *dpon* Jo-'phel (= one of the sons of *dpon* 'Bum-skyabs; *KB*)
Tenure: 3 years (until *ca*. 1350/51? [*DN*: 1 year]; d. age 71)[9]

X *sPyan snga* gZhon-nu seng-ge
Tenure: 2 years (*ca*. –1351/52? [*DN*: 1 year])
(The following 6 years the chair remained vacant)[10]

XI *sPyan snga* bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan
Tenure: 25 years (*ca*. 1357–1382? [*DN*: 21 years]; d. age 73; born in a Khyi year = 1310 + 73 = 1382)

XII *sPyan snga* Sangs-yon-pa
Tenure: 7 years (*ca*. 1382–1388 [*DN*: 5 years])

XIII *sPyan snga* Sangs-rgyas Byang-chub-pa
Tenure: 23 years (*ca*. 1388–1410 [*DN*: 21 years]; d. age 56)

XIV *sPyan snga* Kun-blo-ba (Kun-dga' Blo-gros-ba)
Tenure: 11 years (*ca*. 1410–1420; d. age 59)[11]

XV Rin-po-che gZhon-'od (the second gZhon-'od) ([*lcags*) *rta* 1390–1454)
Tenure: 34 years (*ca*. 1420–1451/52)

XVI *sPyan snga* Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1402–1470)
Father: dGyer *dbon po* Chos-skyabs
Mother: Jo-mo Bla-ma-'bum
Tenure: 34 years (acc. to *GM*; *DN*: 24 years, *KC-1*: 18 month; thereafter he stayed in a retreat in rGya-ma)
Born in lHas (see fn. 5)
Elder brother was Nam-mkha' bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (abbot of sKam-dgon)
Age seven he was ordained in the presence of his uncle Kun-blo-ba (no. **XIV**)
Ordination name: Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po
(Study at sKyor-mo-lung with Chos-rgyal dPal bzang-po (the XIVth throne-holder of sKyor-mo-lung; Table 8.2), age 20 he came to rTse-thang, it was followed by sojourns in Mal-gro sPang-sa Se-ba-rong (where he met *rje btsun* 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtsho),[12] in 'Ol-kha rDzing-phyi and other sites before he came to sKam-dgon where he followed his brother as abbot for six years. Then he followed Rin-po-che gZhon-'od as *gdan sa ba* of Rin-chen-sgang)[13]

XVII *sPyan snga* Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (the second Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan)
Tenure: 3 years; *DN*: 2 years
born in a *sprul* year (*DN*) (= [*shing*] *sprul* 1425)
Age 27, in the year [*lcags*] *lug* 1451 he came to the throne of Rin-chen-sgang

XVIII *sPyan snga* Blo-gros 'jigs-med (b. *lcags spre'u* 1440)
Tenure: 40 years, i.e. 1454 "until today" (= *shing stag* 1494)[14]
1454, age 16, he came to the *gdan sa*

KC-1 concludes:
From the birth of dGyer-sgom chen-po (no. **I)** (= 1090 A.D.) until today (= 1494 A.D.) 405 years have past.

Notes to Table 10:

[1] For a description of the monastery and of its extension during the time of the 2nd *gdan sa ba*, see *KC-I* 253, 270. Approx. in the same period *bodhisattva* Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan (a.k.a. [sMad] Dum-bu-ri-ba) founded the religious seat of Dum-bu-ri in rGya-ma (see e.g. *Deb dmar* 64; today in ruins). For an ealier period (2nd half of the 11th cent.) the area is *inter alia* registered as place of activity of Rva *lo tsā ba*. For the rel. sites of rGya-ma, see also rDo-rje 2006.

[2] His chief disciples included his younger brother *sgom pa* Shes-rab-grags, his nephew and *thugs gyi sras* dBon-ston (= no. II) and a group of disciples called rBa Bya Zug *gsum* (i.e. *dge shes* rBa Yar-'brog-pa chen-po who founded a *dgon pa* in Yar-'brog), Bya who was active in Bya-yul and *dge bshes* Zug who founded the Ting-ma *dgon* in western lHo-brag). Further students: sDing-po-pa, sKyi-ston (see Part I: fn. 212), Kribs-zor *dge shes* (he founded the gNas *dgon pa* in Mal-gro), lHo-brag ston-pa, dMar-ston, Khams-ston, a.o. (cf. *KC-I* 258).

[3] He was a younger brother of dGyer-sgom chen-po and represents the first generation of the rGya-ma *dpon po*. Acc. to the details offered in *KB* and *KC-I*, the first 10 generations of the dGyer of rGya-ma (*dpon rabs* and *gdan rabs*) can be summarized as follows:

[Sigla: *a*), *b*), etc. = brother / sister; Δ = male; ○ = female; = (=) married to; names in **bold** refer to the *gdan rabs*]

Generation

I dGyer Shes rab-skyabs Δ = ○ g.Yang-mo klu-lcam
(from Yar-lung) (from upper bTsun-mo-tshal)

II *a*) **dGyer-sgom chen-po** Δ *b*) Δ *c*) *sgom pa* Shes-rab-grags Δ * *c*) ○

b) *yon bdag* Bu-mo-stag Δ = ○ Sha-mo-mdog

III *a*) **dBon-ston** Δ *b*) *yon bdag* Ya-po/so Δ = ○ *c*) sister ○

IV *a*) *Slob dpon* sTon-pa Δ *b*) **Bla-ma Sangs-yon** Δ *c*) sMon-lam seng-ge Δ = ○ *d*) **bDe-gshegs chen-po** Δ

V *a*) **sKam-dgon-pa gZhon-nu-'bum** Δ *b*) *dpon* Seng-ge-dpal Δ = ○

VI *a*) **Sangs-rgyas 'od-'byung** Δ *b*) *dpon po* 'Bum-skyabs Δ = ○

VII *a*) dGyer Śākya rgyal-mtshan Δ *b*) *dbon po* bSod-nams seng-ge Δ (plus 4 brothers and sisters, born in Mal-gro Ba-rab)
+ seven further brothers and sisters who were born in rGya-ma; among them dGyer Śākya bKra-shis and

[*Slob*] *dpon* Jo-'phel Δ = ○

VIII *a*) *Slob dpon* Rin-bsam-pa Δ = ○ *b*) *sPyan snga* Kun-rgyal-ba Δ *c*) ***sPyan snga*** **Kun-bzang-pa** Δ

IX *a*) *sPyan snga* Grags-rgyal-pa Δ *b*) *Chos rje* Yon-tan 'od-pa Δ *c*) Δ *d*) Δ *e*) Δ ***sPyan snga*** **Kun-dga Blo-gros-ba**

c) *dpon po* Sangs-rgyas-dpal Δ = ○ *d*) *dpon po* Chos-skyabs Δ = ○ Bla-ma-'bum

X *a*) Rin-po-che dPal-ba Δ *b*) *dpon po* Kun-dga'-dpal Δ *a*) Nam-mkha' bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan Δ *b*) Δ

sPyan snga **Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan**

* The birth names of the three brothers: *a*) Khye'u-la stag; *b*) Bu-mo Kha-stag; *c*) Khye'u-la dar

[4] Ba-rab is located in eastern Mal-gro (see Part I: Map 1b). It is *inter alia* registered as one of the *bon po 'du gnas* of dBu-ru (see App. IV: fn. 60). From the sources it appears that aside from rGya-ma valley Ba-rab as well as lHas (see below fn. 5) formed two of the main settlements of the early rGya-ma dGyer-pa lineage.

[5] dBon-ston is also assoc. with the foundation of the Khri-khang mChod-khang in rGya-ma. The location of sKam-dgon (sKam-dgon bDe-ba-can) remains unknown, but probably in the closer environs of rGya-ma. bZang-mo *dgon* is elsewhere mentioned as the foundation of *rtogs ldan* bZang-mo-ba *alias* gZhon-nu seng-ge (1158–1234), a native of mChims-yul in Dvags-po (*KC-III*: Dvags-po brang lHa-sa; for his biography, see *KC-II* 280–89). He is classified as one of the [*slob ma*] *mo bzhi*, a designation of dBon-ston's four chief disciples who founded religious sites with the name element "mo":

1) bZang-mo (loc. in bSam-yas-phu; cf. *KC-III* 158)

2) Nags-mo (established by *Slob dpon* La-mo-ba in Byen, the latter an ancient toponym known from the *Dunhuang Annals* (i.e.Mal-tro brDzen-tang) which refers to Byen/Byan-chen and -chung, the two valleys due south of rGya-ma (Part I: Map 1b; Hazod, *forthcoming b*). At the entrance to Byen-chen the bTsun-mo-tshal monastery is located).

3) Zud-chu-mo (found. by Zud-chu-mo-ba; it is said to be located in lower 'Phan-yul)

4) Nag-mo (found. by Nag-mo Sangs-yon (loc. unknown) (cf. *KC-I* 277f.; *KC-III* 157f.). In addition *KC-I* offers a list of further students of dBon-ston, through whom and the monasteries they founded the rGya-ma-pa tradition was established in a greater territorial context. Apart from his nephews (*slob dpon* sTon-pa and his brothers; see fn. 3), this includes:

- dBu-ma-pa Nam-mkha' shes-rab (he founded a *dgon pa* in his own country, i.e. lHo-brag. He is evidently identical with the *mkhan po* U-ma-pa mentioned in *lHo brag grub chen rnam thar* (in Nor-bu tshe-ring 2004: 16) as teacher of [Shud-phu] Nam-mkha' rgyal-po, the latter himself listed as student of Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston; see the entry below)
- *dge bshes* Se-bo sgang-pa
- Seng-byung-ba (from gNyal)
- *dge bshes dPon* Dar-ma rdo-rje (from Mon-Bod-mtshams, i.e. Tibet-Bhutan border region; he is mentioned *inter alia* in connection with the bringing of timber from Nags-shod for the new constructions conducted in Rin-chen-sgang)
- mKhan-chen Padma Tshul-khrims (founder of the Gr[v]a *dgon*; it is evidently the Grva rNam-khang mentioned in *GM* as the birth place of *spyan snga* Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (= no. **XVI** of the present list). In *KC-II* 292.16 the birth place of the latter is given as lHas Grva-dgon gyi 'dab, which refers to a location of the monastery in lHas, south of dGa'-ldan. Cf. also Hor-khang (1999: 580) where it reads: lHas-lung *chos grva* Grva-dgon gyi zhol Grva rNam-khang. *VS* 155, 156 lists the lHas-bu *dgon* founded by the Sangs-rgyas dBon[-ston] disciple Sangs-rgyas rDo-rje-bstan-pa (= Sangs-rgyas Jo-bstan, see below), the lHas Glang-lung *dgon* (est. by *bshes gnyen* Glang-lung-pa [1123–1193]; BA Roerich 297–299) and lHas Brag-dgon registered as foundation of Sangs-rgyas dBon[-ston]. Probably the latter refers to the gZang-mo-ba residence. The abbots of Grva-dgon usually were members of the dGyer lineage of rGya-ma, as it was also the case at sKam-dgon).
- sTon-pa [m]Tshe-ma (from Zhogs in lower 'Phan-yul)
- bZang-po dgon-pa (in 'Phan-yul Grab)
- Bya-yul Zem-ston
- Logs-dgon-pa (from Nyang-stod)
- sTon Nyi (he was in charge of Glang-thang, fn. 7)
- Bla-ma Bal-bu gong-pa
- sGom-tshul (= dGyer-sgom Tshul-khrims seng-ge? see fn. 6)
- mKhan-chen Nam-mkha' rgyal-po (from eastern lHo-brag; confirmed by the *lHo brag grub chen rnam thar* (*op. cit.*), a lineage account of the imperial Shud-phu clan, where the Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston disciple Shud-phu Nam-mkha' rgyal-po is registered (listed as XIXth generation after Shud-phu dPal gyi seng-ge, the *chos blon* of Khri Srong-lde-btsan). According to the same account, the religious bond with rGya-ma (and rGya-ma Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston, respectively) started with Shud-phu Nam-mkha' seng-ge (two generations before Nam-mkha' rgyal-po). Ordained in the presence of dGra-bcom-pa sBal-ti Jo-sras (see Table 8. 2) he later came to rGya-ma (cf. Nor-bu Tshe-ring 2004: 14f.). The Shud-phu (often mentioned in tandem with the sNyi-ba lineage) counts among the leading clans in this part of the lHo-kha region, with lTam-shul as its power base (it formed one of the *rje'i dpon tshan* principalities of the *kheng log* period; see Part I: fn. 15). The monastery of s/'Gro-ba (~ sBro-ba) in Ban-pa (~Ben-pa) in lHo-brag founded by the Shud-phu descendant *dge bshes gnyen chen po* Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan (*fl.* 11th/12th cent., identical with Dum-bu-ri-ba? fn. 1) was a main site for the religious activities of the Shud-phu where also Nam-mkha' rgyal-po was active (other religious sites in lHo-brag mentioned in connection with Shud-phu members of the 12th cent. include Ban-pa Thig-phyi, bZang-yul, a.o.; sGro-ba *dgon* later became the chief residence of the Tsong-kha-pa disciple Shud-phu Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan; 1326–1402 A.D.). In one sources (*Shangs pa bka' brgyud* 302.12) the strange clan name (*gdung rus*) Shud dgye is registered (= Shud[-phu] dGye[r]?); the entry is here related to the place Khong-lam rTsva-thang in Shangs of gTsang. The same site is known as the birth place of Khro-phu-ba Byams-pa-dpal (b. 1173) of Shud-phu, perhaps an indication to an early branch settlement of the Shud-phu in this area).
- Bang-rim-pa (he is probably identical with Sangs-rgyas dBon-gzhon (1171–1264) of the dGyer lineage, founder of the Bang-rim chos-sde in Dvags-po; Fig. 43, 44 below. *KC-III* 157 strangely mentions a Dags-po Bang-rim-pa in

connection with the ordination ceremony of dBon-ston. The monastery is situated on the left (= northern shore) of gTsang-po, in an area called dGyer-smad, lower or eastern dGyer (land), arguably named after the dGyer branch lineage which setttled down here in the early 12th cent. (cf. *dGa' ldan chos 'byung* 75bf.). Opposite Bang-rim, south of gTsang-po the sKu-rab and La-thog valleys are located whose prominent lineage was dGyer, in the case of La-thog (La-thog Zur-mkhar) called the White [d]Gyer (Gyer-dkar), known as the lineage of the (new) Zur-lugs founder mNyam-nyid rDo-rje, 1439–75 A.D. However, this lineage presence may also go back to an earlier section of the dGyer clan history).

In *KC-II* 189 there is mention of a number of further founding figures of the early rGya-ma-pa who are listed as disciples of bZang-mo-pa. It includes:

- lHa dGe-'dun sgang-pa (he is known as one of the chief disciples of Se sPyil-bu-pa Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan (1121–1189) of the Yar-lung Jo-bo *brgyud*. The latter founded the Se sPyil-bu *dgon* in Klung-shod following his studies with Bya 'Chad-kha-ba (1101–1175) in 'Chad-kha of eastern Mal-gro. dGe-'dun sgang-pa founded in Rag-sha-sgur the dGe-'dun-sgang monastery (for its location in sKyid-shod, see *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 118).
- lHa 'Phrang-po-ba (he founded a monastery in sGrags called Ri-zangs-rdog gi dgon-pa)
- Gad dmar-ba (in Ba-lam)
- E-pa sGom-rim
- lHa-sas Khang-pa (he founded the Zong *dgon* in lower 'Phan-yul)
- Sangs-rgyas Jo-stan (foundation of lHas-phu dgon-gsar; it is the lHas-bu *dgon* registerd in *VS*, see above)

It should be noted that several of these branch institutions were located in areas which are also mentioned as part of the Tshal-pa territory (or as Tshal-pa *mi sde*, respectively), such as Zhogs, E, gNyal, sGrags, a.o. (see also App. III).

[6] On the ancient Bya-sa lha-khang which was rebuilt and expanded under the Bya-sa ruler Jo-bo lHa-chen-po, see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 262f., 316. dBon-ston is also mentioned in connection with the consecration of (one [?] of) the three large *sa 'bum-pa* (earthern *stūpa*) situated next to the mChod-khang of rGya-ma Khri-khang. They are otherwise described as the reliquary *stūpa* of dGyer-sgom chen-po, dBon-ston-pa (and) Khu-dbon (i.e. the latter's nephew[s]?; *dBus gtsang gnas yig* 377). In Gyurme Dorje 1998: 219 it says that the consecration of the *stūpa* (or one of them?) was conducted by dGyer-sgom Tshul-khrims seng-ge (1144–1210), the founder of the Shug-gseb bKa'-brgyud center in sNye/sNyi-phu of sKyid-smad. He was of the same clan as the rGya-ma-pa (the dGyer Be-gu branch of Yar-lung which had close ties to Khra-'brug, see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 25) and his presence in rGya-ma would suggests here the background of a closer clan historical context.

[7] BA Roerich 271. The bKa'-gdams-pa seat in central 'Phan-yul was founded by the Po-to-ba disciple Glang-thang-pa rDo-rje seng-ge (1054–1123) in 1093 A.D. It is said to have once housed 2000 monks. Cf. Roesler and Roesler 2004: 30f. It was captured by the 'Bri-gung army in the 1350's, the time of the 'Bri-gung – Phag-gru war where also the rGya-ma pa were strongly involved. Cf. *Rlangs* 295f.; Czaja 2006. On the presence of the rGya-ma-pa in 'Phan-yul (in Glang-thang and the estate of mKhar-rtse) in the Phag-mo gru-pa period, see also Jackson 2007.

[8] Age 11, he was ordained in the presence of no. **VII** and dGyer Śākya bKra-shis, the latter one of the sons of *dpon* 'Bum-skyabs, himself the younger brother of no. **VII** (see fn. 3). Śākya bKra-shis was abbot at Grva-dgon [of lHas]. His elder brother (= the eldest son of *dpon* 'Bum-skyabs) was dGyer Śākya rgyal-mtshan who is reported to have been ordained in the presence of (the bZang-mo-ba disciple) lHa dGe-'dun-sgang-pa (age 11). Age 18 he came to the seat of sKam-dgon. Cf. *KB* 501.6–7.

[9] *KB* mentions that he was abbot at Gye-re *dgon* (in sKyid-smad; Table 7) before he came to the chair of Rin-chen-sgang. His elder brother sPyan-snga Kun-rgyal-ba (fn. 3) was abbot at sKam-dgon (*KB* 503.6f.)

[10] In *Rlangs*, a gZhon-nu seng-ge is registered as rGya-ma *khri dpon* who was killed by one gZhon-nu rgyal mtshan in around 1351/52 (*Rlangs* 204, 347; Czaja 2006, Chap. 4). The successor *khri dpon* dKon-mchog-'bum (not listed in the *dpon rabs* of fn. 3) is mentioned in Ta'i Si-tu's *bka' chems* (*Rlangs* 286.21f.) to have handed over the *stag mgo* (i.e. *khri skor* seal) to the Sa-skya *dpon chen* rGyal-ba bzang-po (*ca*. 1356). For details, see Czaja, *op. cit*.

[11] Uncle of (and teacher to) no. **XVI**. *KB*: he served as abbot at Grva-dgon; in rGya-ma he errected a *rgya phibs* for the rGya-ma'i gtsug-lag-khang (i.e. Rin-chen-sgang).

[12] sPang-sa Se-ba-rong refers to the sPang-sa monastery known as the residence of the Tsong-kha-pa disciple *rtogs ldan* 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtsho. It belongs to present-day bKra-shis-sgang *xiang* of Mal-gro county. Cf. *lHa sa'i dgon tho* 174. It is the sPang-za in *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 37b; geograph. position: 29°46'N91°57'E .

[13] For his biography, see *rGya ma rnam thar* (= *rNam thar Dad pa'i sgo 'byed*, in Vol. II of his Coll. Works, 371.1–375); *KC-I* 292–96; see also Hor-khang 1999: 580–82.

[14] He still held office in 1405; cf. *DL2* 366, 374 about the 2nd Dalai Lama's visit of rGya-ma in 1499 and 1504.



***40**. The ruined complex of the monastic seat of rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang* (2007)



***41a, b**. dGyer-sgom chen-po (left) and his nephew Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston*
Courtesy Serindia Publ. and Oliver Hoare



***42**. rGya-ma Khri-khang*
Photo: H. Richardson



***43.** Bang-rim chos-sde. The monastery founded by Sangs-rgyas dBon-gzhon is situated in dGyer-smad of Dvags-po* (2005)



***44.** Sangs-rgyas dBon-gzhon alias Bang-rim dGyer-sgom-pa*
Modern statue kept in Bang-rim chos-sde

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***45a–c**. Glang-thang dgon in central 'Phan-yul represented one of the major outposts of the rGya-ma-pa*

45a, b: Photo Google Earth 2006; 45c: Photo H. Richardson



46. *lHa-mo Zangs-lham-ma ("Goddess with the Copper-boots"), the protectress of the rGya-ma-pa*
Detail of a mural in the rGya-ma Khri-khang monastery (2007)

V.11 The Abbatial Succession of the Monastic Main Seats: ’Bri-gung and sTag-lung [Ya-thang and Ma-thang]

The following annotated tables offer a brief overview of the abbatial succession or throne-holders (*mkhan rabs*, *gdan rabs*, *bla rabs*) of two major and influential Central Tibetan monastic seats. For matter of convenience, we have decided to offer the abbatial succession of the immensely influential ’Bri-gung mother seat and the equally significant and affluent sTag-lung mother seat, each ruled by two powerful family lineages – the sKyu-ra and the Ga-zi respectively. Either seat played a significant role, regionally as much as supraregionally in the religious as well as in the political field down through history. Their seats remained important melting-pots of bKa’-brgyud-pa teachings with considerable spiritual cross-pollination, not least at ’Bri-gung. Although located along the periphery of Central Tibet (dBus), their polities were major centers of power and influence. Less in the case of ’Bri-gung, far more in the case of the sTag-lung seat, due to their relatively isolated location to the north of lHa-sa, the seats gradually rose to become materially rich, propped by a stable number of patrons and linked up in the latter case with its strong branch seat in Khams (Ri-bo-che). Their abbatial successions in both cases followed a conventional uncle-nephew rule (occasionally or irregularly replaced by a hereditary-like father-son succession) where the consecutive brother lines regularly served as *dānapati* to the throne. It was in the 16th century only that both family- or clan-based seats gradually shifted to the prevalent incarnate system (*sku ’phreng*) on the seat, having in this case taken as model – although already practiced by the Karma-pa – the politically influential ’Bras-spungs *chos rje* throne, subsequently known as the Dalai Lama seat.

The data offered here for the numerous throne-holders, especially the more recent throne-holders and the length of their tenancy are not always reliable, requiring further collation and minute inquiries. The information given must therefore be taken *cum grano salis*, to be adjusted in a number of cases. The reason for this is not only the contradictory information that are occasionally found within the primary sources themselves, but also the complex political and hegemonic circumstances and the vicissitude that reigned at the major seats with increasing political interference in local affairs leading to irregular and shift replacements – confusing even informed historians. Moreover, the information presented in this survey and the often detailed annotations attached are mostly selective and arbitrary, leaving out other important details. It certainly remains a desideratum and an exciting research task for any dedicated and intrepid scholar to provide the readership with a full-fledged study of these powerful seats, delineating their rich and compelling political, religious, scholastic and artistic history.

V.11.1 The Abbatial Succession of ’Bri-gung dgon-pa

Based upon Primary Sources:

Deb ther sngon po (*DN*; BA Roerich 596–601); *Deb ther dmar po* (*DM*); *rGya bod chos ’byung;* (*GB*); *rGya bod yig tshang* (*GY*); *Bod kyi deb ther* (*BD*); *’Bri gung chos ’byung* (*BCh*); *Kun spangs rnam thar (KP) ’Bri gung gdan rabs I –IV* (*BG I–IV*); *’Bri gung lo rgyus (BL); Gu bkra chos ’byung* (*GK*); *’Bri gung khu dbon rnam thar* (*KB*); *Deb dmar gsar* (*DMS*); *Kun dga’ rin chen rnam thar* (*KR*); *bKa’ gdams chos ’byung I–IV* (*KD I –IV*); *dGa’ ldan chos ’byung* (*GD*); *lHo rong chos ’byung* (*HR*); *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* (*RP*); *Vaiḍūrya ser po* (*VS*); *Mar lung rnam thar* (*ML*); *Phun tshog bkra shis rnam thar I–II* (*PTs–I –II*); *bKa’ brgyud chos ’byung I–II* (*KG I–II*); *mKhas pa’i dga’ ston* (*KT*); *’Brug pa’i chos ’byung* (*BCh*); *Rlangs kyi Po ti bse ru* (*Rlangs*); *Mig ’byed ’od stong* (*MB*); *Si tu bka’ chems* (*ST*); *Bla sprul deb gzhung* (*BP*); *lCags stag zhib gzhung* (*CT*); *’Bri gung chos mdzod* (*BGCh*); *JCh*

Secondary Sources:

Ming mdzod (*MD*); *Mi sna* (*MN*); *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* (*DK*); TPS Tucci; *lHa sa’i dgon tho* (*HS*); *HSLG*; *’Bri gung thel dgon rags bsdus* (*RD*); *’Bri mthil lo rgyus* (*BTh*; = dKon-mchog ’phel-rgyal 1987)

’Bri-gung-mthil ’Og-min Byang-chub-gling (located in Mal-gro gung-dkar *rdzong*; formerly Upper dBu-ru (i.e. dBur-stod gZho-rong *phu*) district, present-day assigned to Reb-mdo-sgang county (*xiang*), at 30°06'N 92°12'E)[1] is a major polity-based religious seat that exerted political influence over the centuries. Its establishment in 1179/1180 by sKyob-pa ’Jig-rten mgon-po, who stemmed from the founding clan of sKyu-ra (orig. Kyu-ra, in full: ’Gru-rgyal [s]Kyu-ra original of the lDan-ma district of Khams), represented one of the eight minor schools ramifying from the Dvags-po bKa’-brgyud movement. The name of the site ’Bri or ’Bri-lung, aside from being a local name of the side valley in which the temple was located may stem from the clan name of the old imperial minister ’Bri Se-ru gung-ston.[2] The changing fortunes of the major seat down through history was to be determined by this powerful family lineage with its abbatial succession being held by a traditional uncle-nephew line that was supported in the secular field by a sKyu-ra administrator (*sgom pa*, usually the nephew of the throne-holder, set up from the mid-13th century partly in mimicry of the contemporary Sa-skya *dpon chen* position). The throne-holder addressed themselves *chos rgyal* or “Dharma rulers.” The seat followed a traditional *khu dbon* (*dbon brgyud*) or uncle-nephew lineage – emblematic of Tibetan monastic rule – that occasionally alternated – on account of internal family wrangling – with attempts at introducing a hereditary father-son or successive brother-line succession on the see. The seat finally adopted the increasingly popular incarnate lineage system, initially headed by the brother hierarch lineages known as Che-tshang and Chung-tshang *rin po che*. In most recent time up to 1959, with the increasing prestige invested in these incarnate lines, a number of additional *bla brang* or “monk’s residences” and at least eight incarnate lineages were listed to be associated with ’Bri-gung.[3]

The following throne-holders were *gdan sa ba* of the see at the Theg-chen *chos khri* throne of Byang-chub-gling. ’Bri-gung sources usually count 39 throne-holders (40 if including the founder himself). The sources however occasionally are at considerable variance what concerns their succession, their personal dates and the length of the tenureship of the disinct throne-holders.[4] Our knowledge of ’Bri-gung and its long and eventful history into most recent times is well documented and our depiction indeed has been greatly improved by a number of readable articles and books that have been written concerning the ’Bri-gung-pa, their monastic mother seat, its numerous branch establishments as well as their rich spiritual and cultural lore.[5] Our knowledge of the ’Bri-gung art-history (the *’bri lugs* style, etc.),[6] including its rich sculptural and religious inventories formerly kept in their monasteries and our knowledge of its ritual and cultic history are still in its infancy. Its remains a desideratum for future research to document these still existing legacies.

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[1] According to the recent political administrative reorganization of the territories (*srid ’dzin gyi sa khongs*) of Tibet, it is now part of Mal-gro *rdzong*.

’Bri-gung-mthil *gdan rabs*
(’Og-min Byang-chub-gling)

[I] s**Kyob-pa *rin po che* ’Jig-rten mgon-po** *alias* Rin-chen-dpal (var. Ratnaśrī) – initially rDo-rje-dpal (1143–1217 A.D.)

Father: sNa-nam-pa Jo-bo-dpal of the sKyu-ra clan.[7] Mother: ’Bri[n]-bza´ Dar-’jam.

Tenure: 1179/80–1214/1217

Born in mDo-smad rTsa-ra-stod. ’Jig-rten mgon-po became a prominent pupil of Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po. Fully ordained in 1177 in ’On (with [Bla-ma] Zhang [g]Sum-thog-pa (the founder of Se-gseb in ’On; Part 1: fn. 813) as *mkhan po*, ’On rTsi-lung-pa as *las kyi slob dpon* and gNyal-ba ’Dul-’dzin as *gsang ston*). For three years he safeguarded the seat of his teacher Phag-mo-gru-pa. Age 37, in 1179–1180, he founded the ’Bri-gung-thel/mthil [Se-ba] Byang-chub-gling of gZho-stod of Mal-gro (raised upon a hermitage est. shortly before by *rtogs ldan* Mi-nyag sgom-rin – other sources therefore maintain that the latter was the actual founder of the site).[8] Its establishment was a proto-typical foundation story, allegedly involving the participation of the local telluric deity Mal-gro gZi-can.[9] He mediated successfully over many years in a local conflict in the area of Ngam-shod (*BG-III* 82), winning many followers. He carried out renovation at bSam-yas 1192–93.

At the close of his life, he had a large gathering of disciples.[10] Numerous statues and relics of him or related to him had been manufactured.[11] His tenancy is sometimes included, sometimes excluded from the proper abbatial succession.

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[2] The area constituted the estate land of this minister. For ’Bri Se-ru, see TBH Sørensen 181, 228, 234, 304,. Cf. the readable *RD* 9–10. See also *bShad mdzod* for the ’Bri clan behind the site.

[3] *BCh* 720–21 lists the most important incarnation lineage (or Rin-po-che) associated with ’Bri-gung: mGar-chen (the present is the 7th mGar-chen Rin-po-che, b. 1936), sGrub-brgyud, lHo-chen, Ba-log, Zhog-pa, brGyad-ra, ’Brong-sprul, rGyal-sras, Chos-mdzad, War-thang, Rang-grol, g.Yu-sgra, Dzam-dlar, Ban-grong and dPa’-chung rin-po-che.

[4] See also Sato 1962/63. dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho in his detailed *BCh* numbers the throne-holders differently (the present being the 40th throne-holder).

[5] See e.g. *BL passim*; dKon-mchog ’phel-rgyal 1987; ’Phrin-las rgyal-mtshan 1988; and in particular the many recent and valuable publications and surveys written by Ra-se dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho 1999, 2003 and 2004. A large part of original documents and still non-extant texts related to ’Bri-gung are surmised to be still locked up in ’Bras-spungs.

[6] The *’Bri lugs* (*’bri bris*) painting tradition is little studied. Cf. Jackson 1998: 338, 364; Jackson 2002; Luczanits 2003, 2006; Stoddard 2003. It rose to prominence not least in the 18th cent. The famous ’Bri-gung *lha bris mkhas pa* Ga-ldig, dBu-chung dbang-rgyal, e.g. executed a large number of *thangka*. His style is reported to have been a hybrid style that mixed prevailing *mKhyen bris* and *sGar bris* styles. Cf. also *BCh* 543–44, 561. For ’Bri-gung documentation, see also Binczik and Fischer 2002.

[7] *BCh* 415: rDo-rje. *HR* 403f. says that the founder’s (fore)father stemmed from the ancestral Kyu-ra sTag-se gNam-ru (of the ancestral ’Bru clan) and his spouse Zhang sNa-nam-pa-bza’ Chos kyi sgrol-ma. In Ra-se dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho 2003b: 48–49, it is said that the latter was daughter of Jo-bo-dpal (another earlier Jo-bo-dpal born *ca*. 1020 in gZho-smad of dBur-stod). The founder appears to have sNa-nam-pa roots similar to Bla-ma Zhang. After two generations, the founder is said to have emerged in this line. For another pedigree of sKyob-pa *rin po che*, see *Kun spangs rnam thar* 3a2f.

[8] *ST* 4–5; *HR* 340; *KB* 6.2; *BCh* 298; *Rlangs* 205. The original patrons for the ’Bri-gung settlement (aside from the gNyos / lHa-pa clan controlled areas; cf. Table 7 above) stemmed from the sparsely populated Byang Nam-ra, Nag[s]-shod, rGya-mtsho bar-pa and Zhang-drung area. In the founder’s *bKa’ ’bum*, we occasionally find references to these important benefactors and patrons. For a readable survey of the *vihāra* and its numerous buildings, see dKon-mchog ’phel-rgyas 1987: 33f. The founder was also known in early texts as sKyur [= sKyu-ra]-sgom; *ML* 79a1.

[9] As a major cultic figure in Tibet, the erection of bSam-yas similarly had involved the active participation and the ensuing sanctioning of Mal-gro gZi-can, considered the *chu bdag* of Tibet *par excellence*. In the gSer-khang at ’Bri-gung, the guardian of which incidentally is Mal-gro gZi-can, a *bzhugs khri* and a set of bowls are still kept, allegedly being donated by this figure to the founder as a token of approval.

[10] The extensive disciple-list is recorded in numerous sources: Among the most prominent count gNyos lHa-nang-pa and mGar dam-pa Chos-sdings-pa (1180–1240). For a survey of the biographical materials related to the founder of which most are non-extant, see *BCh* 304–05, 311f. The successful teaching tradition disseminating from mGar Chos-sdings-pa (even up to the present day) through the latter’s discipleship in many areas of Eastern Tibet contributed to the fast spread of ’Bri-gung lore there.

[11] Among the numerous statuary representations of him mention should be made: mGar Chos-sdings-pa erected (or rather

I mKhan-chen Gu-ra-ba Tshul-khrims rdo-rje (1154–1220/1222 A.D.)[12]

Father: Sum-pa rDo-rje-dpal. Mother: Se'u Gangs-dkar-mo.

Tenure: 1217–1220

Received his full ordination at Thag-ma lha-khang in sTod-lung.[13] He est. the Gu-ra seat in dBu-stod (in Klung-shod), became its first abbot for many years and in 1199 for the first time met 'Jig-rten mgon-po, for whom he for many years functioned as substitute *mkhan po*. It appears that he initially served for three years as (unofficial) throne-holder upon the demise of the founder, it was planned that either the founder's nephew *dbon* bSod-nams grags-pa or Shes-rab 'byung-gnas (1187–1241 A.D.; also known as 'Bri-gung gling-pa, a *s/gnag dbon* or maternal relative to the founder [i.e. mother-brother [= founder]-son]) took over the see, but since the former was bound by a retreat-oath of remaining in silence (*sgra bcad*) – emblematic of 'Bri-gung asceticism – for further four years and the latter also refused, Gu-ra-ba (again?) served as intermediate throne-holder. Since unrelated to 'Jig-rten mgon-po and to the sKyu-ra clan in official 'Bri-gung sources, he should normally not be counted as official throne-holder. Among his pupils count e.g. Zhig-po Rin-chen shes-rab (1171–1245) – the latter's elder brother being Rog Shes-rab-'od; further Chos-rje sGang-pa (1165–1249), *grub chen* Bar-'brog-pa, rGya-ba *thams cad mkhyen pa*, bSam-gling-pa (1189–1260), the latter in particular was to disseminate 'Bri-gung lore in lHo-brag and lHo Mon.

II dBon-ston bSod-nams grags-pa (1187–1234/35 A.D.)

Nephew of 'Jig-rten mgon-po. Father: A-nye A-grags of sGa-yul.[14]

Tenure: 1220/21–1234

Age eleven, he came to 'Bri-gung. He remained in retreat during lengthy spells. Age 35, he ascended the throne. He erected a sGo-mangs *caitya* in 1224. Previous throne-holder at the see of Phag-mo-gru-pa. During his and the next throne-holder's tenancy, the compilation of the writings of the founder sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten mgon-po was initiated. During his tenure, of the throne-holder's nephew line, *sgom pa* rDo-rje seng-ge served as administrator, evidently the first *sgom pa*.

Among bSod-nams grags-pa's pupils counts one Bla-ma bTsang-'phrang-ba of Sum-pa.

III *sPyan snga rin po che* Grags-pa 'byung-gnas (1175–1255 A.D.)

Father: Rlangs lHa-gzigs Yon-sgom/Yon-tan rGyal-skyabs. Mother: 'Bro-bza' Khyi-gu-lcam (var. Khu-byug-sman).[15]

Tenure: 1234/35–1255

Ordained in 'On in the presence of Zhang Sum-thog-pa and lHa 'Bri-sgang-pa. Age 18 (some sources say in 1189, others, 1192), he met 'Jig-rten mgon-po, remaining at his feet for another 18 years. Took over the see of Phag-gru at the age of 40 (arriving there 1208, but throne-holder from 1214 which he held until 1234) whereafter he ascended

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commissioned the manufacture of) a number of status (*sku 'dra*) of *chos rje* sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten mgon-po, known as Hor *sku* (Hor *sku Tshems rjes ma*; executed by Chinese artists (*rgya lha bzo*) but patronized by the Mongols; manuf. *ca.* 1230), at least one of these is kept in the gSer-khang (formerly being the gZims-khang of 'Jig-rten mgon-po) of 'Bri-gung-mthil. He also had a 12th-cent. man-sized statue of the founder called *Chos rje bla ma* manufactured known as "My likeness" (Nga-'dra-ma), kept in the same gSer-khang (installed above a seat known as the "little maroon throne" (*bzhugs khri smug chung*). Hence known as gSer khang *chos rje* (which during the Gling-log of 1290 had been temporarily kept at Bye-gshongs), an icon known to have spoken "seven times;" it was regarded as the main statue of the gSer-khang. Visited by mDo mkhyen-brtse Ye-shes rdo-rje (1800–59) in 1809.

In the gSer-khang too an early 13th-cent. statue of the founder known as sKyob-pa 'Dre-'dul-ma or the "Demon-Tamer" was installed, erected by the patron Drug-tsha and allegedly consecrated by 'Jig-rten mgon-po personally. Similarly, a 14th-cent. statue of the founder is kept as principal statue in Ka-tshal dgon-pa. Ti-shri ras-pa erected a cubit-high statue of the founder *MB* 29a2.

The three-storied ossuary of the founder, a Byang-chub *caitya* (incl. many precious and personal relics, such as a "touch relic" stone with his foot-print, etc.) is today installed in the 'Dzam-gling-rgyan *gtsug lag khang*. Here is also found the statue of him known as *rGya nag ma*. In addition, in his meditation hermitage, a number of statues and foot-prints of the founder are kept. Cf. *BG-III* 91, *BTh* 63–64, 67–70. For the destruction of some statues of the founder during the Cultural Revolution, see *BL* 340f. dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho provides a convenient list of statues and images, see *BCh* 305–06.

[12] *PTs-II* 602 has 1154–1220; TPS has 1174–1221, clearly a printing mistake.

[13] For this important 'Bri-gung affiliated seat in sTod-lung, see App. II above. Gu-ra-ba was considered a manifestation of Ratnasambhava as prophesied by 'Jig-rten mgon-po.

[14] He was son of dKon-mchog rin-chen, a brother to the father of sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten mgon-po.

[15] The father had two consorts: 'Bro-ldog-bza' Khu-byug-sman and De-gu-ma with whom he begot three sons: *spyan snga* (the 3rd throne-holder), Sangs-rgyas-skyabs, and Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan. See *MD* 29b4–31a4.

the 'Bri-gung throne in 1234.[16] During his tenure, the Mongols arrived in Central Tibet, destroyed and ransacked the main temple of 'Bri-gung (1240 and again 1251). During the first Mongol incursion, the powerful secular ruler or administrator at 'Bri-gung was captured and subsequently released – evidently the second? *sgom pa* of its kind, arguably being identified with *sgom pa* Śākya rin-chen.[16a] The 'Bri-gung monk community during his tenure amounted to 18.000. Upon his passing, during cremation, a self-originated statue of Avalokita emerged from among his ribs.[17] His *nang rten* of Munendra, made from old *Bod li ma* alloy is today kept at 'Bri-gung. In the 'Dzam-gling-rgyan *gtsug lag khang* at 'Bri-gung, the stone-made ossuary of the throne-holder is installed (*BTh* 67, 69). His writings allegedly included a brief biography of Tilopā, and e.g. a refusal of Sa-paṇ's *sDom gsum rab dbye*.

His pupils included *Rin po che* Grags-pa bsod-pa, sGo-mang-pa, rGyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa, *spyan snga* 'Dzam-gling mgon-po, sNye-mdo-ba *thams cad mkhyen pa* bSam-gtan-dpal (1216–77), A-khu ston-pa; Phag-gru rGyal-ba *rin po che* and *spyan snga* Dar-ma tshul-khrims. A still non extant biography was executed by *dge slong* Dar-ma rgyal-po (of the gNyos clan, 1249–81) entitled *spyan snga Grags pa 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar rin po che 'bar ba*.

IV *sPyan snga gCung rin po che* rDo-rje grags-pa (alt. Grags-pa rin-chen) (1210/11–1279/1280)

Nephew of 'Jig-rten mgon-po. Father: A-nye A-grags of sGa-yul.[18]

Tenure: 1255–1278

He was considered an embodiment of Lo Ras-pa. In 1230, he went into retreat for 13 years at rTa-ra Yon-tan steng-kha mTsher/mTshe'u-kha, keeping an oath of non-communication. In 1234, he was expected to assume the seat after his brother, the 3rd throne-holder, but bound by a retreat-oath, the take-over was postponed. Due to his magical feats, he was considered a manifestation of Tilopā. Age 46, he ascended the throne. Made extensive refurbishments at 'Bri-gung main seat and est. many buildings. He ruled at one point over large territories of Byar, Dvags-po and Kong-po. Areas of 'Ol-kha, sNa-nam and sNa-dkar-rtse were held by 'Bri-gung. The secular administrator during his tenure was *sgom pa* Śākya rin-chen who also became the first 'Bri-gung *khri dpon*.[19]

Among the throne-holder's pupils count: 'Bag-chung,[20] Shangs-pa Tshul-khrims-dpal, *grub thob* Seng-ge-grags, and *grub chen* dBang-phyug dpal-ldan, Ri-pa nag-po, etc.

V Thog-kha-pa Rin-chen seng-ge (1226/7–1284/1285)

Father: *sgom pa* rDo-rje seng-ge (b. *ca*. 1205), brother of the previous throne-holder[21]

Tenure: 1278–1284

Age nine, he was ordained. He erected the Thog-kha gZims-khang. He too remained in retreat for many years. Recorded for having been national preceptor chaplain (*guoshi*) to Qubilai Qan. During his tenancy, the 'Bri-gung *khri skor* was established, the myriarchy ruling over large districts including Byar and Dvags districts.[22] The father rDo-rje seng-ge, until he passed away, evidently served as *sgom pa* or administrator during his sons' tenure, both the present and subsequent throne-holder.[22a]

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[16] For his important tenure and role at gDan-sa-mthil, see most recently Czaja 2006.

[16a] See App. II: 82–83. This *sgom pa* intervened in some dispute related to conflicts in Kha-ra. See Table 7 above.

[17] Cf. *HR* 365f.; *DL5 II* 280a5–6. Akin to gTsang-pa rgya-ras during cremation. The statue was kept at gSung-rab-gling of Dol at least until the 1670's.

[18] The father stemmed from sGa-yul. rDo-rje grags-pa was the last son of three. The other brothers were *dbon* bSod-nams-grags (= ? bSod-nams-dpal; later 'Bri-gung "Domestic Administrator" (*nang 'gags*) of 'Dan in Khams (cf. *HR* 444; *KP* 3a–b)) and rDo-rje seng-ge, the *sgom pa* and secular ruler and father of two successive 'Bri-gung throne-holders.

[19] *BG III* 123; *ST* 7–8f. ascribing the appropriation of these areas during the tenure of the 3rd throne-holder. The allotment and occupation of sNa-dkar-rtse *khri skor* by the 'Bri-gung may also be related to the former gNyos-controlled areas in mKha'-reg or Kha-rag and Yar-'brog. It was during his tenure that the sKyu-ra-based *sgom pa* position of civil administrators was properly established at 'Bri-gung, initially known as Nang-'gags-pa or the "Domestic Protectors." This title and position "Domestic Protectors or Guards" should continue for some years in Khams, see prev. note.

[20] Of the royal Yar-lung Jo-bo line of sPyil-bu-pa; cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 318.

[21] They had five children: The eldest was the presiding throne-holder, then followed bSod-nams rdo-rje, A-nu-rgyal, followed by the next throne-holder mTshams-bcad-pa and finally dKon-mchog-brtsegs-pa.

[22] The history of the 'Bri-gung connections with the southern territories in lHo-kha, esp. Byar, Lo-ro gNyal etc. from the 13th cent., still needs to be carefully examined, not least the relation to the Bya-ba *khri skor*; cf. e.g. *Khams gsum Chos kyi rgyal po rnam thar* 318.2–5 (in *Rva lung dkar brgyud gser phreng* Vol III; Palampur 1978); *Rlangs*, *passim*.

[22a] Sperling 1987a: 34 rightly mentions, by comparing and following different sources, that rDo-rje seng-ge in fact was the first administrator of 'Bri-gung, followed by Śākya rin-chen. It was the powerful nephew-lineage, in line with Tibetan customs,

VI *sPyan snga* mTshams-bcad-pa Grags-pa bsod-nams (1238–1286)

Younger brother to former throne-holder. Father: rDo-rje seng-ge, brother to the 4th throne-holder.
Tenure: 1284–1286
Disciple of the former throne-holder. After his demise, possibly a *sedis vacantia* for two years

VII Jo-snubs, *alias* Chos-sgo-ba rDo-rje ye-shes (alt. Ye-shes rdo-rje) (1223–1293)

Of the sNubs clan.
Tenure:1287–1290 or 1293
An ill-fated throne-holder. During his tenancy, the catastrophic destruction of 'Bri-gung (known as [Byang-chub-] *gling log*; of all major institutions there) took place (1290).[23] Most of the territories lost were appropriated by Sa-skya. This throne-holder – not belonging to the sKyu-ra clan – was an intermediate candidate, only chosen because the next throne-holder was too young in 1286. The *sgom pa* or civil administrator was rDo-rje-dpal.[24] The throne-holder finally passed away in Kong-po. Often excluded from the official list.

VIII bCu-gnyis-pa *rin po che* rDo-rje rin-chen rgyal-po (1278–1314/15/1340)

Father: rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan.[25]
Tenure: 1293/96–1314
Different data as to his occupation of the see, either 1293 or 1296. Through the mediation of Khang-gsar-pa *dishi* Grags-pa 'od-zer (rl. 1293–1303), the Mongol emperor granted the permission to restore 'Bri-gung-mthil. Probably a *sedis vacantia* for three/six years on the throne. Arriving from exile in Kong-po, he erected on mThe'u-kha-thang, the bDe-ldan *pho brang*. He erected anew a bKra-shis 'od-'bar silver ossuary as well as restored (1295) many formerly destroyed establishments, such as Thog-kha gSer-khang and the *bla g.yel chen mo* or the large assembly square. Many of the statues and reliquaries were re-gilded, such as the statue of the founder known as gSer-khang chos-rje, also relics kept in Bye-gshongs during the raid were brought back and reinstalled. During his tenure, *sgom pa* Ye-shes-dpal (reigned for 25 years) and rDo-rje-dpal – brothers by blood – served as successive administrators.[26] The four-storied bKra-shis sgo-mang *caitya* erected by this throne-holder is kept in the main-building at 'Bri-gung (*BTh* 66). In 1305, he went on a pilgrim tour.

IX Nyer-brgyad-pa *rin po che* rDo-rje rgyal-po (1284–1350/1351)

Younger brother of the former throne-holder. Father: rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan.
Tenure: 1314/1315–1350 or 1340–1350
Expanded and refurbished the see. He erected the bKra-shis-ljongs *gtsug lag khang* in 1333 and later (1339) at g.Ya'-ma-ri in gZhu-smad, he est. a mGon-khang and a *sgrub sde*. His father at some point served as secular ruler. The *sgom pa* Ye-shes-dpal and Kun-dga' rin-chen (later *khri dpon*; son of *sgom pa* rDo-rje-dpal) is registered as civil and military administrator who challenged the increasingly strong Phag-mo-gru-pa myriarchy.[26a] The throne-

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that appropriated the secular power behind the seat. rDo-rje seng-ge throughout the early 13th cent. no doubt was the redoubtable figure behind the rise of 'Bri-gung. He also entertained close bonds to the gNyos clan.

[23] Cf. *BG III* 123–24. The imperial retaliatory army consisting of contingents from China and mDo-khams were headed by four army chiefs: A-ye Śākya rgyal-mtshan, 'Gru-mthar-pa rgyal-mtshan, Go-'jo Bla-ma rgyal-mtshan, and Gling bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan. The full background behind the conflict with Sa-skya that led to the destruction of 'Bri-gung still needs to be written in greater details. See Petech 1990b: 30f.; *Zur chen rnam thar* 33b1–4.

[24] He had called in assistance from the sTod Hor or Upper Western Hor, i.e. the Čagatai ruler Tuγluγ Temür. Cf. *U rgyan pa'i rnam thar I* 160 (in this text to be dated to *ca.* 1289/90); Petech 1990b: 21–22, 30. En route rDo-rje-dpal passed away. The 'Bri-gung seat was subsequently destroyed.

[25] He (father to the 8th and 9th throne-holders) and his elder brothers bSod-nams rdo-rje and dKon-mchog brtsegs-pa were sons of one A-nu/bu-rgyal, a younger brother of Thog-kha-pa (himself son of the first *dpon sgom* rDo-rje seng-ge, who descended from the sKyu-ra line of 'Dan-stod, a brother-line of the founder) who in turn settled in 'Jon-ma of gZhu-smad (close to 'Bri-gung).

[26] They were formerly designated *nang 'gag pa*, the family hereditarily received an imperial *'ja' sa* and seal with tiger-botton and served as *sgom pa.* Also known as *sgom chen* and *sgom chung*, i.e. senior and junior *sgom pa*.

[26a] Up to the decisive 1350's, at the height of the Central Tibetan skirmishes, the 'Bri-gung *sgom chen* reportedly had been Rin-chen rdo-rje (d. 1350) and Kun-dga' rin-chen (1317–1352 A.D.) acted as *sgom chung*; cf. *Rlangs* 207–13, 227; *KP* 4a1–2.

holder invited Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa to 'Bri-gung where he delivered teachings (*GK* 219–20) and received the hermitage of Grog O-rgyan gyi dgon. Klong-chen renovated the neighbouring Zhva'i lha-khang (1349).

Until his tenure, the relations between 'Bri-gung and gDan-sa-mthil (of Phag-gru) had been close, yet due to the animosity between this *sgom pa* and *Ta'i Si tu* – the visit of Klong-chen to 'Bri-gung was conducive to deteriorate the relationship – the bonds were broken. The former's repute, however, should remain negative. He passed away at bKra-shis-ljongs. The *sgo mangs caitya* erected in his commemoration is installed at 'Bri-gung *(BTh* 66).

X Nyer-gnyis-pa ['Dzam-gling] Chos kyi rgyal-po (var. Dharmarāja) (1335–1407/[19])

Father: 'Bru-rgyal Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (y. brother of no. IX). Mother: dBur-pa-bza' Dar-'jam.[27]
Tenure: 1351–1395/1401

Considered a manifestation of the former throne-holder gCung *rin po che*. Ordained age eight, in the presence of the former throne-holder, received teachings from sNubs-ston gZhon-nu-dpal, and age nine, he became a novice. At 20, he received his full ordination in the presence of *'dul 'dzin* Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan and bDe-legs bzang-po, etc. At the outset of his tenure strong tension and warfare flared up between 'Bri-gung and Phag-gru.[28] At the beginning of the 1350's, he met *gter ston* Sangs-rgyas gling-pa. During his long tenure, bTsong-kha-pa visited 'Bri-gung (1373).[29] Among his and the succeeding throne-holder's pupils counted the Shangs-pa *bla ma*, *chos rje* La-phyi-ba Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1372–1437).[30] 1375, he commissioned the manufacturing of a gold-written bKa'-'gyur. In the mid-14th cent., during and in the aftermath of the dBus conflict between Sa-skya and Phag-mo-gru-pa, the junior and senior administrators (*sgom pa*, *khri dpon*) were Śākya bzang-po (1328–64)[31] and the latter's elder brother Kun-dga' rin-chen, followed by the former's son, *situ* Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan (*khri dpon*, rl. *ca*. 1364/1370–76), and followed in this seat by the latter's younger brother Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (d. 1376) and his [? half-]brother mGon-po rgyal-mtshan (ruler *ab* 1377). They invited the rNying-ma-pa master Grags-pa 'od-zer to 'Bri-gung where he delivered teachings (*GK* 230–31). At some later point, in around 1380, due to a strained relationship between the 'Bri-gung *khri dpon* and the Phag-gru, the latter's army attacked 'Phan-yul, but was turned back by a re-enforced 'Bri-gung army. The throne-holder's mediation in the conflict proved successful. In 1395, he stepped down. At the close of his life, the *sgom pa* who received the rank and honour as *rdzong byi/ji* (this title and rank along with that of *tre hos* already given to mGon-po rgyal-mtshan) was bSod-nams rin-chen (see below). The latter manufactured two sets of bKa'-'gyur and graciously sponsored other items. The throne-holder himself commissioned the manufacturing of statues and murals depicting Saṃvara Ekavīra (esp. a statue known as lHun-po). In 1400, the Ming

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[27] The line of Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan had settled in 'Jon-ma of Lower gZhu in Upper Central Tibet. He was younger brother of the throne-holders bCu-gnyis-pa and Nyer-brgyad-pa. The parents begot two sons: *Rin po che* Nyer-gnyis-pa and dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan (the latter father of the coming throne-holder).

[28] Cf. *ST* 125ff.; Petech 1990a: 110–12. The sKyor-mo-lung *chos sde* was destroyed during these fightings. The relationship turned to the better in the later part of his tenure between this throne-holder and the 3rd Phag-gru *sde srid* bSod-nams grags-pa (1359–1408). The meditation communities of both gDan-sa-mthil and 'Bri-gung established hermitages in La-phyi area (Huber 1997: 242–43; Ehrhard 2002c: 52; Everding and Dzongphugpa 2006: 70f.); the bonds deteriorated again in the mid-1450's.

[29] A statue donated by the 'Bri-gung throne-holder to bTsong-kha-pa on the occasion of their meeting is kept in the Byang-rtse gzims-khang of dGa'-ldan; cf. *Grva sa chen bzhi chags tshul* [B] 25; *GD* 8a2, 53a2–4. The dGe-lugs founder re-visited the site in 1401. Moviated by Chos-sgo-ba bKra-shis rin-chen, bTsong-kha-pa should compose a *stotra* lauding this throne-holder. He duly listed these 'Bri-gung masters among his teachers. Conversely, the throne-holder's nephew and successor on the 'Bri-gung see as well as Chos-sgo-ba 'Jam-dbyangs kha-che [*alias* bSod-nams-dpal; he wrote a biography of Phag-mo-gru-pa; see Bibliography: *Phag mo gru pa rnam thar II]* and Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan should become disciples of the dGe-lugs master. In fact, a one-storey-high gilded statue of Maitreya-nātha known as "dGa'-ldan rten-phud" donated to *spyan snga rin po che* is presently kept in the 'Du-khang at 'Bri-gung; *BTh* 65.

[30] *Tsong kha pa rnam thar* 116–17, 261; *VS* 178; *HR* 304–5; *Shangs pa bka' brgyud bla rabs* 480–86. Cf. also *Thang stong rnam thar I* 184. See below.

[31] He was hereditarily titled *mi dpon* and *ta'i situ*. He was a formidable lay ruler and was married to three consorts (*jo mo*): The senior wife of Mongol descent, *dpon mo* A-thas, then *dpon mo* Ga-zi-bza', and a *dpon mo* Mi-nyag-bza', called sTag-bstan-bza'. With the latter, he begot two sons and one daughter (later nun). The eldest son was *ta'i situ* Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan (1353–1401) who after Śākya bzang-po's demise became 'Bri-gung *khri dpon*, prob. 1364, in 1370 he received from the newly installed Ming emperor, the citation and rank of *ta'i situ*. 1377, Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, who remained celibate, decided to be fully ordained in the presence of g.Yag-sde Paṇ-chen. Cf. *BCh* 388–90; and esp. *KP* 4a2f. The biography of Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan written by Jo-sgom dpal-bzang, *Kun spangs rin po che ye shes rgyal mtshan kyi rnam thar Kun tu bzang po'i rol ba bstan pa'i rgyan* (= *KP*) is one

emperor conferred upon him the title *guoshi*. He left behind numerous writings (most of which are still non-extant). The sources are at variance as to when he passed away.

A biography of the throne-holder was written by *chos rje mtshungs med* sMan-sgom-pa chen-po 'Od-zer seng-ge, his most prominent pupil. A pupil of sMan-sgom-pa and of the throne-holder was the *chos rje* Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan,[32] and Ngom-pa *bya bral* Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1370–1433). Other pupils incl. dKon-mchog blo-gros, Tshul-khrims mgon-po, *'dul 'dzin* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374/5–1434/6),[33] 'Bri-gung *lo tsā ba* Nor-bu dpal gyi ye-shes (1349–1423), mGon-po ye-shes (1336–1393),[34] and *kun spangs* Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan (1353–1401).

XI *Chos rje bShes gnyen* or ***Guoshi chos rje*** **Don-grub rgyal-po** (1369–1427)

Father: *sa skyong* rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan ['Jom-dpon] *alias* dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan. Mother: Daughter of dPon-chen dPal-'bum.

Tenure: 1395/1401–1427[35]

During the early part of his rule (and the last part of the former throne-holder's), the *sgom pa*, as said, was reported to have been the Nags-shod-pa commander (*rdzong ji*) bSod-nams rin-chen followed by his uncle Tshul-rgyal, both serving as 'Bri-gung *sgom pa*.[36] During the later part of his tenure, the administrator was Śākya bzang-po (chronology doubtful). He received from the Ming emperor Yongle (1402–24) the diploma and title of *guoshi* upon his ascent on the throne. 'Bri-gung *rin po che* is reported to have been a one-time pupil of bTsong-kha-pa (*KD-II* 94a4–6), which heralded good relationships with dGe-lugs-pa. He travelled widely during his tenure, and e.g. sojourned repeatedly in Kong-po where he e.g. performed flood-reducing activities. Still politically and administratively his tenure heralded the decline at 'Bri-gung, since he broke with the traditional form of rule and introduced his son as successor at the see. It is said that the teaching tradition at 'Bri-gung declined dramatically under the following throne-holders. A four-storied high bKra-shis sgo-mangs *caitya* erected by this throne-holder is presently kept in 'Bri-gung (*BTh* 66). Among his students counted Mi-nyag *rtogs ldan* Grags-pa rin-chen, and Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho.

XII bDag-po Wang Rin-chen dBang gyi rgyal-po, Rin-chen dpal gyi rgyal-mtshan (1393/13–1435)

Father: *chos rje* Don-grub rgyal-po. Mother: sMin-legs-ma dPal-'dren (ennobled from common origin).

Tenure: 1427–1428

Until the preceeding and present throne-holder, throne-holders were celibate and the succession followed the traditional *khu dbon* lineage. Due to family wrangling over succession, and due to the violent passing of both *sgom pa* (the sources speak about the extinction of the hereditary *nang 'gag pa* and *sgom pa* lineage), this position as civil administator was now abolished or rather taken over by the throne-holder. The following tenants became dual clerical-secular rulers (*bla*

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of the most important late 14th-cent. sources on the internal 'Bri-gung affairs. He was born close to sMan-thang *gtsug lag khang*, one of the 'Bri-gung estates of Śākya bzang-po in mNga'-ris. It not least was he and his pupils, and Nam-mkha' bsam-grub rgyal-mtshan (1408–62) as well as *'dul 'dzin* Ngag-dbang rgyal-mtshan who during the 15th cent. should uphold the *bka' brgyud pa* and its core teachings of the 'Bri-gung-pa both at 'Bri-gung and in the La-phyi hermitic area.

[32] He should play a role in the unstable political situation at 'Bri-gung. Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan early (i.e. late 1380's) should attend on his uncle, the Military Commander dKon-mchog bzang-po. Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan under the auspices of the presiding throne-holder eventually rose to become *dpon skya* of 'Bri-gung as well as *gzims dpon* of the 'Bri-gung *sgom pa*, the 'Bri-gung *sde bdag rdzong ji* bSod-nams rin-chen. He early married a daughter of Rag-śi dBang-seng of the *mi dbang* Rag-śi rGyal-ba bzang-po house and ruled as a lay ruler in the Nags-shod area. In 1396, he decided to turn his back to secular life and its machinations and to become ordained in the presence of the 10th 'Bri-gung throne-holder.

The *ru*s of the Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa master Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan was the lDong clan and since the 13th cent. this family line was hereditary holders of the position as "Military Commander" (a 3rd rank with "Tiger-button" citation) within the Yüan administration and later Ming, albeit it at this point was purely nominal, being divested of any real power. Cf. *BCh* 382–83; *La phyi ba'i rnam thar*, 438f.; *HR* 304–5.

[33] He served the throne-holder as *gzims dpon*; cf. *GD* 61b4; Shen Weirong 2002: 156. He erected a temple in bTsun-mo-btsal where he passed away.

[34] Cf. *HR* 444–49. Initially called bSod-nams grags-pa.

[35] Major discrepancies as to the age and tenure of him; some sources suggest 1393, 1395, 1401, 1407 or even 1414 for the ascent. 1401 or 1407 to be preferred.

[36] During the war-torn reign of *sde bdag chen po rdzong ji/ byi** bSod-nams rin-chen (*chos rje* Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan for three years served as his *gzims dpon*; cf. *Shangs pa bka' brgyud bla rabs* 442, 482). bSod-nams rin-chen in fact was a powerful secular ruler and eventually a *sgom pa* at 'Bri-gung who was a great patron and mentor for the manufacture of art-objects and scriptures. Urged by the sTag-lung-pa, who formerly had monopolized the all-out clear-felling of forests in the Nags-shod area

dpon) and the uncle-nephew line now in part was replaced by a direct hereditary father-son succession. The take-over was tantamount to an internal coup. Prior to his ascent to the throne, he evidently married his mother and served as ruler and also headed the local army. He enjoyed a bad administrative reputation just like his father due to his parochial looks. His ascent, albeit brief, heralded a period of political decline for the coming decades. Abbot for less than one month (others: one year and three months; others again maintain that his influence lasted until his passing in 1435) and fled to China (Wutaishan). Following his passing, for a short period the secular seat (*sgom pa*) at 'Bri-gung (*ca*. 1428–35) was taken over by *du dben sha* (*duyuanshuai*) rGyal-ba bzang-po (*BD III* 145–46).

A statue erected by him of Zas-gtsang-ma, the father of the historic Buddha, and an *iṣṭadevatā* of the throne-holder are presently kept in the 'Du-khang at 'Bri-gung *(BTh* 66). Among his pupils count sGam-po Chos kyi dbang-phyug (1371–1423; see Sørensen 2007b) and Rin-chen rdo-rje.

XIII *Chos rgyal* Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po (1421–1467/1469)

Father: Former throne-holder *chos rje* bDag-po Wang. Mother: sMin-legs-ma dPal-'dren (married to father *and* son?) – Tenure: 1435–1467/1469

Assumed either the see 1427 or 1435 (if then a *sedis vacantia* possibly for seven years). He came to Thog-kha gser-khang in 1435, and without being ordained, he ascended the throne. His tenancy led to many 'Bri-gung-pa converting to the newly established dGe-lugs-pa. Like his father, he ruled as secular and clerical ruler i.e. as *bla dpon sbrags ma*. He had two consorts.[37] The successive (alternating) father-son dual-rule throne-holder introduced an autocratic rule at 'Bri-gung. During his rule, skirmishes with the Phag-mo-gru rulers flared up over hermitage areas in La-phyi, and the Phag-gru established Chu-dbar. Six ministers are registered during his tenancy: Rom-po and Nyag-che, gZhi-sgom and Byes-sgom, and Khri-khang and rDzong-dpon (*DMS* Tucci 1972: 198).

XIV Rin-chen Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po, *alia*s Chos rje bCo-lnga-pa (1449–1484)[38]

Father: Chos rgyal Rin-chen dpal-bzang. Mother: bSod-nams sgrol-ma of mGar-lung-pa.

(bSod-nams rin-chen's homeland), he was persuaded to intensify this trade. He successfully suppressed the normadic Khyung-po, the Rong-po tribes and other *ru sde* of the North in the same area. He later destroyed the dGe-lugs seat of Lo dgon-pa and killed a number of its monks. He and his uncle (*sku zhang* Tshul[-khrims] rgyal[-po]) shortly after lost their lives in the battle against the armies of sNe'u-gdong, headed by one local Da-ra kha-che (gloss called dGung-mkhar-ba) (? i.e. *Daruγači*), the latter was granted asylum by the sNe-gdong *gong ma*. Cf. also *DMS* (Tucci 1971: 196–97).

Another influential *rdzong ji* was Grags-pa rin-chen (into the Phag-gru Kun-bzang-rtse line of his, the mother of the 3rd Dalai Lama was born) as well as rGyal-mtshan bzang-po (he had financed the sNe'u-gdong council of 1373 (*DMS* Tucci 1971: 212–15) and in 1393 invited Rong-ston (1367–1449); cf. *Rong ston rnam thar* 308). Later, *ca*. 1435 one mKhar *dge slong* assumed the office of *zongqi*.

* The title *rdzong ji*/*byi* or (Ch. *zongqi*; either "platoon commander" or "general ensign" (with the dragon-botton seal) was a Ming epoch rank tantamount to a minister lord (*dpon chen*), a post also known at Phag-mo-gru-pa; cf, van der Kuijp 1991: 297; 2001: 60f.; Ehrhard 2002c: 54–55. In 1357–58, rDo-rje gling-pa, barely twelve years old, resided for short at sNe'u-gdong in the presence of a local *yig mkhan* of a local *rdzong byi*; cf. *rDo rje gling pa rnam thar II* 17.2.

[37] Chos-rgyal bzang-mo, a daughter of a Ladakhi king and bSod-nams sgrol-ma of mGar-lung. See *DMS* (Tucci 1971: 198f.).

[38] His elder half-brother was *chos rje* dBang (= Wang or Prince) Rin-chen Chos kyi rgyal-po *alias* Wang *rin po che* or mKhar-thog-pa (1448–1504). Father: Chos rgyal Rin-chen dpal-bzang; mother: Chos-rgyal bzang-mo, daughter of a mNga'-ris king. Cf. e.g. the biography indited by his uncle Kun-dga' rin-chen, *'Od zer stong ldan* 177–92 (contained in Micellaneous Writings of 'Bri-gung Kun-dga' rin-chen, Leh 1972) = *BG-III* 157–62; also *KT* 1353–34; *BCh* 441–415; *DMS* (Tucci 1971: 198–99); Sperling 1987a: 40, 48–49. He was a highly learned scholar-saint, nevertheless he should fall victim to the general immoral and depraved conditions that prevailed at 'Bri-gung from the time of Don-grub rgyal-po. However, (similar to the 10th throne-holder) he was considered an exception to this. During the early years and after his father had passed away (1469), Rin-chen Chos kyi rgyal-po took over the secular post as *sgom pa* of 'Bri-gung, married two consorts, one from sTag-lung and one from rGya-ma khri-khang, yet remained issueless. He settled down at the mKhar-thog seat. He at a later point (after 1484) took his vows as a celibate. It had been expected that he occupied the see in 1484 upon his younger brother's demise, but denied (evidently weary of politics) choosing to live as an ascetic without much involvement in worldly affairs; his parochial outlook eventually led to the appropriation or misuse of his property. He established the bKra-shis chos-lung dgon-pa.

His *rnam thar* maintains that Wang Rin-chen Chos kyi rgyal-po was born in *pho brang* mKhar-thog, the landed family estate (i.e. a traditional brother-line paragium or latifundium; which contradicts the statement in *DMS* 62a that he received it as *gsol skal*) – a site which included within its premises a so-called Chos kyi mngon-par mtho-ba'i *gtsug lag khang*. It was located in the 'Bri-gung heart-land of gZhu-smad – in 1532, it served as the meeting-place of the Hor ruler Thar-pa-'bum and the 16th throne-holder thus suggesting that mKhar-thog at this point had been appropriated by or was associated with the sPro-lung line.

Tenure: 1469–1484[39]

He was a lay-man until age 20. Ordained 1469. dBang (i.e. Wang) *rin po che* (the throne-holder's elder brother) was offered the see but rejected.[40] He eventually held both religious and civil authority. Pupil e.g. of the 7th Zhva-nag. During his tenancy the religious chair remained weak, contrary to the secular chief that eventually was headed by the throne-holder's wife and the next throne-holder's mother (rl. between 1484–1505) and by dPal-grags (d. 1491) of the Khang-gsar nang-so line. Contact to the sTag-lung was initiated by Wang *rin po che* when he met the 12th sTag-lung throne-holder in Thang-'brog. The repute of this sTag-lung master for upholding and perpetuating the 'Bri-gung lore and doctrine was considerable. The 7th Karma-pa Chos-grags rgya-mtsho in particular actively assisted the 'Bri-gung-pa in restoring their lore (*bstan pa gso*).[41]

A statue of Muni (Thub-pa Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal) erected or commissioned by this throne-holder in commemoration of his father is presently kept in the 'Du-khang at 'Bri-gung (*BTh* 66).

XV rGyal-ba gnyis-pa Kun-dga' rin-chen Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (var. Anantaratna-dharmarāja-śrībhadra), *alias* Rin-chen lhun-po (1475–1527)

Father: Rin-chen Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan (1449–1484). Mother: Rin-chen dpal-mo (d. *ca*. 1505), daughter of sTag-rtse *rdzong dpon* bSam-grub of mGar-lung-pa.[42]

Tenure: 1484–1527[43]

Born in bKra-shis steng-khang. Ordained age 17 at Chos-lung (est. by his uncle Wang mKhar-thog-pa). Kun-dga' rin-chen is regarded as one of the most learned masters of 'Bri-gung and the last major purist master of the idiosyncratic 'Bri-gung teachings, before rNying-ma elements entered their lore. The temporal affairs were during the initial part of his tenure in the hands of dBang Rin-chen Chos kyi rgyal-po, then for a brief period by the throne-holder's younger brother *drung chen* Chos kyi rgyal-po and later again, 'Bri-gung's secular responsibility

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[39] Other sources mention a tenure of ten years; *PTs-II* 603.

[40] He is nevertheless occasionally counted as throne-holder; cf. *BCh* 412.

[41] Cf. *Kam tshang bka' brgyud* 281b2–4.

[42] Cf. *BD III* 156–57: mGar-lung-pa (of 'Ol-kha or Bye-ri sTag-rtse?) was under the 'Bri-gung rule. The mother (compared to the Princess Sitā) was also denoted *sgom ma*. She was the most powerful female ruler at 'Bri-gung (see e.g. *BT-III* 171), in fact the only female ruling candidate in its history (Fig. 54a). Other sources claim that she was called Rin-chen sgron-ma. After her retirement as *sgom ma*, she appropriated the estate of Klung-shod-rtse. Cf. also Ra-se dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho 2003b: 106–07.

The parents had three sons and one daughter. The eldest was sgom pa Rin-chen rnam[-par]-rgyal (b. 1472; who in 1491 as *sgom pa* went to revitalize the Phag-mo-rtse line after the former ruler, *sgom pa* dPal-grags (var. Grags-dpal) had passed away there – see below; uncle to the 17th throne-holder), then followed as second son, the presiding throne-holder Kun-dga' rin-chen (b. 1475) and finally *drung chen* Chos kyi rgyal-po bsTan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (b. 1478; father to the 16th throne-holder; he erected the dBang-ldan *pho brang* of sPro-lung residence and est. his own ruling line) and finally is registered a sister 'Gro-ba'i sgrol-ma (b. 1478–79), who married into the Ga-zi family of sTag-lung, thus initiating blood bonds between the two powerful families. Cf. also *DMS* (Tucci 1971: 199–201, 232–233; passage misconstrued by Tucci).

Phag-mo in these texts repeatedly refers to the inner-'Bri-gung Phag-mo-rtse line, wherefore both Tucci and Sperling (1987a 41–42f.; along with the latter's lengthy speculation offered) have misconstrued the reference to Phag-mo: it alludes to the powerful 'Bri-gung estate-based Phag-mo-rtse (abbr. Phag-rtse) house and line and has nothing to do with the ruling *gong ma* or Phag-mo-gru-pa of sNe'u-gdong. At 'Bri-gung, the brother-line quarrel led to the simultaneous establishment of two armed power-centers that regularly fought one another. A long-standing conflict thus ensued that lead to an insurmountable schism within 'Bri-gung between the two *khu dbon* lines:

The Phag-mo-rtse line went back to the family of the 12th throne-holder who resided at sTag-sna *gzhis ka* (estate) in their residence called rNam-sras-gling *pho brang*. sTag-sna was located in present-day Grog-nang of Thang-skya *xiang* in Mal-gro gung-dkar *xian*. Its rulers were designated the Phag-mo-rtse *nang so* or Khang-gsar *nang so* (in full: Phag-mo khang-gsar *nang so*; – it also held estates in Glang-thang *khul*; cf. *CTZhZh* 154–56.). Members of this line should keep struggling against the sPro-lung (or Yang-ri-sgang/-sgar) branch within the main Thog-kha line (this 'Bri-gung main line was called the Thog-kha *nang so* line; albeit both disputing lines had issued and originated from the 4th and 5th throne-holder; called accordingly after the Thog-kha gSer-khang mansion at 'Bri-gung; incidentally) within 'Bri-gung for control over the see. The Phag-mo line had died out at some point and the elder brother of the 15th throne-holder, *sgom pa* Rin-chen rnam-rgyal (1472–92?; cf. *BT-III* 166) went to Phag-mo to revive it and to set up his residence (*khab*) and then to serve as local *sgom pa* of Phag-mo. The sTag-sna *gzhis ka* is reported to have entertained bonds to the 7th Zhva-nag Karma-pa. See in particular the details in App. II: fns. 190, 228.

[43] Other sources suggest a lengthy tenure 1494–1527 or 33 years.

was held by the mother, Rin-chen dpal-mo who ruled adroitly, autocratic and cunningly after her three sons, now each with an estate, were ruling their own houses. After passing away (1505), mGon-po rgyal-mtshan was elected as secular ruler (or by way of a coup) or *mi dbang* (i.e. *sde pa* or *dbon po*; but also *sgom pa chen po*) mGon-po rgyal-mtshan,[44] whose ambitions should cast a strong shadow on the inner politics at 'Bri-gung.

In around 1500, the 'Bri-gung-pa occupied the hermitage area of 'Tsher-leb and La-phyi.[45] During this period, the throne-holder entertained patron-client bonds to the Hor king Kun-dga' bkra-shis and he entertained close bonds both to the Karma-pa and the sTag-lung hierarchs: E.g. to the 7th Zhva-nag Chos-grags rgya-mtsho and the 4th Zhva-dmar Chos-grags ye-shes. He met the former already in 1486 at bKra-shis-thang of Klungs-shod, whom he in 1488 invited to 'Bri-gung to resuscitate the feeble 'Bri-gung lore there and where he established the Khra/Phra-ba-kha dgon-pa (1479). 1492, he was ordained in the presence of Kun-dga' blo-gros, Blo-gros brtan-pa, and Legs-pa rin-chen. He also entertained relations to the contemporary 14th sTag-lung throne-holder bSod-nams ye-shes dpal-bzang-po.[46] He attended on the rNying-ma-pa ascetic dKar-po-ba Kun-dga'-grags, where the former carried through the inauguration of bSam-yas after the latter's renovation in 1509–10.[47] A number of clashes between 'Bri-gung-pa and dGe-lugs-pa over territories during his tenancy. The first official gold-written version of the *bKa' 'bum* of the 'Bri-gung founder was executed (1495, resp. 1523–25 A.D.). He also est. the gSer-mgo *gtsug lag khang* (i.e. Dar-rgyas-rtse), known as the eastern 'Du-khang of the local *sgrub grva*. In 1502–03, the 4th Zhva-dmar was invited to 'Bri-gung and initially resided at mTshe'u-kha, being welcomed by mKhar-thog-pa later at 'Bri-gung-thel. They later met in 1519.

He had innumerable pupils, e.g. Chos kyi dbang-phyug, *mkhan chen* Kun-dga' rgya-mtsho, Nub 'Jam-dbyangs rin-chen, Chos-sgo-ba dPal-'byor grags-pa, Rin-chen rgya-mtsho, *dbon po* rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan, 'Jam-pa blo-gros and lDan-ma Kun-dga' grags-pa, *lha btsun* Rin-chen rnam-rgyal.[48]

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[44] Some confusion prevails in 'Bri-gung sources as to mGon-po rgyal-mtshan (or the sources display chronological distortions). The *khri dpon* or *sgom chen* / *sde pa* mGon-po rgyal-mtshan was born *ca*. 1360 and was youngest son of the great administrator *sgom pa* Śākya bzang-po (ca 1330–1370); the former's elder brothers were resp. Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan (1353–1401 A.D.) and Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan; cf. *PTs-II* 601; *BCh* 387–429.

Another personage was *sgom pa* mGon-po rgyal-mtshan (*ca*. 1475/80–1545); Fig. 54b. His paternal line is still unclear (he is registered as a nephew of the throne-holder's pupil Nub *slob dpon* 'Jam-dbyangs rin-chen who stemmed from the imperial [s]Nub[s] clan (another source links him to the Rva-sgreng mthu-chen lineage, i.e. the 'Brom clan?). mGon-po rgyal-mtshan was far more powerful than the first namesake. He was considered (a manifestation of) Ye-shes mgon-po (i.e. Mahākāla), an emanation employed to reflect his powerful position, image and role as protector of the Faith. After assuming power at 'Bri-gung, his belligerent attitude in part was a main reason for the hostile relationship to and skirmishes with the dGe-lugs-pa (at least until 1525 when the Phag-rtse faction sided with the dGe-lugs-pa). Years earlier, he had invaded and appropriated terrritories in 'Phan-yul. At this point there were three power centers at 'Bri-gung held by three brother lines: At the main seat 'Bri-gung-mthil itself, then at Phag-mo Khang-gsar and, evidently as the smallest, at sPro-lung. The respective administrative chiefs wielded secular power right from the time of the early Sa-skya-Yüan period and it had been roughly equipollent to the position of the *dpon chen* at Sa-skya. He should successfully command the 'Bri-gung army in a row of battles in the early 16th cent. For the 'Bri-gung seat, he conquered large territories in 'Phan-yul. Cf. e.g. *BG-III* 170f.

Most infamous was mGon-po rgyal-mtshan's later orchestrated campaign which consisted in sowing doubts about the legitimacy and paternity of the coming 16th throne-holder Rin-chen phun-tshogs – surely in an attempt to promote a Phag-mo-rtse candidate as coming incumbent on the main-see and he succeeded, in the early 1510's, to exile him to Yar-lung. He also succeeded in driving out the presiding throne-holder's maternal uncle (*sku zhang*) of ['Ol-kha] sTag-rtse *rdzong*, wherefrom he himself may have stemmed. The complexity of the conflict may also have been rooted in the circumstance that the Phag-mo line, despite occasional military clashes, around 1525 should prove sympathetic to (or even side with) the dGe-lugs-pa in their lingering dispute with the Zhva-dmar-pa. It was rumoured that the passing of Kun-dga' rin-chen had been due to the magic attacks from the side of the dGe-lugs-pa.

mGon-po rgyal-mtshan later entreated the 8th Zhva-nag Mi-bskyod rdo-rje to compose the treatise *'Bri gung khu dbon rnam thar* (*KB*) during the reign of the 17th throne-holder in 1538–39. mGon-po rgyal-mtshan passed away in the early 1540's.

[45] Cf. *Rin chen rnam rgyal rnam mgur* 105b3–6. These areas had been in the control of the 'Bri-gung since the time of the founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po.

[46] *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 496–97.

[47] The bSam-yas renovation had been carried through by dKar-po-ba Kun-dga'-grags. In 1520, the latter carried through a renovation of Khra-'brug which was attended by the young Rin-chen phun-tshogs. See TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, Intro.

[48] He met Rin-chen rnam-rgyal in sNye-thang in around 1488, being invited by *sde pa* sGar-pa (i.e. Rin-spungs Don-yod

Among numerous statues executed of him, one is kept in the gSer-khang *gtsug lag khang* of 'Bri-gung where his gdung rten ossuary, a Byang-chub mchod-rten is installed too, as well as a huge *caitya* erected by him (*BTh* 63, 66).

XVI Chos kyi rgyal-po rGyal-dbang Rin-chen phun-tshogs, rJe Ratna (1509–1557)[49]

Father: *drung chen* (or *sgom pa*) Chos kyi rgyal-po bsTan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (b. 1478), younger brother of the former throne-holder. Mother: bSod-nams sgrol-ma [daughter of the sKyid-shod Brag-dkar house?] (d. 1542).
Tenure: 1527–1534

Born at dKon-gnyer-sgang or "the Sacristan Hill" of gZhu. He was a great master and later *gter ston* mystic (name: gNam-lcags me-'bar), in fact the most illustrious figure of the 'Bri-gung-pa. Considered a manifestation of *lha sras* Mu-tig btsan-po and a Second O-rgyan-pa, etc. Age eight (1516), he was ordained at rTsed-thang in the presence of *spyan snga rin po che* Chos kyi grags-pa. During this period in the mid-1510's, he was dispatched to Yar-lung due to a hostile attitude towards him from the side of the *sgom pa* mGon-po rgyal-mtshan.[50] In 1527, he received his full ordination and simultaneously ascended the throne.[51] Following his brief tenure (until 1534), he settled down in sPro-lung,[52] but already 1532 he had received title and citation from the Ming court. A number of military clashes took place during his rule. In 1534, he established the Yangs-ri-sgar hermitage including a monk convent[53] (which cemented the schism within the 'Bri-gung administration), following his untimely and evidently enforced departure from the 'Bri-gung see that very year. He was responsible for the nomination of the heads (*vajradhara*) of the hermitage seats of rTsa-ri, La-phyi and Ti-se. From that point on, he was also denoted 'Bri-gung zur-pa or the "Ex Throne-Holder." He was a pupil of leading Karma-pa hierarchs (foremost at Yangs-pa-can, esp. to the 4th Zhva-dmar, later the 5th Zhva-dmar, but also the 8th Zhva-nag Mi-bskyod rdo-rje) and he attended on numerous teachers. In 1535, he toured Grva dist. and bSam-yas with Paṇ-chen mNga'-ris where he also met *thugs sras* Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan.[54] In 1538, he visited his patrons, the *nang so* Hor-khang-pa in Phod-mdo (now part of lHun-grub) rdzong. In the 1540's, active in sNye-mo and sKyor-mo-lung[55] as well as throughout sKyid-shod. In

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rdo-rje). Rin-chen rnam-rgyal there received 'Bri-gung key teachings such as the *dGongs gcig* cycle etc. See *Rin chen rnam rgyal rnam mgur* 12a4–6.

[49] In full also sNa-tshogs rang-grol Rin-chen phun-tshogs [Chos kyi rgyal-po] also known as *gter ston* gNam-lcags 'bar-ba; cf. *Nor bu'i do shal II* 418–19. He was considered a manifestation of the Tibetan king Mu-tig btsan-po or 'Jing-yon, an identity he forcefully promoted in his writings. Prophecy-based claims of linkage to imperial figures – a prestigious interlinking to a *regia stirpe* in a Tibetan context – was a cherished instrument behind underpinning personal or genealogical legitimacy. He was also considered a re-embodiment of gNyos lHa Rin-chen dBang gi rgyal-po (1201–1270) – the powerful lHa-pa ruler (see Table 7 above), and of the 9th 'Bri-gung throne-holder, among others.

It is likely that the 16th – 18th throne-holders were half-brothers (same mother); *DT* 1911 however argues that this is not the case.

[50] Cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 186–87; *BCh* 428.

[51] Cf. *RP* 199–200.

[52] sPro-lung was located in gZhu-smad, above and behind Yang-ri-sgang (see next note). In 1534, he sojourned in the citadel residence formerly raised by his father, his paternal estate, known as dBang-ldan pho-brang. Cf. *HS* 167–70.

[53] Or Yangs-ri-sgang. Initially a convent and secular seat of Rin-chen phun-tshogs. Later, during the reign of the 23rd throne-holder *rig 'dzin* Chos-grags, it was turned into a proper monastery. The temple was thoroughly destroyed in 1641 by the sKyid-shod-pa and the Qośot armies. The temple and its precints are present-day a *xiang* in Mal-gro county (at 30°00'N 91°59'E), not far from 'Bri-gung-mthil. Cf. dKon-mchog 'phel-rgyas 1987: 71–2; 'Phrin-las rgyal-mtshan 1988; Ra-se dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho 2004c; *HS* 167–70 and *BCh* 720–22 (counting up to eighty abbots; cf. *Yang ri rtogs brjod*) for a detailed study of the site and its rich religious and artistic inventory. Rin-chen phun-tshogs' father initially here had set up a residence and we are informed that the 8th Karma-pa Mi-bskyod rdo-rje in around 1531 established a *'dus sde* at Yang-ri. Aside from sPro-lung, it should remain the main seat of his line. It was renovated in 1991. The history and vicissitude of the site deserves a separate study.

[54] His biography adduces that he already in 1535 paid lHa-sa and bSam-yas a visit, where he allegedly carried out repair and concomitantly executed so-called *mtha' dmar bzlog* rites for the perpetuation of both sites. During the same spell, while accompanying his teacher *gter ston* mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, he fatefully should receive the full empowerment and reading authorization of the *rGyal po bka' 'bum* of the Great Compassionate One Cult and subsequently was proffered the 11th-cent. 'Bri-sgang seat of 'On as a monastic estate. During this period, he met *thugs sras* Zla-ba rgyal-mthsan (Padma gling-pa's son) at Dar-rgyas Chos-gling of Grva and at bSam-yas, cf. *Thugs sras rnam thar* 11ff.

[55] He received a *mchod gzhis* or monastic estate in sNye-mo and there later established the gShags-ram *sgrub grva* called Shel-dkar *sgrub sde* (later a *dgon pa* commonly known as 'Bri-gung Shag-ram (cf. e.g. *DL5II* 6b1; located in Phu-sum *xiang*; at *ca*. 29°29'N 90°09'E of sNye-mo district) in 1555,* donated by a local ruling patroness (*bdag mo*) of his, known as *lcam* or Lady gSer-khang-ma (evidently a consort of his; herself considered an embodiment of the imperial dMar-rgyan-bza' that

1543, he at one point (as *nang blon*) served the Phag-mo-gru-pa at Yar-klungs bKra-shis rtse-pa.[56] In 1544, he renovated the imperial dBu-ru Ka-tshal *vihāra*.[57] 1545 he was invited by the Hor rgyal-po Thar-pa-'bum and his son mThu-bo Karma-dpal to their nomadic settlements who camped in Nags-shod. Here he reconfirmed a union that lasted for the next 12 years.[58] Sojourned for a long time in rGya-ma dist.[59] where his only male heir was born;[60] later at dBu-ru Ka-tshal, he in the ruins of an old bKa'-gdams-pa monastic seat established a convent in addition

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thus dovetailed neatly with Rin-chen phun-tshogs' identification as a Second Padmasambhava. The biography claims that the political trouble involved in this affair and the liaison was due to bad *karman* accruing form the latter's infamous historical role in exiling Vairocana). In the year 1540, he resided at Phun-tshogs rab-brtan in sNye-mo (for his visions there; cf. *sNye mor gsal snang byung tshul* 1b1–4a3; Vol. CHA of his Coll. Works). His engagement in sNye-mo at one point aroused the envy and attention of the Rin-spungs-pa who initially had invited Rin-chen phun-tshogs to Rin-spungs. Rejecting the offer, the latter inflicted damage on Phun-tshog rab-brtan and in its throes, gSer-khang-ma was imprisoned. In response, Rin-chen phun-tshogs applied – voodoo-like – magic means as military stratagem which allegedly entailed that an inner conflict flared up at Rin-spungs. The 'Bri-gung master's antagonist (or possibly secret allied?) at Rin-spungs may have been *sde pa* Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal – son of *sa skyong* mTsho-skyes rdo-rje (1462–1510) – since the former purportedly also invited him to Rin-spungs; cf. *BG-III* 195–96; *BCh* 431–32; *HSLG* Vol. 9: 42; much later the Shag-ram temple as estate land became part of the lHa-klu noble family.

Another patroness (of his?) in sNye-mo was called Dar-rgyas *chos mdzad ma* mentioned in his biography. In sNye-mo district, he occasionally resided in Glang-ma-lung (loc. at 29°22'N 89°52'E).

For sKyor-mo-lung the identification of his patron(s) is crucial. The sources are not unequivocally clear: It was Sangs-rgyas dpal-'dzoms-ma, the sNe'u female ruler, who held jurisdiction over sKyor-mo-lung; cf. Table V.12.1 below; other sources also speak about a local *dpon mo* in sKyor-mo-lung (see e.g. vol. NGA of his *gSung 'bum* in the NGMPP Archive).

* The 'Bri-gung religious estate later became part of lHa-klu noble house; *CT* 417. Later under Yangs-pa-can, cf. *CT* 195.

[56] It aroused the opposition of most of the neighbouring *sde dpon*, and a local warfare flared up. He was subsequently invited to sNe'u-gdong, where he taught the presiding *gong ma* different *nītiśāstra* precepts on statecraft, evidently due to Rin-chen phun-tshogs' repute as an embodiment of a second Mu-tig btsan-po himself. This may also account for the circumstance that he took possession of and restored the old imperial-time sKar-chung rDo-rje-dbyings *pho brang* (once erected by Mu-tig btsan-po); cf. *DL5 I* 18b1f.; *BL* 80.

[57] A generation before, the warfare between 'Bri-gung and dGe-lugs led to a wholesale destruction of dBu-ru Ka-tshal and its nearest surroundings; the area was put to the torch by the sNe'u-gdong and dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa armies. It was said that the area for three generations turned into a wrecked land resembling that of the *srin po*. Cf. *BG-III* 174–75; *RP* 333.5–337.2. The old temple and the rGya-ma territory with the Srong-btsan sgam-po cult links should become a powerful basis for his ideological endeavours. It was in Ka-tshal, that Rin-chen phun-tshogs subsequently erected a *'dus sde*. Following the demise of 'Bri-gung *kun spangs* Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan (1353–1401), some renovation took place at Ka-tshal dgon-pa; cf. *KP* 29a1f.

[58] The initial meeting between the 16th 'Bri-gung throne-holder and Thar-pa-'bum went back to 1532, where they met in mKhar-thog; cf. *RP* 215.2–3; later in 1539 and 1545, they met in 'Dam-gzhung; cf. e.g. *ibid*. 348–351.

[59] He was acquainted with her already from the mid-1530's, and in 1543 he then married (*thab 'dzin*) the rGya-ma consort *rig 'dzin* Bu-khrid – and settled down in the Khri-khang. It should remain in the hands of the 'Bri-gung ever since along with the local Srong-btsan lha-khang (*alias* rGyal-po khang; see e.g. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 246); cf. *RP* 328.1–5. Up to this point, the administrative seats of rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang (see Table 10) and the 'Bri-gung had repeatedly fought over territories especially those situated in Mal-gro and 'Phan-yul. The marriage no doubt must be seen as a stategic move too: The rGya-ma area should now more firmly be associated with 'Bri-gung. Rin-chen phun-tshogs studied the Srong-btsan sgam-po *bka' 'bum* there. Sites he visited and sojourned at in rGya-ma included hermitages like Mi-'gyur [= Mi-'gyur Chos-'byung-brag] and the O-rgyan sgrub-gnas lcog-la. His Srong-btsan sgam-po commitment went hand in hand with the discovery in lHa-sa 'Phrul-snang e.g. of a precious *bodhivṛkṣa*-wood-made Srong-btsan sgam-po statue as well as a *bla rdo* of the same king once extracted by his pupil, the 'Phrang-po *gter ston* Shes-rab 'od-zer (1518–84 A.D.) in 1550 A.D. during their joint "treasury-finding" tour throughout Central Tibet; cf. e.g. *Nor bu'i do shal* 284. He also composed writings while residing at rGya-ma Khri-khang. Years later, Shes-rab 'od-zer should become court-chaplain for the aristocratic ruler of the 'Phyong-rgyas sde-pa Hor bSod-nams dar-rgyas and his son bSod-nams stobs-rgyas – incidentally and ironically the family lineage of the 5th Dalai Lama.

His rNying-ma leanings also manifested themselves in connection with his teacher-pupil bonds to rGya-ma *gter ston* Mi-'gyur Las-'phro gling-pa Kun-dga' dpal-bzang; cf. *BG-III* 194; *GK* 211, 238–39, 463; *DL5 gSan yig IV* 59b2. From the mid-1530's, he was in addition pupil of the rNying-ma *gter ston* mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen and his brother *rig 'dzin* Legs-ldan rdo-rje. For a survey of Rin-chen phun-tshogs' extensive esoteric cycles and its transmission; cf. e.g. *gTer ston chos 'byung* 267f.; *Nor bu'i do shal* 281–83; *Thob yig IV* 127a1–6, 211a6–222a1. For his Coll. Works, see *BGCh* Vols. CHU, JU, NYU, TU.

[60] He also fathered a daughter who should become mother to the great 18th sTag-lung throne-holder (see below 11.2). It accounts for close matrimonial and later spiritual relationship initiated with this union between the sKyu-ra and Ga-zi heads.

to many other hermitage and meditation retreat centres. Famous for introducing many rNying-ma teachings into ’Bri-gung lore, he and his descendants henceforth were counted as famous ascetics in rNying-ma-pa circles.[61] He passed away in rGya-ma and his bodily remains – considered precious relics – were duly distributed between his own dBu-ru Ka-tshal seat and ’Bri-gung.[62]

He had numerous pupils, *inter alia*, his successor on the ’Bri-gung throne as well as his father, but also ’Dzam-gling rnam-rgyal grags-pa, gTsang-pa Ngag-dbang don-grub, Lo-pa *spyan snga* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang, rGya-ston *chos rje* Nam-mkha’ legs-pa’i rgyal-mtshan, rGya-ston *chos rje* Nam-mkha’ rdo-rje, sNang-gsal-ba bKra-shis rgya-mtsho, ’Bri-gung mKhan-chen Kun-dga’ rgya-mtsho, etc. In particular, the list included Rin-chen-dpal, lHo-pa Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal, Chos-skyong Rin-chen, *rtogs ldan* Kun-bzang rDo-rje dpal-’bar (1484–1553; ~ 1525–95?), Kun-dga’ shes-rab, Lo-pa Grags-pa tshul-khrims, Phun-tshogs rab-yangs, Shes-rab ’od-gsal (see e.g. *BCh* 436–41).

XVII Rin-chen rnam-rgyal Chos kyi grags-pa rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1519–1576)

Father: *drung chen* Byams-pa Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan Legs-ldan rin-chen dpal-bzang-po.[63] Mother: bSod-nams sgrol-ma, daughter of the sKyid-shod Brag-dkar house.[64]

Tenure: 1534–1565[65]

He belonged to the Phag-mo-rtse (also known as Khang-gsar *nang so*) line of ’Bri-gung, born at rNam-sras-gling *pho brang* (of lHa-bo-stod). Ordained age ten (as *dge tshul*, 1528, fully ordained 1536), in the presence of the Chos-lung tshogs-pa abbot Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan. His teachers included his uncle, the 16th ’Bri-gung throne-holder, but also the 8th Karma-pa Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, the 5th Zhva-dmar dKon-mchog yan-lag and Zhig-po gling-pa, etc. During his tenure,[66] the 8th Karma-pa (along with dPa’-bo gTsug-lag) sojourned at ’Bri-gung from *ca*. 1536.[67] The administrator or *sgom pa* of ’Bri-gung during these earlier years of his tenure was the formidable mGon-po rgyal-mtshan, who was enventually replaced by *sgom pa* mGon-po dpal-’byor. He conducted renovation and

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[61] It is usually maintained that until at least the 17th cent., it had been Rin-chen phun-tshogs and Khrims-khang *lo tsā ba* bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (1424–82) that foremost merged dKar-brgyud and rNying-ma lore.

[62] Prior to his passing at Gro-bo-lung, a small seat and hermitage located behind or adjacent to rGya-ma Khri-khang, he fell ill, and was nursed by Zhig-po gling-pa – but to no avail. He succeeded in issuing a number of testamentary injunctions. Cf. *BCh* 434–35. A *gser gdung* with relics of him was inserted into a dome in Ka-tshal known “to suppress the local Mal-gro gZi-can,” the latter being the paramount telluric lord of Mal-dro district and in a cultic sense of the entire Tibet; cf. *PTs I* 541.1–3. According to his own will the deceased wanted this bodily remains to remain in rGya-ma, but the mother seat should urge that his relics be brought to ’Bri-gung, where his bodily remains were inserted into a Chos-’khor *caitya* in the Khang-gsar Yang-dgon (*alias* bDe-ldan-khang), richly adorned with the iconic representation from the Cakrasaṃvara cycle; cf. dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho 2003a: 32, 42. Later it was moved to ’Dzam-gling-rgyan.

[63] Son of *sgom pa* Rin-chen rnam-rgyal who had married into the line of the Phag-mo-rtse. He contracted a throat disease and passed away.

[64] Cf. *GD* 60b2–3. An essential question remains whether the mother of the 16th throne-holder, bSod-nams sgrol-ma is identical or not with the mother of the next two throne-holders. Considering the conflict raging at ’Bri-gung between the two lines – as detailed in these notes – it would appear highly improbable. If it nevertheless is the case, we many assume – this polyandric arrangement is commonly seen – that it would add quite an intriguing element to the conflict.

The sKyid-shod Brag-dkar-pa ruler Sri-chod in around 1500 A.D. had turned his loyalty towards the ’Bri-gung-pa (his root teacher being its 15th throne-holder, among others). It cannot be excluded that one of his two recorded daughters were wedded into the present secular ’Bri-gung family. The moribund Brag-dkar house should later be absorbed by the sKyid-shod-pa.

[65] Other speak of 28 years on the throne. Mi-bskyod rdo-rje persistently counts this throne-holder as the 15th throne-holder which clearly reflects an alternative way of numbering the ’Bri-gung throne-holders.

[66] See prev. note. Cf. *KT* 1322.9–10. The ruling administrator or *sgom pa* of ’Bri-gung during his earlier tenancy evidently was mGon-po rgyal-mtshan (see above). He in the mid 1530’s plundered and converted a number of dGe-lugs monasteries into his fold, yet the 16th dGa’-ldan throne-holder Chos-skyong rgya-mtsho (1473–1539) rebutted with magical means.

[67] See the *gSer ’phyang me bya’i lo dgung lo sum cu pa la dbus gtsang gi phyogs su chibs kyi kha lo rnam par bskyod pa las smin drug gi zla ba’i phyogs phyi ma la gdan sa ’bri gung gdan phebs tshun gyi mgur rnams* 303–48 (In Vol. II of his Coll. Works).

He there composed the *KB*. He also wrote long annotated commentaries to the central ’Bri-gung *summa* of the ’Bri-gung founder, *Dam chos dgongs gcig* (Vols. 4–6 of the Coll. Works) in the 1540’s possibly in order to bolster the ’Bri-gung doctrinal lore. Yet, the position of the 8th Karma-pa in the lingering conflict at ’Bri-gung is still unclear. He might eventually have been non-partisan in his attitude and his stay at the see after Rin-chen phun-tshogs had been ousted might not carry political weight.

re-building of many ’Bri-gung establishments (1540). During his tenure in the 1540’s, many warring skirmishes. Around 1548, Bye-ri sTag-rtse was offered to him by the sKu-rab[s] *sde pa* of (eastern) Dvags-po, but he refused. Recipient of citations, titles and donation from Ming court. Initiated the manufacture in 1551 of bKa’-’gyur and bsTan-’gyur blocks as well as the writings of the 8th Karma-pa (still kept at ’Bri-gung; cf. *BTh* 67) as well a host of religious artefacts. Again, repeated warfare during his tenancy in the early 1560’s. He was actively supported by the sKyor-mo-lung-pa but opposed by the dGa’-ldan-pa, erected a fortress on the Shun gyi brag in 1565 (cf. *BG III* 211). He stepped down in 1565, to make room for his brother and left for Mang-yul, where he became court chaplain for the Mang-yul Gung-thang kings. He passed away at mTshe’u-kha hermitage seat. His silver-made ossuary, a Byang-chub *caitya* was installed in ’Bri-gung (*BTh* 66). A medicinal clay statue of the throne-holder is currently installed in the ’Du-khang of the local *sgrub sde* Thar-pa’i gru-chen at ’Bri-gung.

XVIII Paṇ-chen *rin po che* Rin-chen bSod-nams dpal gyi rgya-mtsho *alias* Rin-chen dBang gyi rgyal-po (1527–1570)

Youngest brother of no. XVII. Father: Byams-pa Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan Legs-ldan dpal-bzang. Mother: bSod-nams sgrol-ma, daughter of the sKyid-shod Brag-dkar house.

Tenure: 1565–1570

He belonged to the Phag-mo-rtse line of ’Bri-gung, born at rNam-sras-gling *pho brang*. Age seven, he received his *dge tshul* or novice ordination in the presence of Rin-chen phun-tshogs. Attended on many teachers. Between 1559 and 1563, he remained in retreat. He became 1563 *dbu mdzad* at Phag-mo-rtse. In 1569/70 he renovated many seats at ’Bri-gung, the same year he fell sick and retired, going into retreat at mTshe’u-kha. Among the numerous statues of this throne-holder, one is kept in gSer-khang *gtsug lag khang* of ’Bri-gung (*BTh* 83).

XIX Rin-chen Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1550/51–1582)

Father: Phag-mo gCung *rin po che* (b. 1521),[68] second brother of no. XVII. Mother: Hor-bza’ ’Bum-skyid.[69]

Tenure: 1570–1582

He held the seat as dual secular and ecclesiastic ruler. His son was Mi-pham Rin-chen chos-rgyal (b. *ca*. 1570’s).[70]

XX *mTshungs med* Chos-rgyal Phun-tshogs bkra-shis [**Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan**] **dpal-bzang-po**, *alias* [lHa yi] Nor-bu (1547–1602)[71]

Father: Chos rgyal Rin-chen phun-tshogs (1509–1557). Mother: Rig ’dzin rGya-mtsho Bu-’khrid (d. 1559/60) of rGya-ma khri-khang[72]

Tenure: 1573/82–1602

Considered a manifestation of imperial-time kings and great Treasure-finders. Attended on many teachers such as *slob dpon* Kun-dga’ bkra-shis. Age six he came to sPro-lung and age seven to rGya-ma. In 1562, he est. a *sgrub sde* in Ka-tshal. Mid-1560’s, he entered teacher-pupil bonds with the 5th Zhva-dmar. In 1580, he conducted the *gtsug phud* ritual on Byang-bdag Ngag gi dbang-po (1580–1639). Ardent anti-dGe-lugs; cf. *JCh* 267b2f.

At the point of his tenure, the Phag-mo-rtse brother line (of 17th–19th throne-holders) attempted to ensure the

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[68] gCung *Rin po che* held the position as administrator at Phag-mo.

[69] They had two sons: The 19th throne-holder and one Karma Mi-pham dbang-rgyal.

[70] Also known as Phag-mo *zhabs drung*. The eldest son of Mi-pham should later establish the line of the sKyid-phug *chos rje*, a rather minor branch house within ’Bri-gung. Cf. *BG-II* 530; *BG-III* 278. He had two sons: Mi-pham’s first son, born 1596, was ordained 1612 in the presence of sTag-lung Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal, receiving the ord. name (in full) Ngag-dbang rin-chen dpal-grub bka’-brgyud rnam-par rgyal-pa’i sde. Another son passed away age five.

sKyid-phug-pa’s son, born 1629, known as dNgos-grub bkra-shis later went to ’Jang (Yunnan) where his line prospered; it is said that he there fathered (*in casu* age 75!, or was he the grandfather of?) the 25th ’Bri-gung throne-holder dGa’-ba’i dbang-po (1704–54 A.D.). Cf. *sTag lung chos ’byung I* 741, 770; *BCh* 451–52.

[71] Often also counted as the 18th throne-holder when excluding former non-Kyu-ra clan members on the throne and sometimes counted as the 22nd throne-holder when adding others. Born in first or second month of 1546 accord. to *RP* 355.3–4. Aside from his later principal consort g.Yang-khug, he in 1570 also had an ill-fated and short-termed *karmamudrā* liaison with one Nor-bu sgrol-ma of Long-lung in Kong-po.

[72] She adhered to the lineage of Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston (1138–1210) of rGya-ma. Cf. *BG-I* 506.3; *PTs-I* 529.1ff.

The couple had four sons: bKra-shis phun-tshogs, dKon-mchog rin-chen, Chos kyi grags-pa, all three ’Bri-gung throne-holders. The fourth son was Bla-ma Sangs-rgyas rin-chen. He at some point was throne-holder at Yangs-ri-sgar and the grand-father’s seat of Shag-ram. He later became *dbu bla* for his presiding brothers. He reached the age of 80.

former throne-holder's son Mi-pham on the throne as the 20th throne-holder.[73] Following this conflict, an inner 'Bri-gung warring dispute or schism (*nang gyes*) flared up.[74] Still, the main sPro-lung line of Rin-chen phun-tshogs and his son prevailed and ensured that the next three throne-holders were sons of this throne-holder. He earned a great name as thaumaturge. His ossuary, made from gold and silver, denoted a "schism-reconcilling" *caitya* was installed in Khang-gsar Yang-dgon of 'Bri-gung (*BTh* 72). In 1580, he had attended the funeral service of the 'Phyong-rgyas *sde pa* Hor bSod-nams dar-rgyas and he became teacher of the latter's son bSod-nams stobs-rgyal (d. 1594). In 1582, at sPro-lung, he met lHa-rtse-ba (1546–1615).[75]

His pupils: rJe rNam-'joms phun-tshogs (b. 1544), bsTan-'dzin phun-tshogs, Nags-shod bla-ma Śākya rin-chen, rNgod bla-ma sPangs-mda'-ba bKra-shis dar-rgyas, mGar bsTan-'dzin phun-tshogs (b. 1578); see e.g. *BCh* 462–5.

XXI bKra-shis phun-tshogs Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1574–1628)[76]

Father: Chos rgyal Phun-tshogs bkra-shis (1547–1602). Mother: *dpon sa* g.Yang-khug, daughter of the Nga-phod *sde pa*.[77]

Tenure: 1602/03–1615

Considered a 2nd Nāropa. He delivered teachings e.g. to Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol *ca*. 1619. His ossuary, made from gold and silver, denoted a rNam-rgyal *caitya* was installed in Khang-gsar Yang-dgon of 'Bri-gung (*BTh* 72). He strengthened the monastic code of the 'Bri-gung seat. He in the late 1590's married into the mKhar-rtse ruling family (consort, the female ruler dNgos-grub rgyal-mo) and settled down.[78] During his tenure (starting from 1603), he erected at 'Bri-gung a new residence (*pho brang*): rDzong-gsar bKra-shis-tshug, The 'Bri-gung *dpon* Kun-dga' rin-chen joined forces with that of the gTsang-pa *sde srid* and attacked the dGe-lugs seats in 1605. In 1603, the *dpon chen* of 'Bri-gung is denoted sDings-pa (*lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 92a6–b1). He was teacher to the 'Phyong-rgyas *sde pa* Ngag-dbang bSod-nams grags-pa (d. 1615). During the tumultuous warfare in the 1610's, between dBus-gTsang, he and other leading 'Bri-gung hierarchs were taken captive and exiled for five years to Mongolia.

XXII dKon-mchog rin-chen rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde, *alias* Chos kyi 'byung-gnas 'Phrin-las rnam-rgyal (1590/91–1654)[79]

Father: *Chos rgyal* Phun-tshogs bkra-shis (1547–1602). Mother: g.Yang-khug, daughter of the Nga-phod *sde pa* of Kong-po.

Tenure: 1615–1626

Recognized as a contender for the candidacy as re-embodiment of the 3rd Dalai Lama.[80] Subsequently – by way of compensation – recognized as the 1st 'Bri-gung Che-tshang incarnation. Ordained 1605. Henceforth, the 'Bri-gung seat was jointly headed by two incarnation lines issuing from him and the following throne-holder known as the two brother lines (*che tshang* and *chung tshang*). In 1624, he established the rNam-rgyal chos-rdzong after parts of the 'Bri-gung monastery had been destroyed during the warfare. In 1626, he stepped down and toured

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[73] The Phag-mo-rtse line went back to the family of the 12th throne-holder. Cf. above.

[74] Cf. *BG-III* 225–26; *PTs-1* 567–80; *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 560. Cf. App. II above. In this conflict the sPro-lung front was mainly supported by the sKyid-shod-pa, as well as by another influential rNying-ma-pa ascetic Byang-bdag bKra-shis stobs-rgyal among others united (*srid sbrel*) against the Phag-mo front.

[75] Cf. *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 29a6–b2.

[76] His younger brother was recognized as the 6th Zhva-dmar-pa. He was, like his other brothers, born in sPro-lung. He erected in sNye-mo district the 'Bri-gung temples of O-rgyan dgon-pa and rTa'u-ra dgon-pa (loc. *ca*. 29°35'N 90°03'E); cf. *HSLG* Vol. 9: 44–45.

[77] Nga-phod is commonly regarded as an imperial-time family and later ruling noble house that held large estates in Kong-po. In the area (of Thang-'brog 'Od-gsal-rtse) of Kong-po ruled by the 'Bri-gung sKyu-ra family, rDzogs-chen bSod-nams dbang-po (1547/50–1625) was born at Tsha-zhugs of rKyen of Upper Kong-po; cf. the latter's biography written by rTse-le sNa-tshogs rang-grol (b. 1608). See also *sGam po khri rabs* 97b5–99b6.

[78] Their common son was bsTan-pa'i nor-bu (1601–24). He passed away aged 24, while on pilgrimage tour to Tsa-ri.

[79] *PTS-II* 609f. suggests that he was born in 1591. He was also known from rNying-ma sources as *drung chen* Nāropa; cf. *Gu bkra chos 'byung* 716.

[80] Cf. *BG-III* 240–41; *DL4* 4a2–20a1. Indirectly and by extension also identified as an embodiment of 'Brom-ston. In fact, he rose to become something of a "king-maker" in this crucial period of Tibetan history: the 20th throne-holder was father to the 6th Zhva-dmar Chos kyi dbang-phyug (1584–1630). Another son of his (dKon-mchog rin-chen, the later 22nd throne-holder) candidated – almost successfully – as the rebirth to the 3rd Dalai Lama. The same son, following the rejection of this candidacy,

north-eastern Tibet, followed by Tsa-ri, etc.. His ossuary, a lHa-babs *caitya* was installed in mNgon-dga' *gtsug lag khang* at 'Bri-gung (*BTh* 74).

XXIII *Rig 'dzin chen po* Chos kyi grags-pa, *aliases* 'Bri-gung Zhabs-drung *rin po che* dKon-mchog phun-tshogs, 'Phrin-las thams-cad rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde, dBur-smyon (1595–1659/1660)[81]

Father: *Chos rgyal* Phun-tshogs bkra-shis (1547–1602). Mother: g.Yang-khug, daughter of the Nga-phod *sde pa.*
Tenure: 1626–1659

Born in sPro-lung. Considered a manifestation of his grandfather. The 1st 'Bri-gung Chung-tshang incarnation. The last 'Bri-gung sKyu-ra clan descendant and throne-holder (*BG-III* 289). He was ordained age 15, in the presence of Chos-lung Byams-pa Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan. A prolific and versatile author in numerous fields such as medicine and in the esoteric rNying-ma lore like his grandfather (among his pupils e.g. counted Karma Chags-med). Considered a "treasure-finder." In 1645, during his tenure, many 'Bri-gung estates and territories were confiscated by the new government. He met the 5th Dalai Lama several times in the 1650's. Upon his demise, a putative *sedis vacantia* for two years. For his peregrinating life, cf. *GK* 629–30, 716–21. To the right of his grand-father's ossuary, this throne-holder's ossuary is installed, a lHa-babs *caitya* erected by the next throne-holder and set up in Yang-[ri]-dgon. Often numbered as the 25th throne-holder.

He had numerous pupils, *inter alia*: The 3rd lHo-pa dKon-mchog 'phrin-las rnam-rgyal (1625–1691), mNga'-bdag bKra-shis phun-tshogs, dKon-mchog lhun-grub, dKon-mchog 'gro-phan dbang-po (b. 1631), sTag-lung Ma-thang Ngag-dbang bkra-shis dpal-grub (b. 1600).

XXIV *rJe btsun* dKon-mchog 'phrin-las bzang-po *alias* Ngag-dbang chos-grags phun-tshogs (1656–1718)

Father: A-bo/pa lHa-rgyal of Byang Kong-long (var. Glang-grong). Mother: rDo-rje rgyal-mo.
Tenure: 1661–1718

Age three, he was invited to 'Bri-gung to be installed on the throne. Considered a manifestation of Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po. He did not adhere to the sKyu-ra clan.[82] 1660, he took his novice ordination in the presence of the 5th Dalai Lama in lHa-sa. In 1678, he was ordained, again in lHa-sa in the presence of the 5th Dalai Lama. Considered the 2nd 'Bri-gung Che-tshang incarnation. 1711, he met sTag-lung 'Od-'jo Ngag-dbang 'phrin-las bstan-'dzin rnam-rgyal.[83] Sometimes counted as the 25th or 26th throne-holder.

He had numerous pupils, *i.a.*: The 4th lHo-pa Chos kyi rgya-mtsho, sGrub-brgyud Chos kyi nyi-ma (b. 1638), rJe dKon-mchog tshul-khrims, sTag-lung *chos rje* bsTan-'dzin rnam-rgyal, dPon-tshang ye-shes, etc.; cf. *BCh* 506–11.

XXV Don-grub Chos kyi rgyal-po *aliases* 'Jam-dbyangs Chos kyi rgyal-po 'Phrin-las don-kun grub-pa dpal gyi sde, dKon-mchog don-grub rin-chen, dGa'-ba'i dbang-po (1704–1754)[84]

Father: 'Bras-se (~'Bri-se) dNgos-grub bkra-shis (of Gla-phi lung-pa in 'Jangs, Yunnan). Mother: rNam-'joms-ma.
Tenure: 1718–1747

1717, he took his novice ordination. Regarded as the 2nd 'Bri-gung Chung-tshang incarnation. With him a restoration of a side-line of the sKyu-ra clan emerged on the throne again.[85] In 1739, he est. in Yang-ri the Thub-bstan sde-bzhi Rab-rgyas-gling, erected upon the former *pho brang* established there by the father of the 16th throne-holder.
He had numerous pupils, *inter alia*: Ngag gi dbang-phyug, Chos kyi dbang-sgyur-mchog, dKon-mchog bstan-skyong dbang-po, dKon-mchog grags-ldan, etc. (Cf. e.g. *BCh* 521–23).

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was recognized as sKyabs-mgon Che-tshang and his younger brother as sKyabs-mgon Chung-tshang, thus initiating a ruling incarnate system at 'Bri-gung. Cf. App. II above.

[81] He passed away 1660, according to *DL5 I* 287b6–288a1.

[82] Cf. *DL5 II* 291b6–292b2 seems to maintain that he was born 1660 in Nyang-ro, but this may refer to his name-giving. *GK* 721–22. 'Phrin-las rgyal-mtshan (1988: 29–30) makes him the 25th throne-holder and the 1st Che-tshang throne-holder. He later became a famous painter who e.g. daily executed a *thangka* of each of the former throne-holders, works that subsequently were known as *nyi thang ma* or "Daily *Thangka*," amounting in total to 35 items.

[83] sKyabs-mgon *rin po che* was a prominent master and hierarch from the 'Od-'jo seat who in the first part of the 18th cent. played an important role at both sTag-lung seats. See below under sTag-lung.

[84] Considered a rebirth of the 23rd throne-holder. Cf. *GK* 722–23. For his huge and highly informative biography known as *sGron me tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho* (see *BGCh* vol. Nyo).

[85] He was a scion of the Phag-mo line of the sKyu-ra patriline which e.g. included the 19th throne-holder. He allegedly wrote

XXVI ***Chos rje rin po che*** **dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin 'gro-'dul** *alias* dPal-ldan Chos kyi nyi-ma 'Phrin-las phyogs-las rnam-par rgyal-ba bzang-po'i sde, Kun-bzang dKon-mchog nyi-ma (1724–66)[86]

Father: *sde pa* Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal of O-rong in Kong-yul.[87] Mother: 'Od-zer bu-khrid.

Tenure: 1747–1766

Age three, he was identified as the 3rd 'Bri-gung Che-tshang incarnation. In 1730, he took his novice ordination. Often counted as the 28th throne-holder.

Among his pupils counted e.g. lHo Rin-po-che Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan (1747–1800), rJe Don-grub skal-bzang (1734–1787), *grub dbang* Rab-'byor, dKar-yol Ye-shes, Ka-tshal Bla-zur Nya'-ltag-pa dKon-mchog bstan-'phel, rGyal-sras Nor-bu.

XXVII dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Chos kyi nyi-ma (1755–1792)[88]

Father: bSod-nams tshe-brtan (of the Sa-tham royal line in Yunnan; close to Lijiang). Mother: Tshe-ring bzang/dbang-mo (d. 1777).

Tenure: 1766–1788

His identification was conducted in Yunnan by Si-tu Chos kyi 'byung-gnas. Identified as the 3rd 'Bri-gung Chung-tshang incarnation. In 1772, he visited sTag-lung where he met Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin phun-tshogs. He erected the 'Khor-chen chu-'khor lha-khang in 1787. Sometimes countered as the 28th, resp. 29th throne-holder.

Among his pupils counted e.g., the next throne-holder, *dge slong* Yon-tshang Chos-ldan, Phur-dga' bKra-shis, sPu-dar dGe-'phel.

XXVIII bsTan-'dzin Padma'i rgyal-mtshan, *aliases* 'Jigs-med 'phrin-las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde, dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin 'phrin-las rnam-rgyal, Tshangs-dbyangs Klong-grol rdo-rje (1770–1826)

Father: *sngags 'chang* Karma Viryadhāra also mThu-chen Krati or 'Phrin-las rdo-rje (d. 1793), into the family and clan of Myang, sBas-yul lJon-pa-lung of Kong-po. Mother: bDe-skyid 'dzoms-pa.

Tenure: 1788–1819

The 4th 'Bri-gung Che-tshang incarnation. He took his novice ordination in 1784, and his ordinary ordination in 1791. A prolific author often counted as the 29th resp. 30th throne-holder.

Among his pupils counted *inter alia* the next throne-holder, *grub dbang* rGyal-byung bsam-grub, *dge slong* Chos-bzang rin po che, *grub dbang* rNam-grol (1774–1845), *grub dbang* bDud-'dul dKon-mchog kun-dga', Me-long bu-chung, dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Chos-grags, Khams sKyo-khri-pa Don-grub chos-dbang, Ngag-dbang blo-gros mchog-ldan (b. 1794).

XXIX ***sKyabs rje*** **dKon-mchog bsTan-'dzin Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan**, *aliases* Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan 'Phrin-las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde, 'Jam-dbyangs Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po, 'Jam-dbyangs bstan-'dzin Chos kyi nyi-ma, Theg-mchog bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1793–1827)[89]

Father: *rig 'dzin* 'Jigs-med gling-pa mKhyen-brtse 'od-zer (1729/30–98) of Tshe-ring-ljongs of 'Phyongs-rgyas. Mother: *rig 'dzin* dPal-mtsho (father, the Phu-shud *sde pa*) (d. 1820).

Tenure: 1819–1826

He was considered the 4th 'Bri-gung Chung-tshang incarnation. In 1809, he took his novice ordination vows. In 1814, he was properly ordained. Sometimes counted as the 30th, resp. 31st throne-holder.

Among his pupils count *inter alia*: A-grags chos-'phel, rJe-dbon Rin-chen mchog-ldan, dKon-mchog yon-tan 'byung-gnas (d. 1840), sGrub-brgyud sku-phreng lnga-pa (b. 1814).

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a still deplorably non-extant *bKa' brgyud 'Bri gung ba'i gdan rabs dang rtsa brgyud bla ma'i rnam thar Shel dkar phreng ba* on the 'Bri-gung seat. Cf. TH Martin no. 254.

[86] A possible candidate as rebirth of the 2nd Che-tshang had been born in dGa'-ba-lung of sPo-bo dist. 1720, as son to *gter ston* Chos-rje gling-pa, but he died after a few months; cf. *BCh* 523. *GK* 723. His elder brother was 'Brug-pa *thams cad mkhyen pa* bKa'-brgyud 'Phrin-las shing-rta.

[87] Important ruling family in Kong-po affiliated to 'Bri-gung. He was *mda' dpon* of the lHa-sa government. His younger son was identified as a 'Brug-chen incarnate, see prev. note. Cf. Petech 1973: 209–10.

[88] *GK* 723–24. A major biography on him extists (see Vol. E of *dPal 'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi chos mdzod che mo*) written by the 28th throne-holder rJe-btsun bstan-'dzin Padma rgyal-mtshan, *rGyal dbang dkon mchog bstan'dzin'gro 'dul gyi rnam par thar pa Nyon mongs gdung sel bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun* 1b1–61b6 (= 1–129) and one by his close pupil rJe Don-grub skal-bzang, *Dad pa'i mdzes* (~ *gtsug*) *rgyan*. See *BGCh* vol. Co; *BCh* 529.

XXX [lHo-sprul] dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Chos kyi blo-gros dpal-bzang-po (1801–1859)

Father: Śākya dar-rgyas-tshang of mDo-khams. Mother:

Tenure: 1826–1832/1854?[90]

He was a rebirth of *kun gzigs* lHo-pa Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan. He received his final ordination in 1820. Sometimes counted as the 32nd throne-holder.

Among his pupils count inter alia: *grub dbang* No-no dKon-mchog bstan-pa (1781–1862), Che 'Brom-pa Ti-ti, sDe-dge dKon-mchog bsam-gtan, dKon-mchog dam-chos Chos kyi nyi-ma.

XXXI dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Chos-nyid nor-bu, *aliases* Rin-chen bstan-pa'i mdzes-rgyan rang-byung Chos-nyid nor-bu dpal-bzang-po, Ngag-dbang 'jam-dpal Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan, Don-grub rdo-rje (1828–65)

Father: lHun-grub bKra-shis of sMad-zangs ri-rtse of g.Yor dist. Mother: lHa-'dzom/sgron.

Tenure: 1832-54

1836, he took his novice ordination. 1848, he was fully ordained. Considered the 5th 'Bri-gung Chung-tshang incarnation. Sometimes counted as the 33rd throne-holder.

XXXII dKon-mchog Thugs-rje'i nyi-ma Nges-legs Chos kyi 'od-zer 'gro-'dul dpal-bzang-po, *aliases* dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Chos kyi blo-gros dge-legs rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde, Rin-chen chos-dbang, Ngag-dbang phrin-las dbang-phyug (1828–1885)

Father: Ab-shar bSam-dkar of gNam-ru of Byang. Mother: Ga-bza'-ma.

Tenure: 1854–1872

He took his vows as ordained monk 1839. Considered the 5th 'Bri-gung sKyabs-mgon Che-tshang incarnation. Often counted as the 34th throne-holder.

XXXIII dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Chos kyi blo-gros 'Phrin-las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde, *alias* Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin 'gyur-med rnam-rgyal Chos kyi nyi-ma (1868–1906)

Father: lHa-phyag bSod-nams dbang-rgyal of the sNang-gsal 'od-ldan estate of 'Ol-kha. Mother: Pad-ma lha-sgrol.

Tenure: 1872–1906

His identification as 6th 'Bri-gung Chung-tshang incarnation confirmed through the "golden urn" procedure conduced 1870 in lHa-sa, a selection procedure for the first time applied for holders of the 'Bri-gung seat.

XXXIV dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Thub-bstan gsal-byed Zhi-ba'i blo-gros dpal-bzang-po, *aliases* Thub-bstan gsal-byed 'phrin-las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde, Ngag-dbang thub-bstan Chos kyi dbang-phyug or Kun-bzang Thub-bstan chos kyi nyi-ma (1886–1943)

Father: Padma Chos-'phel of Chu-lcang of Dvags-lha sgam-po. Mother: bDe-skyid dPal-'dzom.

1. Tenure: 1906–1935

2. Tenure: 1940–1943

After his identification, he was brought to 'Bri-gung age seven in 1892. In 1898, he was ordained, fully ordained 1905. In 1909, he visited La-dvags and Western Tibet. Considered the 6th 'Bri-gung Che-tshang incarnation. In 1923, he erected the Nyi-lcang *chos sde* bShad-sgrub Rab-rgyas-gling, etc. Sometimes counted as the 35th or 36th throne-holder. In 1935, he stepped down. His pupils included *inter alia*: The next throne-holder, mGar-chung Khri-'du *sprul sku*, dKon-mchog Tshe-brtan, A-mgon-mchog (1913–1945), rDo-rje lHo-dkar (1872–1947), grub dbang Rab-bzang, sGo-lcog sprul sku dKon-mchog Nges-don bstan-'dzin dbang-po (1887–1940), Sog-ru 'Jigs-med Chos kyi blo-gros (1890–1953). Cf. *BCh* 640–49.

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[89] A major biography on him was entitled *'Jam mgon bla ma chos kyi rgyal mtshan gyi dgung lo so gcig par gyi rnam par thar pa sKal bzang dad pa'i shing rta*, written by his gZims-dpon dKon-mchog yon-tan 'byung-gnas. Its continuation or second part (*smad cha*) is called *sKal bzang dad pa'i shing rta Nyong mong Yid kyi gdung sel*. Some details of his life is offered in the biography of mDo mKhyen-brtse Ye-shes rdo-rje, the rebirth of the throne-holder's father.

[90] The tenureship of the successive 'Bri-gung throne-holders starting from the 30th tenant is often unclear, due not least to the interal dispute among the members of the 'Bri-gung administration and due to the interference from the dGa'-ldan pho-brang government which occasionally banned a number of the throne-holders from residing at 'Bri-gung.

XXXV dKon-mchog bsTan-'dzin Chos kyi byung-gnas 'jigs-med rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde dpal-bzang-po, *alias* Blo-bzang 'Jam-dpal thub-bstan 'jigs-med Chos kyi dbang-phyug (1909–1940)

Father: *dmag dpon* (*mda' dpon*) Chos-dbang / Chos-g.yang of Rog-mdo. Mother: Padma lha-sgron (alt. rNam-rgyal sgrol-ma).

Tenure: 1935–1940

Identified 1914. Considered the 7th 'Bri-gung Chung-tshang. Sometimes considered the 37th throne-holder.

His pupils include *inter alia*: *grub dbang* dBang-rgyal (d.1940), Shub-ma sgrub-brgyud (1918–1942), Chos-ldan bzang-mo (1877–1958), dPa'-chung dKon-mchog 'phrin-las (1900–1988), Khyung-dga' *rin po che*, dKon-mchog thub-bstan phun-tshogs, *grub dbang* bsTan-'dzin *rin po che* (1902–1983), mKhan-chen Nor-bu rgyal-mtshan (1897–1967), *gter ston* 'Od-gsal rdo-rje, etc. Cf. *BCh* 653–69.

XXXVI brGyad-ra mChog-sprul dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Thub-bstan dbang-po (1924–1979)

Father: A-khu dGe-slong of Mang-rva dgon-pa. Mother: A Beggar.

Tenure: 1943–1955. Intermediate candidate

Sometimes considered the (intermediate) 38th throne-holder. In the early 1960's, he lived in lHa-sa where he married A-nor. During the Cultural Revolution he worked in Potala and Jo-khang compiling and restoring the library.

Among his pupils: Ba-log *sprul sku* dKon-mchog thub-bstan chos-grags (1925–1972), dKon-mchog skal-bzang (1913–97), Nyan-po gSang-sngags rang-grol (b. 1906), dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin nyi-ma (1924), dKon-mchog nor-bu (b. 1922), bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal (b. 1922), Blo-bzang bde-chen, dMar-til Chos-'phel, Cf. e.g. *BCh* 671–88.

XXXVII Rin-chen bsTan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Chos kyi snang-ba mTha'-yas dpal-bzang-po, *alias* Blo-bzang byams-pa (b. 1942)

Father: lHa rGya-ri khri-chen sKal-ldan/bzang snyan-grags of g.Ye/E in lHo-kha. Mother: Rig 'dzin Chos-'dzoms.

Tenure: 1955–

Arrived at 'Bri-gung from lHa rGya-ri in 1947. Considered the 8th Chung-tshang rin-po-che. Sometimes regarded as the 39th throne-holder. Suffered severe persecution during the Cultural Revolution. In 1984, he visited India.

Among his pupils: Sog-sprul dKon-mchog brtson-'grus mthar-phyin (1935–1997), Nub-sprul dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin mgon-po Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, A-mgon sprul sku dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (b. 1946), mGar mi-'gyur *rin po che*, Bla-sprul dKon-mchog shes-rab chos-'phel, lHo-'phags mchog-tshang, lHo Kun-bzang, Ka-tshal gNya'-ltag mchog-sprul dKon-mchog dbang-po, etc. Cf. *BCh* 692–702.

XXXVIII dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Kun-bzang 'Phrin-las lhun-grub phyogs-las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde (b. 1946)[91]

Father: Tsha-rong dGra-'dul rnam-rgyal. Mother: dByangs-can sGrol-dkar / sKal-bzang of Phreng-ring (Taring).[92]

Tenure: 1954–

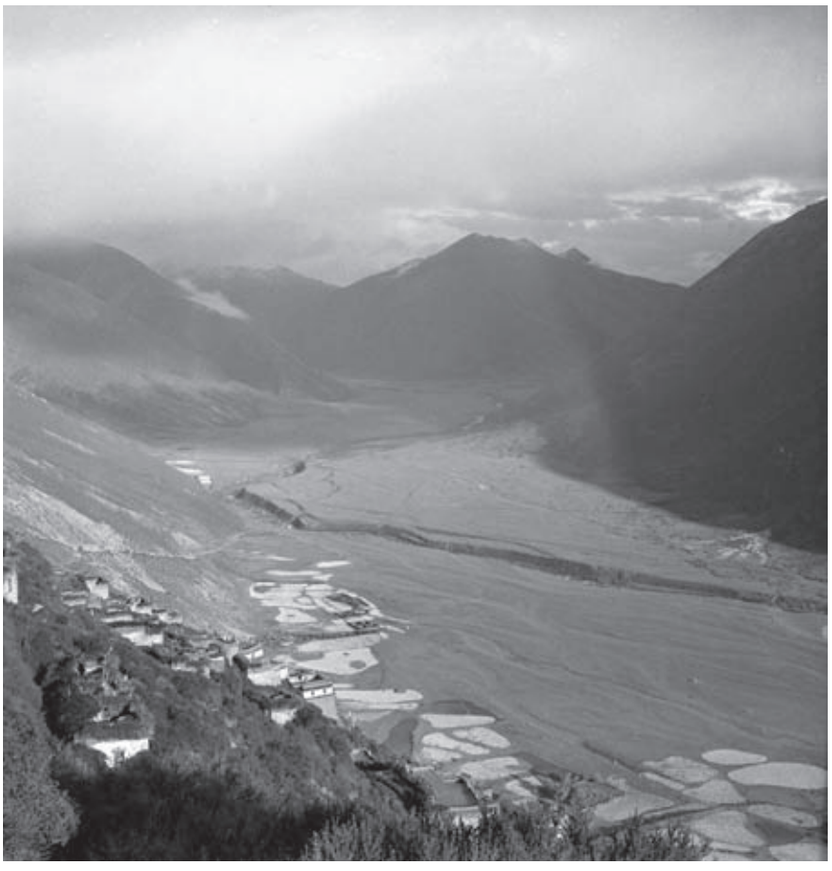
Identified 1950 and brought to 'Bri-gung. Considered the 7th 'Bri-gung Che-tshang incarnation. Occasionally reckoned as the 40th (alt. 37th) throne-holder. After persecution during the Cultural Revolution, he in 1975 fled to India. Travelled widely since then as head of the 'Bri-gung seat in India (seat at Drigung Kagyud Institute in Dehra Dun).

Among his pupils count: dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan, mGar-chen dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan (b. 1937), dKon-mchog bstan-'dzin Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan (b. 1948), Nags-shod dBu-mdzad dKon-mchog chos-bzang (b. 1929), dKon-mchog rnam-rgyal (b. 1937), 'Jang Yon-tan *sprul sku*, Chos-grags, dKon-mchog gsam-gtan (b. 1921), etc. Cf. *BCh* 707–18.

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[91] A biography on him was written by 'Bri-gung mDzod-zur dKon-mchog bSam-gtan (b. 1921); see *BL*.

[92] For a photo of the parents and the young Che-tshang *rin po che*, see H. Harrer, *Tibet* (1991): 92–94.



***47**. 'Bri-gung mThil*
Photo: H. Richardson



***48**. The Founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po*
Statue: Private Collection (PKS 2004)



***49**. Thog-kha-pa Rin-chen seng-ge, the 5th throne-holder of 'Bri-gung*
Statue kept in lHa-sa (PKS 2004)



***50**. The Bla-dbyi-thang at 'Bri-gung* (PKS 2004)



***51**. The stūpas of Se-gseb in upper'On. The ensemble belonged to the Se-gseb vihāra founded by the 'Jig-rten mgon-po teacher Zhang Sum-thog-pa* (2005)



***52**. 'Bri-gung Chos kyi grags-pa, the 23rd throne-holder and last of the 'Bri-gung sKyu-ra line*
(Photo after Rhie and Thurman 1999)



***53**. lHa-mo A-phyi, the protrecess of 'Bri-gung-pa*
Statue kept in Ka-tshal-dgon (1999)



***54a**. sGom ma Rin-chen dpal-mo, the only female ruler of 'Bri-gung-pa*



***54b**. Khri dpon mGon-po rgyal-mtshan*

V.11.2. The Abbatial Succession of the sTag-lung dgon-pa

Based upon
Primary Sources:
Deb ther sngon po (*DN*); *Deb ther dmar po* (*DM*); *rGyal rabs chos 'byung* (*GRCh*); *Deb dmar gsar* (*DMS*); *dGa' ldan chos 'byung* (*GD*); *rGya bod chos 'byung* (*GB*); *sTag lung bka' srung* (*KS*); *Bod kyi deb ther* (*BD*); *sTag lung chos 'byung I–III* (*TL I –III*); *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung I–II* (*KG I–II*); *Mangala śrī rnam thar* (*MSh*); *Gu bkra chos 'byung* (*GK*); *Sangs rgyas yar byon rnam thar* (*YB*); *Ngag dbang rnam rgyal bkra shis rnam thar* (*KSh*); *bKa' gdams chos 'byung I–IV* (*KD I–IV*); *lHo rong chos 'byung* (*HR*); *'Brug pa'i chos 'byung* (*BCh*); *Rva sgreng dkar chag* (*RG*); *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (*KT*); *Bla sprul deb gzhung* (*BP*)
Secondary Sources:
Ming mdzod (*MD*); *Mi sna* (*MN*); *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* (*DK*); TPS Tucci (TPS); *lHa sa'i dgon tho* (*HS*); *HSLG*

The Byang sTag-lung dgon-pa seat in present-day lHun-grub county (*rdzong* or *xian*)[1] of northern Central Tibet is one of the oldest and most prestigious in Tibet. Like a number of other religious chairs, it too mushroomed in the wake of the proliferation and the ramification issuing from sGam-po-pa and Phag-mo-gru-pa in the 12th century – tradition talks about four large and eight minor schools, albeit it was many, many more – the institution and establishment erected by sTag-lung chen-po in 1180 A.D. proved to be one of the most stable and autarkic religious polities to survive into modern times. Like a number of other family-based monastic seats in Tibet, behind the rise of sTag-lung stood an all-dominating clan, namely the East-Tibetan Ga-zi line.[2] Their Central Tibetan power basis was situated in the districts of Byang, 'Phan-yul and 'Dam-gzhung, due north of lHa-sa strongly backed by nomadic settlements. The relatively numerous sources on sTag-lung carry ample witness of the founder's and his successors' capability to garner support from a large number of local and regional patrons, propped by its relatively strong family and clan structure behind the ruling Ga-zi family in addition to its geographically relatively marginal location on the periphery of Central Tibet, all in all was conducive to make the seat prosper extraordinarily. The ruling line of abbots at sTag-lung was represented by a *khu dbon* line occasionally replaced in case of emergency (such as lack of eligible candidate) or due to personal hegemonical pursuits by a hereditary father-brother line. The ruler on the see moreover held the traditional dual rule of power (*lugs gnyis*). The throne-holders were traditionally denoted sTag-lung-pa chen-po'i bstan-pa'i bdag-po, "Master of the Teachings of the Great One from the Birch / Tiger Valley," i.e. bKra-shis-dpal. The source materials for the sTag-lung history is relatively rich.

Barely one hundred years after its foundation, the first major conflict flared up: 1272 heralded a dispute in the succession to the see, grounded in a traditional nephew discord or dissent which in this case resulted in the schism into the "Upper Plain" (Ya-thang) and the "Lower Plain" (Ma-thang) seats (which was erected in the homeland of the Ga-zi family in Khams).[3] sTag-lung Sangs-rgyas dbon-po (1251–1296), who later was stigmatized as the *gyes mdzad* [*pa*] or the "schismer" fled Central Tibet and established his own successful seat. During the coming five hundred years, both branch seats prospered and occasionally played a decisive political role, less in the overall Central Tibet politics than in the regional history, in the interaction with other major seats as well as in their patronage politics.

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[1] Located at 30°09'N 91°13'E in present-day sTag-lung *xiang* of lHun-grub *rdzong*. For the etymology of the name sTag-lung different explanations prevail: sTag as "tiger" or "birch tree" (*stag shing pa*). See Part I: fn. 405. It was thoroughly destroyed during the Cultural Revolution; its renovation followed 1985, initiated and headed by rTse-sprul *rin po che*.

[2] The Ga-zi family (of which evidently three branches existed, here the intermediate) descended from the proto-clan dBra issuing from the Se and Khyung peoples. They may have been originally associated with the Mi-nyag (Xixia) territory. In fact, monk-communities and followers attached to the sTag-lung founder that stemmed from the areas of Mi-nyag Xia comprised up to 500 monks (see App. I above). For details as to the initial Ga-zi pedigree, see *MSh* 45–46; *HR* 454.

[3] Aside from the basic primary sTag-lung sources, this survey has benefitted from the readable and excellent synoptic articles

In the early 17th century, sTag-lung too altered its ruling politics in the abbatial succession from the inchoate, intern Ga-zi *khu dbon or yab sras* succession to an incarnate line succession (*sku 'phreng*) – not necessarily included a Ga-zi clan candidate – set up in line with other seats in Tibet. In 1678, due again to family wrangling at the see, the Central Tibetan sTag-lung main seat and its estates were confiscated by the government. The *mkhan po* and *sprul sku* were henceforth elected by the lHa-sa dGa'-ldan pho-brang state who approved each incarnation. The most important: The Ma-thang seat of dByi-shod Ri-bo-che became the overall epicenter of sTag-lung teachings and influence. The three Ga-zi incarnate lines at this point included the Sum-'phreng, g.Yag-[g]rong and the (Ga-zi or) sTag-lung *zhabs drung*. After 1721, the right to fill in the lineage returned to the Ga-zi family, only the family at this point had few eligible candidates, and the government was often asked to intervene. In Khams Ri-bo-che i.e. sTag-lung Ma-thang, a number of lines, both hereditary within the Ga-zi family as well as incarnate abbot lines existed. From the 16th century, the throne was occupied by the *rJe drung sprul sku* line alternating with the 'Phags-mchog *sprul sku* line. A third seat within sTag-lung, originally initiated within the Ga-zi family was the rTse *zhabs drung sprul sku line* which reigned a separate Bla-brang seat in Khams. Summing up, the ruling incarnate lines of sTag-lung from the late 16th century thus included the sTag-lung Zhabs-drung *sprul sku* (at Ya-thang), the Ma *sprul sku* (at Ma-thang) and finally rTse *sprul sku* at rTse Bla-brang. Today a total six main incarnation lines at the Ya-thang and Ma-thang seats, namely at sTag-lung Ya-thang: Zhabs-drung rin-po-che (still held by the Ga-zi line), rTse-sprul rin-po-che and Ma-sprul rin-po-che (in short called the sTag-lung skyabs-mgon Ma-Zhabs-rTse gsum) and at sTag-lung Ma-thang: the rJe-drung rin-po-che, 'Phags-mchog rin-po-che and Zhabs-drung rin-po-che (in short, rJe-'Phags-Zhabs gsum). Like in other schools, the rebirth succession lineage soon inflated dramatically at sTag-lung, leading to a large number of existing lines all regulated through rebirths.

Indeed, the relevant sources documenting the sTag-lung lineage occupying the main seat from the late 17th century until the present is both sparse, inchoate and partly unreliable. The present three leading incarnation lineages mentioned above – i.e. sTag-lung sKyabs-mgon Ma-Zhabs-rTse gsum – maintain that the present incumbent at the main Ya-thang see is the 32nd in succession.[4] The list offered in this paper follows this preliminary yet still not conclusive list. The present list below is incomplete and requires further elaborations and corrections.

The sTag-lung seats throughout their history were regarded as overly rich and affluent. The precious inventories of innumerable major and minor religious art objects (*sku rten*, *sku gdung*, *phyi rten*, *nang rten*, etc.) which they kept manufacturing and erecting in order to refurbish and decorate their main seats and their many affiliated establishments indeed were uniformly famous throughout Tibet – objects and artifacts that had to a large extent been manufactured by Nepalese artists who lived at both seats over many centuries. The main seats themselves occasionally fell victim of destruction or fire, such as in 1547 when the Ya-thang seat was destroyed. An overall destruction visited both main seats in the throes of the disastrous Cultural Revolution when many of these priceless 13–16th-century objects were looted or removed from the original seats – a deplorable fate they shared by almost all institutions of yore in Tibet. At Ri-bo-che Ma-thang *gtsug lag khang*, a number of these valuable objects have disappeared, not least sculptures that had been executed and manufactured *in situ* in the period 1283–88 by Nepalese artists, but also later in particular during the tenure of the 6th Ma-thang throne-holder *chos rje* Mi-g.yo mgon-po. Some of these have been returned and are now securely kept in the Top-floor chapel (dKar-rje-ma), yet a large part is said still be held by the villagers whereas other early master-pieces have already been smuggled out of the area to enter the international art-market.[5]

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offered by sMan-ming-pa 'Jam-dpal kun-khyab (1988) on the Ma-thang seat of Ri-bo-che in Khams and by Thub-bstan go-cha (1991) for the central Ya-thang seat of Central Tibet. Cf. also Rossi-Filibeck (1994) and Schwieger 1996.

[4] Presently, a large number of minor sTag-lung *bla sprul* incarnation lineages is documented representing different minor sTag-lung affiliated monasteries: Bla-dga' *rin po che*, rDza-dgon *rin po che*, Brag-sprul *rin po che*, Ha-'phel *rin po che*, mTsho-sding *rin po che*, Gur-khyung *rin po che*, sBra-nag mtshams-sprul *rin po che*, rDo-ring mtshams-chen and mtshams-chung *rin po che*, Ko-ham thub-dga' *rin po che*, Ka-ra *rin po che*, Do-sprul *rin po che*.

[5] So e.g. an uniform yet incomplete set of invaluable, late 13th century *thangka* of early sTag-lung (Ma-thang) throne-holders

sTag-lung Ya-thang *gdan rabs*
(dPal rDo-rje-gdan sTag-lung dgon-pa)

I sTag-lung thang-pa bKra-shis-dpal (1142–1210 A.D.)

Father: Ba-na Blon (var. Yon) 'Bar-po. Mother: Brab-shi-bza' dGe-gsum Khro-mo-gzur (1123/24–1144).
Tenure: 1180–1203[6]

He stemmed from the Ga-zi family of g.Yang-shod Bong-ra-stod (originally of sMar-khams). His father was an affluent figure in the area. Age 18, the young founder went to the local Thang-skya monastery[7] where he was ordained (1159 A.D.) in the presence of dBra Ga-ston lHa-khang-pa (var. Bla-gang-pa) Shes-rab rdo-rje. After his ordination, he resolved to proceed to India, only to reach Western Tibet. 1165, he proceeded towards dBus but returned home soon after. Seeking Phag-mo-gru-pa, he again proceeded towards Central Tibet where he arrived in Klung-shod and Phod-mdo, then at Tsha-ba-rong of 'On. There he was to follow rDo-rje rgyal-po, his root teacher for a long period. Later he went into retreat at Se-mo-do. In 1170, he met the bKa'-gdams-pa master 'Chad-kha-pa in Mal-gro. He again proceeded to Phod-mdo where he stayed in the local lHa-khang and in Thang-'go dgon-pa. A local patron, *dge bshes* Zhang Khang-chen-pa suggested to bKra-shis-dpal to erect a hermitage on the rock of Sing/Seng-gling-brag. In 1171 (*HR*: 1172), he received his final ordination in Sho-ma-ra of dBu-lung (in the presence of Zhang Khang-chen-pa and Zhang Sho-ma ra-ba).[8] He then made retreat sessions at the Sing-gling-brag hermitage for seven years. Renown for his ascetic life, never indulging in meat or alcohol. The number of his followers steadily growing, a new and larger seat was sought. A local patron named mGon-lug proffered the hilly area of sTag-lung Valley, famed as former residence of the bKa'-gdams-pa master Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal. After his followers were being harassed by local brigands in Phod-mdo, he decided to transfer his seat to Se-ba-lung (bSe-lung) for three years. In 1180/81, he was invited back to the districts of sPras, Dar-yul and Rong (see Part I: fns. 404, 405), where his followers and the local people of the latter two districts were soon enmeshed in a warring dispute. He mediated successfully and as a token of gratitude, he was proffered the area as religious estate. He erected the main seat at sTag-lung, where he eventully gathered over 5000 followers.[9] Increasingly affluent, he generously proffered extensive donations to all major bKa'-brgyud-pa seats in dBus.

A pupil of the sTag-lung founder, named Mu-tho-pa[10] had a life-size (*sku tshad*) *thangka* of the founder manufactured or commissioned *ca*. 1209.[11]

II sKu-yal-ba Rin-chen mgon-po (1190/1191–1236)

Father: Yon-bdag mGo[n]-yag (younger half-brother to no. I). Mother: Dzo/Jo-zi-bza' bKra-shis-mtsho.[12]
Tenure: 1210–1236

He was born in Grong-'phrar-sgang. Possibly a sedis vacantia for seven years. Age 11, in 1201 he was ordained at Thang-skya rGod-thar dgon-pa (just like his predecessor). He was fully ordained in 1208. After ascending the throne, he erected an ossuary called bKra-shis dpal-'bar for the founder. Around 1224, he expanded and completed

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evidently executed in the popular *shar bris ma* style is now scattered throughout the West; some of these have been described (in a number of articles so e.g. by J. Casey Singer – much more details however can be said about these early paintings; see Jackson 2005; some of the *thangka* resemble or parallel murals still intact at Ma-thang and the paintings deserves a thorough comparative study). See also Luczanits in Linrothe ed. 2006. It is most deplorable that these objects are now lost for the imposing Ma-thang, one of the true monastic pearls of Khams – the objects rightfully belong re-installed at the beautiful eastern sTag-lung seat.

[6] The parents had only one son, bKra-shis-dpal; after his mother's passing, bKra-shis-dpal's father remarried and had three more sons, bKra-shis-dpal's half-brothers: *sgom pa* Zla-'od, mGo[n]-yag (father of the no. II) and one mGo[n]-rgyal. Cf. *HR* 454.

[7] The founder of Thang-skya rGod-dkar lha-khang was dBra Ga (dGa'-, or rGva-)-ston Phya-bu. It possibly refers to Mi-nyag Gha (= Xia). He had met Jo-bo-rje in Central Tibet after having visiting India, whereupon he returned to Khams where he establ. the Thang-skya monastery. The succeeding abbots included one Khams Ra-chen, then Tshul-khrims bla-ma followed by Ga-ston (bKra-shis-dpal's abbot), and dBon-ston Ratna-nātha, etc.; see *MSh* 52–53, 64–65; *HR* 455.

[8] For the older history of Sho-ma-ra and other sites in the dBu-ru-lung district, see recently Hazod, 'King Mer-khe.'

[9] For a list of his numerous disciples and patrons; cf. *MSh* 255f.; *HR* 470f.

[10] *TL-I* 241–43. One of the founder's four *thugs sras* or intimate disciples. He had visions of the founder. He executed painting of his visions and executed a *thangka* of Mahākāla. Another pupil was Ma-jo sgom-nag who resided in Vajrāsana and who erected a statue of the founder. In the 17th cent., it was still installed in the Li-ma lha-khang as principal image.

[11] *TL-I* 251.

[12] They had four sons.

the grand and affluent gTsug-lag-khang supervised by an Indian artist.[13] During his tenure, the affluence of the seat was further cemented, new territories were conquered, esp. to the north, sPrag-lung and in sNying-drung of 'Dam. Conflicts with the neighbouring bKa'-gdams-pa establishments. During his tenure, *ca*. 5000 monks and *ca*. 500 retreants gathered at the see.

The row of patrons of the sTag-lung seat included: the Phod-mdo-pa, and among these especially Zhang A-stag and his family as well as the Rong-pa.

III Sangs-rgyas Yar-byon Shes-rab bla-ma (1203–1272)[14]

Father: Yon-chen mGo[n]-rgyal . Mother: Brab-shi [= Rag-shi]-bza' lHa-mo gSal-sgron.

Tenure: 1236–1272

Age 16, he was ordained at Thang-skya rGod-dkar-dgon (1222, fully ordained) at the feet of Ga-ston bla-ma and lHa-khang lTag-pa. Age 19, he arrived in Central Tibet. Age 34, he ascended the throne. He greatly and profusely expanded the see and the artistic inventory in the monastery; he introduced a very strict 39-point law and moral conduct code at the see.[15] He erected a man-sized silvery statue of the founder (*TL-1* 276–77).

[III] Sangs-rgyas dbon-po Grags-pa dpal-'od (1251–1296)[15a]

Tenure: 1272–1273

Upon the demise of the 2nd throne-holder, a dispute over the succession flared up, between two nephews, not least over the immediate succession but also over precious sTag-lung relics (so e.g. a tooth of Mi-la ras-pa) and the riches were eventually divided between the two candidates. He only reigned for one year and in 1273, bKra-shis bla-ma, following a coup, ascended the throne. Sangs-rgyas dbon-po, after a short detour, left for Khams to become the founder of the Ma-thang seat of sTag-lung: Yang-dgon temple of dPal Ri-bo-che, erected in 1276. Usually not counted as throne-holder. If included, he is the 4th the following throne-holders should be renumbered, *mutatis mutandis*. See below.

IV *dBon* Mangala Gu-ru, *alias* bKra-shis bla-ma (1231–1297)

Father: *yon bdag* Chos-yags (brother of no. II). Mother: Jo-zi-bza' gZungs-sgron.[16]

Tenure: 1273–1292/97

Age 16, in 1246 he was ordained at Thang-skya *chos grva*. Age 25, he arrived in Central Tibet. He remained in retreat for 16 years. Prior to his tenancy, a schism between Central Tibet and Khams flared up concerning the sTag-lung teachings. Still, the throne-holder had the backing of the local monks and citizens of sTag-lung to ascend the throne. As as result the Ya-thang and the Ma-thang seats were established, the latter erected by Sangs-rgyas dbon-po who had left Central Tibet. bKra-shis bla-ma erected a statue of De-bzhin-gshegs-pa known as lHa-chen sTong-gsum zil-gnon. Qubilai Qan allegedly donated gold to the refurbishment of statues at sTag-lung, as well as many relics of Tathagāta, the tooth of Mi-la ras-pa, etc. In 1292, U-rgyan-pa Seng-ge-dpal (1230–1309) en route to the Yuan court visited sTag-lung.

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[13] For a description of the site and its refurbishment, see *HR* 481–2. Wood was purchased from Nag-shod, which led to clashes with the 'Bri-gung-pa.

[14] The most comprehensive biography on him was written by Ra-skyel-brag-pa (non-extant). Considered himself an embodiment of the bKa'-gdams-pa *jinaputra* Po-to-ba. It should be recalled that sTag-lung to a large extent was built and spread out on the territory that was considered the homestead of this 11th cent. bKa'-gdams-pa master.

He had two elder brothers *yon bdag* Ye-shes mgon-po and *yon bdag* rDo-rje rin-chen. The three sons of the first were:

- Rin-'bum bKra-shis-mgon, Grags-pa (he settled in dMu-ru-dgon) and Sangs-rgyas-skyabs.
- The latter's sons were *dbon* Yon-rgyal and A-lag.
- The latter's sons again were *dbon po* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan and Mang-'phan-'od.

The latter married one bTsad-bza' Jo-dar (daughter of Jo-bo A-mchog). Children: first *lcam* Rin-chen mtsho-mo, then dKon-mchog-sras *alias* Sangs-rgyas dbon-po Grags-pa dpal-'od. His third child (with diff. mother) was bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan.

[15] They were called *chos rje'i rnam thar bcu gsum*, *gling gi 'dul khrims bcu gsum* and *tshogs kyi bca' ba bcu gsum*. They were renewed and revised during the 10th throne-holder; for details see *TL-I* 273f., 402; *YB* 4a2f.; *HR* 496–98; Thub-bstan go-cha 1991: 50–51.

[15a] A detailed autobio. titled *Chos rje Sangs rgyas dbon po'i rnam par thar pa* exists; cf. *Drepung Catalogue II*: 017331.

[16] They had five sons: *slob dpon* Gling-pa, bKra-shis bla-ma, Zhang-skyabs, Thub-pa and Lod-po.

V Rin-chen Sangs-rgyas-dpal-bzang-po, *alias dbon po* Sangs-rgyas (1257–1310 A.D.).

Father: *yon bdag* Zhang-skyabs (younger brother of no. IV). Mother: rGya-gar *lcam*.[17]

Tenure: 1297–1309

Possibly a *sedis vacantia* for five years at the see when he ascended. Age 16, he arrived in Central Tibet. During this period a Phod-mdo [sTag-lung] *dpon* sPyang-khu Don[-grub] rin[-chen] is registered for *ca*. 1290's.[18]

VI Ratnaguru, *alias* Rin-chen bla-ma (1288–1339)

Father: *yon bdag* Thugs-rje-skyabs. Mother: mChog-gzungs *lcam*.[19]

Tenure: 1310–1339

Age 19, he arrived in Central Tibet. Received religious training at Sa-skya and Jo-nang. 1310, upon which he ascended the see at sTag-lung.

VII Rin-chen 'byung-gnas *alias* Ratnākara (1300–1361)

Father: *yon bdag* Thugs-rje-skyabs. Mother: mChog-gzungs *lcam*.

Tenure: 1339–1361

Younger brother of former throne-holder. Upon his ordination, he was trained at Sa-skya.

VIII Rin-po-che *kun spangs* Nam-mkha' dpal-dbyangs, *aliases* Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po, dPal-ldan 'Jam-dbyangs bzang-po (1333–1379)[20]

Father: *yon bdag* Ye-shes rin-chen. Mother: Phyug-mo dPal-le.[21]

Tenure: 1361–1375/76

He was the first throne-holder actually born in Central Tibet. He was ordained in lHa-sa in front of the Jo-bo statue, age 27. Attended on a number of major teachers. He held dual rule (secular and clerical) just like his successors. He erected a number of statues. Seeking active proselytism, he visited the northern districts up to seven times. In 1376, he turned ascetic (his *iṣṭadevatā* Cakrasaṃvara). He settled at the hermitage of Brag-skya rdo-rje'i *rdzong* of Seng-gling.

IX 'Jig-rten dbang-phyug bKra-shis dpal-'bar-brtsegs Nyi-ma'i dbang-po bsrung-ba'i go-cha (1359–1424/1425)

Father: Ga-zi *yon bdag* Kun-dga' ye-shes. Mother: 'Jam-dpal-skyid.[22]

Tenure: 1376–1424/1425

Born at the sTag-lung main residence of Dar-yul Bye-ma sTeng-khang. Age 17, he was ordained (his full ordination took place age 20 in lHa-sa). During his tenancy, in the 1380–90's, a major war raged in Central Tibet (however, largely unrelated to sTag-lung), yet he successfully mediated in a conflict in 'Phan-yul. He travelled extensively. He erected a human-size statue of the sTag-lung founder. Both pacified and converted successfully a large number of normadic settlements to the north (e.g. in Nags-shod) and in return was showered with presents and donations.[23] The pastoralist Mon-zhang nomad communities were converted in the early 15th cent. in particular through the present throne-holder. The 9th month of 1411 experienced a devastating earthquake in Central Tibet, however it

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[17] With his "Indian" [= Nepalese] consort, he had four children: Sangs-rgyas-dpal, Thugs-rje-skyabs, g.Yung-drung-skyabs and Ye-shes bla-ma respectively. The latter passed away in Nepal. It may well be that most of the celebrated Ma-thang throne-holder *thangka* paintings were executed by Nepalese/Indian artists during his tenancy.

[18] Cf. *U rgyan rnam thar I* 230–31.

[19] He had two sons: Ratnaguru and Ratnākara.

[20] His two younger brothers: dBon Ka-drug-pa and *yon bdag* Kun-dga' ye-shes.

[21] Son of g.Yung-drung-skyabs. He was secular ruler (*sde pa*, *mi dbang*) of the new residence or estate of the sTag-lung chiefs. He settled in Bye-ma of Dar-yul (of 'Phan-yul). The parents had three son: the oldest was the throne-holder, then followed Ka-drug-pa and Kun-dga' ye-shes (b. *ca*. 1339; father to the 9th throne-holder).

[22] They had two sons, the eldest was the 9th throne-holder and the youngest was Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (b. *ca*. 1363), influential father of the three subsequent throne-holders.

[23] The Nags-shod-pa *rdzong spyi/ji* bSod-nams rin-chen (*sgom pa* or civil administrator during the 11th throne-holder of 'Bri-gung, see above) was involved in these forays: Reportedly, he almost singlehandedly, i.e. without paying heed to the warnings of this throne-holder, conquered the nomadic groups; cf. *DMS* (Tucci 1972: 196–97).

reportedly caused only minor damage to sTag-lung. During his tenure, Bo-dong Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal visited sTag-lung where he also met the translator Śākya bzang-po.[24] Manufactured a very large number of images and *caitya*. Author of numerous writings.

X Byang-chub rgya-mtsho dpal-bzang-po (1403–1448/50)

Father: *dbon* Chos kyi rgyal-po Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan. Younger brother of former throne-holder.[25] Mother: Mi-nyag-bza' Bu-'dren.[26]

Tenure: 1424/25–1430

He was considered a manifestation of *rtogs ldan* mKha'-spyod dbang-po, the 2nd Zhva-dmar (1350–1405).

He was ordained 1412. He held the see for eight years only, following an earnest wish to turn ascetic and to embark upon an extensive peregrinating pilgrimage tour. In 1440, he met 'Gos l*o tsā ba* in sNe'u-gdong of Yar-lung. He passed away in bTsong-kha.[27]

XI *Chos rje* bKra-shis dpal-'od bzang-po, *alias* dPal-'od kyi rgya-mtsho (1408–1460)

Father: Ga-zi *mi dbang* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan. Mother: Mi-nyag-bza' Bu-'dren.

Tenure: 1430–1460

Ordained in 1418. He resided in the sTag-lung residences known as Hor-khang and Ka-drug. He ruled for 30 years and visited the sTag-lung Ma-thang seat of Ri-bo-che (1443). He is registered as a pupil of *rje* bTsong-kha-pa (*KD-II* 94a6–b2) and at some point took over the postition as *bla spyi* of Rva-sgreng (*GD* 54b1). During his tenure, the Rva-lung throne-holder Kun-dga' dpal-'byor (1428–76) visited sTag-lung (see the latter's biography 149.6–8). He erected the Rin-chen-brag dgon-gnas. He manufactured and erected a large number of religious objects and sanctuaries.

XII *Thams cad mkhyen pa* Ngag-dbang grags-pa dpal-bzang-po, *aliases* Nam-mkha' bkra-shis Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan, Ka-drug-pa (1418–1496)

Father: Ga-zi *mi dbang* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan. Mother: Mi-nyag-bza' Bu-'dren.

Tenure: 1461–1476/77

Born in the Ga-zi main-residence of Bye-ma *gzhis ka* of Dar-yul in 'Phan-yul. He was linked to the Ka-drug residence (hence later known as Ka-drug-pa). Considered a rebirth of the 7th throne-holder and further back considered an incarnation of Phag-mo-gru-pa (and indeed of Acala). Age 14, he was ordained. He made an extensive trip to gTsang in the early 1440's where he e.g. became pupil of Bo-dong. In 1466, he commissioned the erection of a huge Thub-chen g.Yul-rgyal dpal-'bar statue executed by Nepalese master artists, a *thugs dam* statue of Mar-pa, an exquisite Hevajra *thangka* and an embroidered *thangka* of Dvags-po sGam-po-pa. He conducted extensive repair and renewal of buildings at sTag-lung. He also erected a statue of Mañjuvajra. In 1462, he invited 'Gos *lo tsā ba* to sTag-lung, where the latter taught the *Kalacakra* cycle, the following year, he followed an invitation to Yar-lung from the latter. In 1476, he erected the dGe-'phel Chos-rdzong site at Thang-'brog. In 1477, he wanted to pursue an ascetic life and stepped down from the see. He probably was the greatest 15th-cent. master of the many differently transmitted Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa lineages of *Mahāmudrā*, a most powerful bKa'-brgyud master and hierarch in the mid-15th cent. and within sTag-lung only surpassed by the later Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal. From the 1440's, he is registered as pupil of the eminent Bo-dong Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1376–1451).[28] Ngag-dbang grags-pa revived central bKa'-brgyud-pa related teachings such as those belonging to the feeble 'Bri-gung. He had

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[24] The bonds between Bo-dong and the sTag-lung throne-holders go back to Bo-dong's uncle dPang *lo tsā ba* (1246-1342) and dPal-ldan Byang-chub rtse-mo, cf. *Phyogs las rnam rgyal* 93–4, 143. The cycles taught included *Do ha skor gsum*.

[25] He was father to the next three throne-holders. He had in all six children. One of these was Hor-khang Tshe-dbang grags-pa (d. 1499); cf. e.g. *DMS* (Tucci 1972: 201–02). With his Mi-nyag consort, he had five sons.

[26] The sTag-lung bonds to Mi-nyag Gha (Xia) – the old homestead of the Tanguts until the destruction in 1227 – developed during the reign of the 9th throne-holder. In the 1380's, he mediated in conflicts involving the Mi-nyag and donated presents to a *lha khang* in Mi-nyag and later in 'Phan-yul, he convened a Mi-nyag gi *'dun ma*, here evidently corresponding to a peace settlement of sorts (a similar was held in 1446 by the 6th Ma-thang throne-holder in Khams) since the communities in Mi-nyag often were at variance with another; cf. *TL-I* 371, 386, 651. The 6th and 7th Zhva-nag pa similarly are reported to have mediated in the warfare between the nomadic settlements of Rong-po and Mi-nyag.

[27] The hierarchs of Zhva-dmar starting with the 4th Chos kyi grags-pa ye-shes were said to be rebirths of this throne-holder. He still seems registered for 1450 A.D., see *Kam tshang bka' brgyud* 225b2.

[28] *Phyogs las rnam rgyal rnam thar* 270f. Cf. also Diemberger 1997: 76, 82–3, 85.

a number of important students: Paṇ-chen Śākya mchog-ldan, Sangs-rgyas mnyan-pa, Mang-thos dKon-mchog rin-chen, *rtogs ldan* 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtsho, *spyan snga* Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, bKra-shis dbang-phyug as well as Sha-ra Rab-'byams-pa Sangs-rgyas seng-ge.[29] His secular and military commander at sTag-lung was Ma-sangs Tshe-dbang grags-pa (father of the next throne-holder). In 1485, a karmic (patron-client) relationship was est. with the sNel-pa in lHa-sa, after they had broken with the dGe-lugs-pa. He had strong religious bonds to the 4th Zhva-dmar Chos-grags ye-shes, so in 1483, when he gave teachings to the latter. Later root-teacher of Rin-spungs-pa Don-yod rdo-rje (d. 1512), temporary ruler of Central Tibet.[30]

[**XIIIa**] **bKra-shis dpal-ba** (Maṅgalaśrī) (1461–1508)

Father: Ga-zi *mi dbang* [Ma-sangs] Tshe-dbang grags-pa (d. 1499). Mother: Bya-yul-bza'.

Tenure: 1473/1477–1485

Served as intermediate or supplementary throne-holder, yet often ignored as official throne-holder in the sources.

XIII ***Chos rje rin po che*** **rNam-rgyal grags-pa dpal-bzang-po**, *aliases* Tshe-dbang bkra-shis, Khams-gsum Chos kyi rgyal-po (1469–1530)

Half-brother of the former throne-holder. Father: *mi dbang* Tshe-dbang grags-pa (d. 1499). Mother: rGya-ma-bza' dPal-mo bu-'dren.[31]

1. Tenure: 1485–1501; Intermediate Tenure: 1501–20; see next throne-holder.

2. Tenure: 1520–1530

Born in sPras-sgang of 'Phan-yul. He reworked and improved the stern curricula or the sTag-lung moral or monastic code (*bca' yig*), earlier codified and implemented by the 3rd throne-holder. In 1493, he was ordained in the presence of the 12th and 13th throne-holders as well as the 4th Zhva-dmar who remained root-teachers to the throne-holder. In 1491, the 3rd 'Brug-chen (1478–1523) visited sTag-lung. In 1497, the silver ossuary of the 12th throne-holder was completed. Erected a large number of images, executed by Nepalese artists. He renovated and renewed the hermitage of Seng-gling Brag-skya rdo-rje.[32] In 1501, he went into retreat. 1510–13, he had a gold- and silver-written bKa'-'gyur manufactured. In the 1520's after his younger brother had passed away, he resumed the seat and the same year, a Mongol army arrived and occupied sTag-lung's extensive northern districts. He renovated and refurbished the sTag-lung main seat and its precinct.[33] In return, the sTag-lung *chos rje* should in 1529 conduct ceremonial hair-cutting ceremony of the prospective 5th Zhva-dmar-pa at sTag-lung who served as his root-teacher.[34]

XIV ***Chos rje rin po che*** **bSod-nams ye-shes dpal-bzang-po** (1472–1520)

Younger brother to the former throne-holder. Father: Ga-zi *mi dbang* Tshe-dbang grags-pa (d. 1499). Mother: rGya-ma-bza' dPal-mo bu-'dren.

Tenure: 1501–1520 (for 1520–30 see prev. throne-holder).

Fully ordained in 1491, in the presence of *rje* bKra-shis-dpal and the 4th Zhva-dmar. In 1501, he took over the secular and ecclesiastic seat at sTag-lung. He entertained relations to the 15th 'Bri-gung throne-holder and to dKar-po-ba Kun-dga'-grags.

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[29] One of his pupils mKhas-btsun Sha-ra rab-'byams-pa Sangs-rgyas ye-shes (1427–70); cf. *Sangs rgyas seng ge rnam thar* 5b6–6a6, 8b3–6, 15a4–5. See also Ehrhard 2004b: 587–89.

[30] The Rin-spungs ruler visited him 1481 at sTag-lung. A full-fledged biography of Ngag-dbang grags-pa was written by his pupil Mi-nyag *rab 'byams pa* Grags-pa rdo-rje (deplorably still non-extant); another contemporary Mi-nyag *rab 'byams pa* mGon-po-dpal was pupil of the 4th Zhva-dmar (see e.g. *KG* 1158–1159) and a Mi-nyag *rab 'byams pa* Chos kyi grags-pa (see Ehrhard 2002c: 92–93); listed are also *rtogs ldan* Mi-nyag Blo-gros rin-chen (b. 1386) and Grags-pa rin-chen; cf. *Kam tshang bka' brgyud* 255b2f.); the latter also had bonds to the 23rd Sa-skya khri-chen; cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* 381.

[31] They had three sons, the 14th throne-holder being the intermediate one. This was the first attempt from the side of the Ga-zi to marry into the rGya-ma khri-khang house. Similar attempts during the same and subsequent period was conducted by the'Bri-gung-pa (see above) and even the 3rd Dalai Lama's family had bonds to the rGya-ma seat in Mal-gro.

[32] Other famous and oft-frequented sTag-lung hermitage sites included sTag-lung-phu, Bri'u-lung [= Dre'u-lung; see 'Od-zer go-cha 1992], Seng-gling rtse-zhol, Thang-'brog, and dBu-ru-lung. Cf. e.g. rTse-sprul Thub-bstan rgyal-mtshan 2003: 50f. On the sites in dBu-ru-lung and the closer sTag-lung-pa area, see also Hazod, 'King Mer-khe'; cf. also Part I: Map 4.

[33] Among his writings were also biographical sketches and an inventory of the sTag-lung *gtsug lag khang* (non-extant). He had a long list of pupils; cf. *TL-I* 485–86.

[34] Cf. *Zhva dmar lnga pa rnam thar* 10a3–6.

XV Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal bKra-shis grags-pa rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po, *alias* Chos-skyong bKra-shis (1524–1563)[35]

Father: bKra-shis rgya-mtsho'i dpal.[36] Mother: 'Ol-kha-bza' bDe-skyid bu-'dren rgyal-mo.

1.Tenure: 1530–1550

Tenure: 1550–52 intermediately held by his younger brother 'Gro-mgon Ras-pa chen-po, *alias* rNam-rgyal phun-tshogs (1532–1603 A.D.)

2. Tenure: 1552–55

Born in Rin-chen-brag dgon-pa. Age seven, he occupied the dual throne of sTag-lung. 1531, he took his *dge tshul* vows. Fully ordained 1542 at the feet of Sa-skya-pa chen-po 'Jam-dbyang Ngag gi dbang-phyug. Remained repeatedly in retreat in Seng-gling rDo-rje-rdzong, for the first time 1539. In 1536, the 16th 'Bri-gung throne-holder was invited to Phod-mdo by a local *dpon mo* Hor-mo whereupon he continued to the sTag-lung seat. Erected a large number of images and icons (statues and *thangka*). Large parts of the sTag-lung temple complex burned down in 1547.[37] In 1550 he went into retreat for two years. After leaving the see permanently, he went into retreat.

XVI Kun-dga' bkra-shis, *aliases* Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal legs-grub bkra-shis rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po, Khams-gsum Chos kyi rgyal-po (1536–1599/1605)[38]

Father: bKra-shis rgya-mtsho'i dpal. Mother: 'Ol-kha-bza' bDe-skyid bu-'dren rgyal-mo.

Tenure: 1555–1579/1585

Born in lHun-grub *rdzong*. Fully ordained 1555, the same year he ascended the throne. His dual rule proved administratively and politically a major setback for the sTag-lung-pa, with the loss of much of the monastic income but also military loss of territories. During his and the predecessor's tenure, the secular affairs had been led by their autocratic fathers. He went to dPal Ri-bo-che in Khams, i.e. sTag-lung Ma-thang. Later he refurbished and renewed the main seat. In 1570, a local war broke out between 'Bri-gung and sTag-lung. 1573, the Chos-rdzong rNam-rgyal rab-brtan was erected. In the 1577, the 1st Cog-grva sDings-mo-che-ba Rin-chen dpal-bzang (1537–1609/17) arrived at the seat where he met the sTag-lung Zhabs-drung rTse-ba and Grog-kha-pa.[39] In 1578–80, he set out on a missionary tour to the Mongol nomadic settlements in the North that lasted for almost a decade – somewhat independent of and contemporary with the 3rd Dalai Lama's missionary errand. In 1592, he returned to sTag-lung, where a major renovation was conducted. Relation to 'Bri-gung and 'Brug-pa was good, due to the intermarriage between the heads of the seats.[40]

XVII *rJe btsun dbon rin po che* (or ***Zhabs drung***) **Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal Kun-dga' rin-chen dpal-bzang-po**, *aliases dpal ldan* Ngag-dbang Chos kyi nyi-ma 'Jigs-med bzang-po phyogs thams-cad las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde, Sangs-rgyas Ngag gi dbang-po (1571–1626)

Father: Ga-zi *mi dbang* Kun-dga' rgya-mtsho (d. 1579). Mother: ['Bri-gung sKyu-ra-ma =] sMon-lam Phun-tshogs bu-khrid (b. *ca*. 1550–d. 1603).[41]

Tenure: 1585–1615

Born into both the Ga-zi and sKyu-ra family – two of the most prestigious ruling monastic families in Tibet. Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal rose to become the most illustrious scholar-saint of the sTag-lung-pa. His maternal uncle was the 20th 'Bri-gung throne-holder Phun-tshogs bkra-shis (*zhang po*), heralding amiable and henceforth durable

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[35] His biography *KSh* was written by Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal.

[36] Considered a manifestation of Heruka. Son of *mi dbang* bSod-nams grags-pa, ruler of lHun-grub *rdzong*. They had five sons and two daughters. The 15th throne-holder was the youngest.

[37] For details on the devastating destruction; cf. *TL-I* 512f.; *KSh* 7a6f. Most of the relics, bodily remains, ossuaries and priceless objects fell victim to the fire. A remarkable parallel to the fire at Gung-thang in the same or preceeding year. Already 1548, a large-scale restoration was initiated. It was brought to an end in 1551. It was followed by the re-building or re-manufacturing of many objects, such as a gold-made statue of the founder of Phag-mo-gru-pa (called 'Dzam-gling-rgyan).

[38] A biography on him (41 fols.) entitled *rGya mtsho mtha' yas* was written by the 18th throne-holder Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal. Another biography was composed by Tāranātha; see his *Coll. Works* Vol. WA 1b1–45a.4.

[39] *Rin chen dpal bzang rnam thar* 20a1–5.

[40] Cf. e.g. *dPag bsam dbang po rnam thar* 52a4–5.

[41] She was daughter of the 'Bri-gung *sngags 'chang* Chos-rgyal Rin-chen phun-tshogs (1509–1557) and *rig 'dzin* Bu-khrid of the ruling rGya-ma khri-khang family. The couple had at least two sons, the 17th throne-holder and the father, called Tshe-dbang rdo-rje, of the 18th throne-holder. Cf. also Ra-se dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho 2003b: 111.

relationships between the seats. In 1586, around 500 households formerly held by Rva-sgreng fell into the hands of sTag-lung. Ordained 1589. He developed religious bonds to the 21st 'Bri-gung throne-holder. Wrote a number of major works and biographies 1608–10.[42] He invited lHa-rtse-ba to sTag-lung in 1605.[43] In 1610, he left most of the affairs at sTag-lung to *phyag mdzod* Ngag-dbang rab-brtan,[44] setting out on a lengthy pilgrimage mission. Close relations between 'Bri-gung and sTag-lung during this crucial period. Old parts of sTag-lung temple complex were refurbished (e.g. the wood-work replaced) in 1614. He had numerous disciples.[45]

[XVII] *Phyag mdzod* Ngag-dbang rab-brtan

Tenure: 1610–1612

Occasionally not included in the list of abbot holders.

XVIII *dBon rin po che* Ngag-dbang bKra-shis dpal-grub Nges-don chos kyi nyi-ma rnam-grol mchog gi sde, *alias* Ma-chen *zhabs drung* (1600–1671)[46]

Nephew of the 17?th throne-holder. Father: *mi dbang* Tshe-brtan rdo-rje.[47] Mother: 'Bri-gung sKyu-ra Bu-khrid rgyal-mo.[48]

1.Tenure: 1612/15?–1638?

Interregnum: 1638–1640?. See the 21st throne-holder

2.Tenure: 1640/41?–1657?

Born in lHun-grub *rdzong*. His parent's marriage had further cemented the Ga-zi – sKyu-ra family bonds. He was considered a rebirth of the 5th Ya-thang throne-holder. Ordained 1612. He was enthroned the same year. In 1617, extensive repair and renovation were carried out at sTag-lung. He received his full ordination in 1625. He in vain tried to invited the 5th Dalai Lama to sTag-lung in 1632. Continuous changes at the seat. The secular affairs at the sTag-lung see was during the period *ca*. 1612–1640 in the hands of the resp. fathers of the subsequent throne-holders, *mi dbang* dGe-legs rgya-mtsho and bsTan-srung. In 1643, he arrived in lHa-sa to offer a *mdun chings* between dKar-brgyud-pa and dGe-lugs-pa. He was author of several books[49] and had many teachers, incl. Tāranātha. Visited lHa-sa again in 1655. Ab 1642, he had gone to Ri-bo-che several times in part to renovate the seat, and we have reports of governmental petitions for its restoration supervised by him in 1663. He attended on the funeral rites of the 22nd 'Bri-gung throne-holder and entertained bonds to the 23rd throne-holder in 1654. During these years of peregrination, he was also known as Kun-spangs-pa.

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[42] According to an available *gSung 'bum* list, his Coll. Works comprised seven *po ti*. Therein are included (Vols. Kha and Ga) biographies of him: a brief (versified) autobiography (9 fols.) entitled *Dad pa'i mdza' bshes*; a prose autobiography entitled *bsKal bzang kyi shing rta* (125 fols.) and a biography (92 fols.) entitled *bsKal bzang Yid kyi shing rta'i yang rgyan rdo rje chen po Vaiḍūrya'i phreng ba* written by his nephew, the 20th throne-holder bKra-shis dpal-grub.

[43] *lHa rtse ba rnam thar* 99b5–100a4.

[44] Ngag-dbang rab-brtan passed away 1614, to be replaced by his brother lHun-grub until 1618, whereupon Ngag-dbang nor-bzang was elected. The latter subsequently passed away *ca*. 1626, to be replaced by Ngag-dbang bzang-sbyin. These chiefs or administrators were evidently responsible for the secular affairs at sTag-lung.

[45] Among a host of disciples, we can mention for instance: aside from the 20th throne-holder, 'Bri-gung Ngag-dbang rin-chen dpal-grub, and *chos rje* Glang-thang s*pyan mnga'*, etc. Among his principal patrons count the gTsang *sde srid*, Rin-spungs Chos-rgyal Zla-ba bzang-po, Mongol chiefs, cf. *TL-I* 770f.

[46] Cf. *DL5 II* 111a3–5, 124b6. An auto-biography covering his first 32 years is contained in vol. Ka of the Mss *gSung 'bum* of Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (non-extant). An extensive biography of him exists; *dPe dkon* 29. His collected works covered 20 volumes (*pod nyi shu*); cf. *TL-I* [A] 1513.

[47] He was the younger brother of the 17th throne-holder Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal, and his i.e. another brother? was *sde pa* or *mi dbang* bsTan-srung of lHun-grub *rdzong*. He had two sons: The 22nd throne-holder and Mi-rje bsTan-srung. bsTan-srung should serve the dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung*. He was known for his bravery and was engaged as *dmag dpon* in the campaign towards Bhutan in 1654. In 1661, *sde pa* Phon-do-ba bsTan-srung requested for another name and was henceforth called Blo-bzang Tshe'i dbang-po; cf. *DL5 I* 305b2–3.

[48] She is not identical with the mother of the 17th throne-holder, but may well be a niece of the latter.

[49] So a large collection of *rjes gnang* to the 43 superior deities of the sTag-lung trad. called *dPal stag lung pa'i lhag pa'i lha bzhi bcu rtsa gsum gyi rjes gnang cho ga Rig 'dzin gzhon pa'i dga' ston* (ed. Arunchal Pradesh 1973).

XIX Ngag gi dbang-phyug Chos kyi nyi-ma bKra-shis phrin-las 'Od-brgya 'bar-ba, i.e. 1st rTse *sprul zhabs drung* (1625–1722)

Father: Ga-zi *mi dbang* dGe-legs rgya-mtsho (d. 1639 A.D.). Mother: sKyu-ra-bza' Phun-tshogs bu-khrid.

Elder nephew of the former throne-holder

Tenure: 1638–40

He descended from the Chos-rdzong-rtse rNam-rgyal rab-brtan, the branch seat or palace of one of the ruling Ga-zi lines in Phod-mdo rdzong.[50] After a brief tenancy, he went to Khams Ri-bo-che where he ascended the Ma-thang see for four years. Due to some purported misdemeanour, he left the see and established the bKra-shis rab-brtan *bla brang* of the rTse *pho brang*, the so-called rTse Bla-brang zur seat. He married the daughter of a rGyal-rong *dpon tshang*, Phun-tshogs dbang-'dzoms and their common son was the 2nd rTse *zhabs drung* bKra-shis chos-skyong (1660–1689), who on his side later fathered the 13th Ma-thang throne-holder (see below). Ngag gi dbang-phyug is initiator of the Bla-brang Zur-pa rTse *zhabs drung* lineage.[51] In 1648, he offered presents to the 5th Dalai Lama. Often counted as the 21st sTag-lung throne-holder.

Intermediate? Vacant Tenure: 1640/41–1657? the seat was vacant, possibly due to a ban from the side of the emergent dGa'-ldan pho-brang *gzhung*? who interfered in the succession regulation of the throne.

XX *dBon rin po che rje btsun* Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal legs-grub gsung-rab kun gyi nyi-ma bKra-shis dpal-dbyangs mchog-tu grags-pa'i sde, *alias* rDzongs *zhabs drung* (b. 1639/40)[52]

Father: *mi dbang* bKra-shis bsTan-srung. Mother:

The throne-holder was the younger nephew of the 19th throne-holder

Tenure: 1657–*ca*. 1667/68

He suddenly left the see after a dispute flared up, and he initially settled at Chos-rdzong; hence the subsequent name rDzong *zhabs drung*. It is said that the throne-holder became obsessed by a demon (went insane?). He afterwards became an ascetic. Occasionally listed as the 22nd or 23rd throne-holder in some sources.

[XXI] *rJe* bsTan-'dzin rnam-rgyal

Tenure: 1668-1669?

Possibly brief intermediate tenancy through him and often officially not listed, wherefore the next throne-holder occasionally counts as the 23rd throne-holder and hence *mutatis mutandis*.

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[50] This branch residence of the Ga-zi line was established in the early 17th cent. In 1615, it donated the following territories to the sTag-lung monk-body to serve as religious estate: sNa-dmar rtse-zhol (loc. 29°56'N 91°14'E), Gling-gong, Tshong-'dus rtse-zhol (loc. 29°59'N 91°14'E), dGon-sbug, Khang lHo-nub-pa (loc. 29°57'N 91°15'E), Nyan-sna mGar-grong and 'Phan-sna, all of Sum-'phreng *xiang* in lHun-grub *xian*. Cf. *TL- I* 751.

[51] rTse *zhabs drung* incarnates (initially hereditary, then also rTse *zhabs drung sprul sku* after the 4th incumbent) line of rTse Bla-brang Zur (or Ri-bo-che rTse) seat in Khams, a monastic branch *bla brang* estate initially headed by a Ga-zi lineage included the foll. abbots.

1. rTse *zhabs drung* Ngag gi dbang-phyug (1625–1659?/?1675/1722). His collected Works (Ms) comprised 13 volumes; *TL-I* [A] 1513.
2. rTse *zhabs drung* Ngag-dbang bKra-shis chos-skyong (1660–1689?), son of the latter.
3. rTse *zhabs drung* O-rgyan bKra-shis rnam-rgyal (1694–1728), son of nr. 2 and his wife sDong-pa-bza'.
4. rTse *zhabs drung* bKra-shis dpal-mchog/grags (b. *ca*. 1745) son of mDo-mkhar *zhabs drung* bKa'-blon Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal (1697–1763 A.D.). He wedded lHa-mtsho, daughter of a sGom-chen Nang-chen (in A-mdo) and went to dBus. The Ga-zi hereditary claim on the succession of the see was abolished and an incarnate system chosen:
5. rTse *zhabs drung* bKra-shis dGe-ba'i dbang-po (1723/33–1764), stemming from sTag-tshang in the nomadic district of the Khyung-po dKar-ru clan. Cf. also *TL-I* [A] 1519–20.
6. rTse *zhabs drung* Ngag-dbang Chos kyi grags-pa (1759–1811). Younger brother to the mDo-mkhar *zhabs drung* bSod-nams dbang-rgyal (1756–1788). He was an intermediate candidate, again breaking the incarnation line.
7. rTse *zhabs drung* Ngag-dbang snyan-grags (1813–1865 A.D.).
8. rTse *zhabs drung* Ngag-dbang blo-bzang tshul-khrims (1866–1918 A.D.).
9. rTse *zhabs drung* 'Jam-dpal 'jigs-med skal-bzang snyan-grags (1926–1970 A.D.). Younger brother to the 22nd sTag-lung Ma-thang throne-holder.
10. [?].

Cf. sMan-ming-pa 1995: 19–20; Rossi-Filibeck 1994: 238; and also Petech 1973: 70f.

[52] His dates are still uncertain, some texts suggest that he reached an age of 60 years: *ca*. 1640–1699.

XXI Ngag-dbang bKra-shis Chos kyi rgyal-po, *alias* Kun-dga' bsod-nams mchog-grub (1660–1689), i.e. 1st Phod-mdo *zhabs drung*[53]

Father: *sde pa mi dbang* bKra-shis bstan-srung. Mother: sKyid-shod-bza'.

Tenure: 1669–1679

Born in lHun-grub *rdzong*. He was paternal nephew of the 22nd throne-holder. Ordained in 1669, he embarked upon a pilgrimage and placed as deputy throne-holder *zhabs drung* rNam-rgyal rab-brtan. Upon the return of a pilgrimage to rTsva-ri, a coup had been attempted at sTag-lung. He was forced to flee to lHa-sa and seek refuge. The 5th Dalai Lama was compelled to intervene. In 1678, due to the conflict, the seat and the estate was confiscated by the dGa'-ldan pho-brang government.[54] The conflict may be seen in connection with the passing of the powerful sTag-lung *phyag mdzod* Blo-bzang ngag-dbang who had passed away the year before (*DL5 III* 40b4). It was decided to let the monk-body choose their throne-holder, and bKra-shis Chos-rgyal was chosen. In 1678–79, he went to 'Od-'jo 'Og-min chos-mdzod to est. the abbot line there.[55] Fully ordained in the presence of the 5th Dalai Lama. He died from contracting small-pox.

Intermediate Tenancy: 1679–1714 / 1720, the see was administered by Se-ra monastery.

XXII[?] **Ngag-dbang 'phrin-las bsTan-'dzin rnam-rgyal dpal-bzang-po**, *aliases* Ngag-dbang bkra-shis kun-dga' don-grub, Grags-pa bkra-shis nges-don phun-tshogs, Rin-chen mgon-po, Blo-bzang bstan-pa'i nyi-ma dpal-ldan blo-gros, 2nd Phod-mdo sTag-lung *zhabs drung* (1667–1720)[56]

Father: *dpon* bKra-shis. Mother: bKra-shis-lha (d. 1691).

Tenure: 1714–1720

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[53] Often also identified or listed as the 23rd or 24th throne-holder. Also listed as 'O-'jo Zhabs-drung. He was eldest among three sons born to the ruler of lHun-grub *rdzong*. His father was brother to the father of the 22nd throne-holder. His foremost pupil was rJe [bKra-shis] 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtsho (1672–1706 A.D.), an embodiment of the 19th throne-holder.

[54] The confiscation by the dGa'-ldan pho-brang government in 1678 meant that the see and its branch establishments should remain in the hands of Se-ra (headed by monks of Se-ra Byes *grva tshang*) until 1720, when it again was administered by the Rag-shag (mDo-mkhar) family line as beneficium estate, a later secular branch of the *sde dpon* Ga-zi. Later, by imperial decree in 1781, this noble family, beyond their own estates (in lHun-grub *rdzong*), received the areas of Grom-ma-bar, Rin-sgang (= Rin-chen-sgang; loc. 29°58'N 91°09'E of Byang-kha), Sha-[ra-]'bum (30°04'N 91°17'E), gYag-[g]rong (29°54'N 91°13'E of present-day dGa'-ldan chos-'khor), Sum-'phreng, Khang-lho-ga as well as dBu-[ru]-nang. Cf. Thub-bstan go-cha (1991: 81).

[55] The later sTag-lung seat of 'Od-'jo (? present-day 'Od-'jo-nang, loc. at 30°10'N 91°16'E; *HSLG* Vol. 4: 25)* originally goes back to sTabs-ka-ba Dar-ma-grags (1103–1174 A.D.), a bKa'-gdams-pa master and pupil of Shar-ba-pa (1070–1141) and Dol-pa Shes-rab rgya-mtsho who est. a seat there. A abbot of Rva-sgreng was known as Zhang 'Od-'jo-ba?; *KD III* 108; *RG* 88, probably Rva-sgreng abbot for 16 (var. 12) years in the 1140–50's. The 'Od-'jo area was located in Upper sTag-lung area, formerly part of Rva-sgreng dgon-pa, where it was located in a *ru ba* or nomadic settlement district, hence also called Rva-sgreng 'Od-'jo and the proper sTag-lung appropriation of the area in question may probably go back to the 50 households which in 1586 had been seized by the sTag-lung-pa from the hands of Rva-sgreng monastic chiefs. A proper 'Od-'jo see was established in 1678 as an alternative seat in the wake of the governmental confiscation of sTag-lung proper, and at least for some years served as seat of sTag-lung. This line should later become known as 'Od-'jo *zhabs drung* – its (still inchoate) *mkhan rabs*:*

1. Ngag-dbang bKra-shis Chos kyi rgyal-po (1660–1689), first abbot of 'Od-'jo.
2. Se-ra dbu-mdzad,
3. gNang-byung-gnas,
4. sKyor-mo-lung-pa
5. Rong-po *chos rje* and
6. dKyil-srang-pa sDe-snod rgya-mtsho.

* The first reference to 'Od-'jo as said goes back to a Zhang 'Od-'jo; cf. *KD III* 108. Later, *TL-I* [A] 1483, 1514 speaks of the influential sKyabs-mgon *rin po che* 'Od-'jo Ngag-dbang 'phrin-las bstan-'dzin rnam-rgyal. A brief text dedicated to a still unknown, early mid-16th cent. *gdan sa ba* Shes-rab nyi-ma of Rva-sgreng 'Od-'jo is included in Part VA of Vol. II of the *gSung 'bum* of 'Bri-gung Rin-chen phun-tshogs. A close relationship prevailed between Rva-sgreng and the 'Od-'jo seats; cf. e.g. *Rva sgreng dkar chag* 104–05, where additional 'Od-'jo-ba seat-holders are listed. The area of 'Od-'jo also included hermitages such as Seng-gleng 'Od-'jo which originally may have been a former retreat site of rJe Sangs-rgyas dbon[-ston?].

Two important sources were: *Ra kha shag gi gdung rab*s [= *TL-III*] by sTag-lung 'Od-'jo-pa Ngag-dbang bstan-pa'i nyi-ma. Secondly, a non-extant *gdung rabs* written by sTag-lung 'Od-'jo-pa Ngag-dbang Chos kyi dpal-'byor; see *dPe dkon* 15.

[56] He was the youngest of four brothers and sisters.

Born in [dBu-ma] rGya-grong of 'Phan-yul.[57] Recognized as a rebirth of the (21th) sTag-lung Phod-mdo *zhabs drung* by the La-mo *chos skyong*. The infant's name was altered to Blo-gsal dpal-'byor. Later, in 1697, in the presence of gTer-bdag gling-pa, he was renamed O-rgyan bstan-'dzin don-grub. 1699, he was ordained at Chos-rdzong. In lHa-sa in the presence of the 6th Dalai Lama, another tonsure ceremony gave him a new name: Rin-chen mgon-po. Proved a many-talented person. Fully ordained in 1711, receiving the name Blo-bzang bstan-pa'i nyi-ma dpal-ldan blo-gros and Grags-pa bkra-shis nges-don phun-tshogs. Often identified or listed as the 24th or 25th throne-holder.

XXIII Yid-bzhin 'phrin-las mchog-grub, *aliases* Ngag-dbang bKra-shis kun-dga' don-grub, Mi-pham Ngag-dbang bKra-shis dpal-ldan legs-grub Chos kyi nyi-ma (1709–1731)
Tenure: 1720–1729?

XXIV bKra-shis Chos kyi nyi-ma, *aliases* sKal-bzang Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal dpal-grub, bKra-shis grags-pa ye-shes 'gyur-med 'phrin-las phyogs-las rnam-rgyal, 3rd Phod-mdo sTag-lung *zhabs drung* (1744–1787 A.D.)
Father *sding dpon* of Rong-po-sgar of 'Phan-yul.
Tenure: 1749–?
In 1756, he met the 7th Dalai Lama and was ordained in his presence. In his presence, the 6th rTse *zhabs drung* took his ordination. Cf. *TL-I* [A] 1523f.

XXV

XXVI *rTse sprul* bKra-shis dge-legs bzang-po, *aliases* Ngag-dbang 'jigs-med Chos kyi go-cha sgrub-brgyud bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma bkra-shis bde-legs dpal-bzang-po, Ngag-dbang Chos kyi grags-pa bkra-shis rgyal-mtshan bstan-pa rin-chen shes-rab dpal-bzang-po (1764/1768–1804)
Father: A-nu rTsod-ril of sBra-nag rGye of northern 'Phan-yul. Mother: g.Yang-mtsho-ma.

XXVII *dBon chos rje* Ngag-dbang bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma, *aliases* Ngag-dbang bKra-shis Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan Grags-pa rnam-rgyal dpal-bzang-po, sTag-lung sprul sku, 4th Phod-mdo sTag-lung *zhabs drung* (1788–1857 A.D.).
Tenure: ?1804–1857?
A famous historian. He met the 28th 'Bri-gung-pa in 1804. He was fully ordained in 1806, in the presence of the latter.

XXVIII

XXIX Theg-mchog 'Jigs-med dpa'-bo, *alias* sTag-lung Ma-sprul *rin po che* (1856–1915).
Father: *dpon tshang* bSod-nams phun-tshogs of 'Dam-gzhung. Mother: rGya-bza'.
Tenure: 1884–1915
He was repeatedly mentioned in *rJe btsun Lo chen rnam thar* 196–97, *et passim*.

XXX Ngag-dbang dpal-ldan (1891–1942) .
Tenure: 1915–1934

XXXI Thub-bstan byang-chub Chos kyi nyi-ma, [the 22nd sTag-lung] Zhabs-drung *rin po che* (1916–*ca*. 1995).
Father: Ga-zi bsTan-'dzin rnam-rgyal. Mother: Kun-bzang chos-sgron.
Tenure: 1934–1959

Ngag-dbang blo-bzang bstan-'dzin rgyal-mtshan, rTse-sprul *rin po che* (b. 1944).
Father: g.Yu-lha. Mother: Phun-tshogs dbang-mo

XXXII Ngag-dbang blo-bzang bstan-'dzin chos kyi nyi-ma dpal-bzang-po, *aliases* bSod-nams don-grub, Padma 'Gro-don Chos kyi nyi-ma, [the 23rd sTag-lung] *Zhabs drung rin po che* (b. 1997).
Father: lHa-rje bSod-nams bag-dro of Nag-chu lHa-ri *rdzong.* Mother: dGe-ming sKyid-'dzoms (*alias rig 'dzin* sGrol-dkar).
Tenure: 2001–

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[57] dBu-ma is located at 30°00'N 91°16'E of Sum-'phreng *xiang* in lHun-grub *rdzong*.

sTag-lung Ma-thang *gdan rabs*
(dPal Ri-bo-che)

I *rJe btsun* Sangs-rgyas dbon-po Grags-pa dpal-'od-zer bzang-po, *alias* Ye-shes rdo-rje (1251–1296)[58]

Father: *yon bdag* rDo-rje rin-chen. Mother: bTsad-bza' Jo-dar (daughter of Jo-bo A-mchog) of g.Yang-shod Bong-ra-steng in Khams.

Tenure: 1276–1296

In 1262, he was ordained in sTag-lung (ord. name Ye-shes rdo-rje) and received his full ordination 1270. In 1276, he erected the dPal Ri-bo-che *vihāra* in dByi-shod of Khams,[59] the main seat of the sTag-lung Ma-thang branch (called Yang-dgon Chos kyi pho-brang). During 1283–88, Nepalese artists there erected a large number of receptacles and statues. After him, the throne may have been occupied by the founder's influential and trusted *sKu zhang rin po che* Kun-dga'-dpal for a few years (not listed as *gdan sa ba*). He was also registered as gTer-ston.[60]

II O-rgyan mgon-po, *alias* Rin-chen Shes-rab dpal-bzang-po (1293–1366)[61]

Father: Ga-zi bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan 'Jag-ma-mgo (half-brother to former throne-holder). Mother: Jo-btsun dbon-mo Sangs-rgyas-'bum.

Tenure: 1304–1366

Born in Sha[r]-ra Thang-stod of 'Phan-yul. Considered a manifestation of Guru Rinpoche. Age three, he went to Khams. Ordained 1302/04 in Sha-ba-gling. In 1320, the building of the great gTsug-lag-khang called bKra-shis lhun-po/grub 'Dzam-gling-rgyan was begun, inaugurated 1326. Affluently furnished with images. In 1328, the *thugs dam* of Sangs-rgyas dbon-po, a statue of Buddha Thub-dbang lhun-po and an image of Sangs-rgyas yar-byon called 'Dzam-gling-rgyan, with throne and backcloth a.o. were brought to completion and installed. A number of images of him kept in Ma-thang, and a number of 14th cent. statues executed by Nepalese artists.

III *Kun spangs pa* Rin-chen mgon-po, *alias* Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1344–1401)[62]

Father: *yon bdag* Ga-zi Chos kyi mgon-po (younger brother of the former throne-holder). Mother: gSer-yig sGom-bza' (or: Mang-rje-bza') Padma-sgron.

Tenure: 1366–1384

He received teachings from sKu-zhang lHa Kun-dga'-dpal (but this is chronologically problematic). Ordained 1353 and final ordination 1365. During his tenancy, Karma-pa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje visited Ri-bo-che and he expanded the seat greatly. Left the see to become ascetic (*kun spangs*).

IV *mNyam med* Ratnākara, *alias* Rin-chen shes-rab dbang-phyug dpal-bzang-po (1362–1418)

Father: *yon bdag* Ga-zi Rin-chen rdo-rje (second son of the former throne-holder's father). Mother: lDong/lHong-bza' dKon-mchog-rgyan/rgyal.[63]

Tenure: 1384–1416

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[58] Among his most prominent and loyal students counted sKu-zhang *rin po che* lHa *alias* Kun-dga'-dpal (b. 1251; *aliases* bSod-nams-dpal, bSod-nams bkra-shis; of noble birth (*lha*); youngest son of A-mchog, registered as local *brtsad* po or "king") of Sho-ma-ra-sa [= Sho-ma-ra of dBu-ru-lung; see Introduction]. He had followed the Ma-thang founder to Khams. From these families and their uncle and nephew relatives different lines developed that should successfully disseminate the sTag-lung teachings in Eastern Tibet. Cf. *TL-I* 619–20. Other pupils included Gangs-chung ras-pa Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, Ras-pa Ti-se-ba, Ras-pa Kho-yo rgyal-mtshan and lCags-mo ras-pa, etc.

[59] Located at 31°22'N 96°30'E in present-day Ri-bo-che (Ch. Leiwuqi) *rdzong* or *xian* of Chab-mdo district. Located in the 'Dzi Valley (formerly dByi-shod). The imposing *gtsug lag khang* towering majestically in the middle of the beautiful valley consists of three storeys. The ground-floor is called bKra-'khyil-ma, which accomodates the assembly hall furnished with huge columns, statues and roof-high book-shelves. The second storey now is partly refurbished (dedicated to rNying-ma-pa) is called dMar-rje-ma and the top-floor dKar-rje-ma (temporarily accomodating the large number of samples of the most precious objects formerly kept at Ma-thang). For a readable introduction to the seat, see Gruschke 2004: 49–54.

[60] Cf. e.g. Kong-sprul, *gTer ston lo rgyus* 104b4–105a4.

[61] His younger brothers were Chos kyi mgon-po, lHa-brag mgon-po (also called Klu-dpal, died as infant). His principal students included: *spyan snga* Yon-tan rgyal-mtshan (youngest son of Ye-shes mgon-po, eldest son of Sangs-rgyas yar-byon's youngest brother (or father?) *yon bdag* mGon-rgyal.

[62] His two elder brothers incl. Grags-pa rin-chen dpal-bzang-po (b. 1330) and mDzo-ra-ba Rin-chen seng-ge (1339–1416).

Considered a rebirth of the 7th sTag-lung Ya-thang throne-holder. In the earlier years, he mainly remained in retreat. He too developed and refurbished the see. During this and the successive throne-holder approximately 3600 monks adhered to the Ma-thang seat.

V *Rin po che* **Brag-kha-pa Grags-pa-dpal bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po** (1376–1421)

Younger half-brother to no. IV. Father: *yon bdag* Ga-zi Rin-chen rdo-rje. Mother: Sangs-rgyas-'bum.[64]

Tenure: 1418–1421

Age 12, 1387 he was ordained (final ord. 1398) in dPal Ri-bo-che *gtsug lag khang*. Like his predecessors he expanded the seat and its inventory and mediated in different conflicts such as among the Mi-nyag sGo-ldong people. He protected the civil and monastic law. Able to establish bonds with the Khyung-po nomadic settlements, often stigmatized as brigands and formerly fiendish towards the seat, a nomadic people attacking the traffic and communication (often euphemized as "the golden bridge") between Ming China and the religious seats in Central Tibet.[65]

VI ***Chos rje*** **Mi-g.yo mgon-po Rin-chen [shes-rab] dpal-bzang-po** (1409–1454)

Father: *dpon* Ga-zi Seng-ge (1372–1413; younger brother to *yon bdag* Rin-chen rdo-rje). Mother: gZhon-nu-bza' A-lod.[66]

Tenure: 1422/1424–1454

He was ordained 1417. He had a vision of a precious statue of the Blue Acala (accor. to the jo bo lugs) wherefore he was called *Acala-nātha. He had wall paintings remade e.g. with bKa'-brgyud bla-ma, the twelve deeds of Buddha, etc. executed by the famous artist Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan. A large number of statues were executed/ordered by *dpon mo che* Padma rgyal-mtshan. 1424, he ascended the throne (which may have been vacant for three years), the same year, the 10th Ya-thang throne-holder visited the Ma-thang seat. In 1443, the 11th Ya-thang throne-holder visited Khams. In 1449, he erected a gilded statue of Sangs-rgyas dbon-po in addition to a host of other images and thangka-s. He erected a *sgrub sde*. In 1452, he mediated in the conflict between Mi-nyag and Ko-ra.

VII ***Kun spangs pa chos rje*** **mGon-po Ye-shes**, *aliases* Khro-bo-mtshan, Grags-pa bkra-shis dpal-bzang-po (1430–1473 A.D.).

Father: *dpon tshang* Ga-zi bSod-nams rin-chen (1401–1437). Mother: Rong-bza'A-lha-ma[67]

Tenure: 1454–1462

In 1445, he was ordained. In Ye-phug of lCi district (a local hermitage dependency) in Khams, he initially held the see until 1454. Age 25, he took his full ordination. In 1462, he renounced the see to become an ascetic. He visited different hermitages and was invited to rTa-tshag by *mi dbang* Tshe-dbang rgyal (author of the *lHo rong chos 'byung*) and *nang so* Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan[68] and received as fiefship, territories and *mi sde* districts in rDzong-mkhar rNgu-shod, incl. its temples. He went on a lengthy itinerary in 1468.

VIII ***Chos rje*** **'Jig-rten dbang-phyug**, *alias* bSod-nams rin-chen rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1454–1523/31)

Father: *dpon tshang* Ga-zi bSod-nams rin-chen (1401–1537). Mother: Rong-bza'A-lha-ma.

Tenure: 1462–1523

In 1462, he was ordained. Carried out extensive repair and refurbishment at the see and manufactured and erected numerous images and books. He erected sanctuaries, built bridges, etc. In 1515 (rather than 1523), he wrote the (still most regrettably non-extant) treatise *Ma thang bka' brgyud kyi chos 'byung Mu tig 'phreng ba*.

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[63] Rin-chen rdo-rje also fathered *dpon po* Seng-ge, *dpon po* Thil-khang-pa (1372–1409) as well as *rin po che* Brag-kha-pa – the latter became the 5th throne-holder. Cf. *HR* 542.

[64] An elder brother of the same parents was *dbon po* Grags-pa bKra-shis dpal-bzang-po, *alias slob dpon* Ri-rtse-ba (1372–1409).

[65] The "golden bridge" evidently refers to the "imperial (= golden) messengers (*gser yig pa*)" who carried correspondence, costly donations and possibly goods between the imperial court and the religious hierarchs in Central Tibet. For the equation between "golden" and "imperial"; see Serruys 1962.

[66] They had four (other sources: two) children. The eldest was *dpon tshang* bSod-nams rin-chen (1401–1437), followed by Mi-g.yo mgon-po.

[67] They had five children. mGon-po Ye-shes was the second.

IX *Chos rje* Padma rgyal-mtshan shes-rab dpal-bzang-po

Father (brother to the former throne-holder): *chos rj*e or Rig-'dzin Ga-zi mKhar drung-pa bSod-nams bkra-shis.
Tenure: 1531–
Born at Rin-chen-sgang, the seat of the secular rulers of the Ga-zi family at dPal Ri-bo-che.

X *Chos rje* mTsho-skyes rdo-rje, *alias* Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po, 1st rJe-drung *sprul sku* (1530–1590/1591)[69]

Father (brother to the 8th throne-holder): *chos rje* or Rig-'dzin Ga-zi mKhar drung-pa bSod-nams bkra-shis.
His younger brother *sde pa* dBang-drag/grags rdo-rje safeguarded the secular affairs. Younger brother to the no. IX.
Between him and the 17th (and 18th) Ya-thang throne-holder, a first doctrinal rapprochement took place.

XI Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *aliases* rNam-rgyal grags-pa dpal-bzang-po, Karma Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan Phyogs thams-cad las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde, 2nd rJe-drung *sprul sku* (1591–1642)

Father: Ga-zi *mi dbang* mGon-po rdo-rje (only son of *sde pa* dBang-grags rdo-rje). Mother: sTong-dpon-bza' Padma-'tsho[70]
Tenure: 1605–1642?
Considered a rebirth of the former throne-holder. He was in charge of the dual rule of secular and religious affairs. During his tenure, evidently, a *gling log* or revolt took place in 1633 and the throne-holder went to Central Tibet.[71] He met the 20th Ya-thang throne-holder. Peregrination tour in the 1630's, esp. throughout Central Tibet. After his passing, the 20th Ya-thang throne-holder Ngag-dbang bKra-shis dpal-grub visited the seat repeatedly and conducted extensive renovation at Ri-bo-che. His passing heralded a period of decay.

XII Grags-dpal legs-grub, in full Ngag-dbang grags-dpal legs-grub rin-chen 'od-zer shes-rab dpal-bzang, 3rd rJe-drung *sprul sku* (1646–1711)

Father: Ga-zi *mi dbang* Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (younger brother of former throne-holder). Mother: bKra-shis g.Yang-skyid, daughter of a 'Brong-pa *dpon* of a nomad community of Tshva-ba-sgang in the South.
Tenure: 1666–
Ordained 1654. For his eventful life, see *TL-I* [A] 1431–1471.

XIII Ngag-dbang-skyabs, *aliases zhabs drung* 'Phags-mchog bKra-sis dbang-rgyal Ngag-dbang grags-pa 'phrin-las dam-chos phun-tshogs, Yid-bzhin dbang-rgyal Ngag-dbang grags-pa dam-chos 'phrin-las phun-tshogs, 1st 'Phags-mchog *sprul sku* (1688–1722/1723)

Father: Ga-zi and 2nd rTse *zhabs drung* bKra-shis chos-skyong (1660–89?). Mother: Kun-bzang sgrol-ma or *dpon mo* dGa'-grags.[72]
Tenure: *ab* 1710–1723
The first seven years he resided in rTse Klu-lding, the seat of the mChog-sprul incarnates. Apprenticeship at the feet of the former throne-holder. Ordained 1700.

XIV Rin-chen lhun-grub shes-rab, Ngag-dbang grags-pa Rin-chen lhun-grub Shes-rab dpal-bzang-po, 4th rJe-drung *sprul sku* (1715–1743)

Born into the Ga-zi *dpon tshang* family.[73] Considered a rebirth of the 12th Ma-thang throne-holder.
Tenure: 1738–1743

XV Ngag-dbang bKra-shis grags-pa rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po, *alias* 'Phags-pa'i legs-grub, 2nd 'Phags-mchog *sprul sku* (1724–1785)

Father: sDe-bdag sPo[r]-yo/sPor-ye *dpon tshang* Gu-ru-'bum (of sMug-po). Mother: Brag-dmar-bza' rNam-rgyal/ Ngag-dbang sgrol-ma.[74]

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[68] He met the 3rd Zhva-dmar in 1449; *Kam tshang bka' brgyud* 249b2.

[69] Two biographies of him (47 fols. and a 11 fols.) were written by the 18th Ya-thang throne-holder Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (contained in the latter's extant (but still unseen) *bka' 'bum*).

[70] The parents had three sons: The oldest is Khro-bo rgyal-mtshan, the intermediate was *r.Je* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and the youngest was Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan.

[71] Cf. *dPag bsam dbang po rnam thar* 195a2–3; *TL-I* [A] 1389ff.

[72] bKra-shis chos-skyong's father was the 21st Ma-thang throne-holder Ngag gi dbang-phyug (i.e. 1st rTse *sprul zhabs drung*)

Tenure: 1743–1757/1785
An important hierarch. Considered a manifestation of the 13th throne-holder. In 1726, he visited the bKra-shis lhun-grub 'Dzam-gling-rgyan est. by the 2nd Ma-thang throne-holder. In 1731, in the presence of the 25th Ma-thang co-throne-holder Mi-pham Ngag-dbang bKra-shis dpal-ldan legs-grub (1709–31) and others, he received his *dge tshul* ordination. He visited Central Tibet later in the 1730's and early 1740. In 1742, he returned to Khams Ri-bo-che. In 1743, he ascended the throne.[75] In 1751, he went on pilgrimage e.g. to rTsa-ri and Rong-btsan.

XVI Rin-chen legs-grub 'phrin-las, 5th rJe-drung *sprul sku* (1745–1828/30)
Born in dPa'-shod-brag gru-kha
Tenure: 1757/ 1785–*ca*. 1815?
He was elected to the throne by lot.

XVII Chos-dbyings lhun-grub, 3rd 'Phags-mchog *sprul sku* (1786–1829)
Father: Gru-pa *dpon tshang*
Tenure: *ca*. 1815–1829
Elected to the see as Nominhan by way of lot in lHa-sa.

XVIII Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, Rin-chen 'od-'bar, 6th rJe-drung *sprul sku* (1831–*ca*. 1875?)
Father: Nang-chen rGyal-rgan Kun-dga' dpal-ldan. Mother: Rag-zla-bza' bDe-chen dpal-sgron.
Tenure:

XIX Rin-chen lHun-grub Grags-pa kun-gsal Ye-shes kyi nyi-ma, Rin-chen 'od-'bar, 4th 'Phags-mchog *sprul sku* (1830–1890)
Born in Ron-ko of Chab-mdo
Tenure:

XX Ngag-dbang grags-pa 'phrin-las Byams-pa 'byung-gnas, 7th rJe-drung *sprul sku* (1875–1923)
Father: Tshe-ring rnam-rgyal of A-lcags-'bru clan. Mother: Gyo-mda'-bza' bKra-shis sgrol-dkar.
Tenure:

XXI? **Ngag-dbang kun-dga' rnam-rgyal**, 5th 'Phags-mchog *sprul sku* (1886?–*ca*. 1910?)
Father: *sngags 'chang* lHa-rgyal of the Khyung-po clan. Mother: lCang-bza' Bo-rdis.
Tenure:

XXII? **Ngag-dbang 'Jigs-med grags-pa thub-bstan rnam-rgyal**, 6th 'Phags-mchog *sprul sku* (1913–79)
Father: Bla-ma Rig-'dzin of the Khyung-po clan. Mother: sKya-su-bza' dGa'-bal.
Tenure:

XXIII? **Grags-pa 'od-zer dpal-bzang-po**, 'Jam-dpal lung-rtogs Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan, 8th rJe-drung *sprul sku* (1925–1984)
Father: dGe-legs dpal-bzang of Rlangs g.Yo-ba-tshang. Mother: dKon-mchog dpal-sgron.
Tenure: 1929–
He commissioned the printing of a large number of books at the printery of sDe-dge.

XXIV? **bsTan-'dzin 'jigs-med grags-pa**, 7th 'Phags-mchog *sprul sku* (1981–)
Father: Mi-'gyur bDe-ba'i rdo-rje. Mother: bDe-chen dpal-sgron.

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and the mother allegedly stemmed from the line of the 'Ba'-rom ascetic, 'Gro-mgon Ti-shri ras-pa (1164–1236 A.D.), a daughter of a Nang-chen Dharmarāja. Cf. *TL-I* [A] 1472.

[73] He was born into a local Ga-zi line, in the Sum-pa district called Sum-pa-glang, one of the eight banners of Shod-chen.

[74] The parents had five children: the oldest was *dpon* Tshe-ring rnam-rgyal, then followed Ngag-dbang rin-chen (a rebirth of Bla-ma Zhag-gcod-pa), then followed *dge slong* 'Phags-don (who settled in dKyil-mkhar-dgon), and finally the 2nd mChog-sprul.

[75] *TL-I* [A] 1528.



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56



55. *The monastery of Byang sTag-lung* (2002)

56. *The ruins of the sTag-lung gTsug-lag-khang situated in the upper part of the monastic complex* (PKS 2005)

57. *The sTag-lung-pa branch seat of Ma-thang Ri-bo-che in Khams* (PKS 2004)



***58**. The wealth of sTag-lung was so immense that, as a Tibetan proverb runs, "one was unable to rival even a dog of sTag-lung" (Blue Annals 626)* (PKS 2006)



***59**. sTag-lung-pa bKra-shis-dpal*
Photo: Zangchuan fojiao jintong 2000

***60**. Sangs-rgyas Yar-dbon*

***61**. The 12th sTag-lung-pa Ngag-dbang grags-pa*
Private Collection, PKS 2004



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V.12 The Governor Seats (*sde pa*) and *rdzong* of the Phag-mo gru-pa Rule: The sNel-pa (~ sNe'u *rdzong*), Brag-dkar and dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod *sde pa*

Based upon Primary Sources:
Bod kyi deb ther (*BD*); *mKhas pa'i dga' ston (KhG)*; *lHo rong chos 'byung* (*LH*); *Yar lung chos 'byung* (*YL*); *rGya bod chos 'byung* (*GB*); *rGya bod yig tshang* (*GY); Deb sngon*; *Deb dmar gsar* (*DMS*); *bSam yas dkar chag* (*SY*); *Vaiḍūrya ser po* (*VS*); *dPag bsam ljon bzang* (*PS*); *'Dul ba'i chos 'byung I* (*DS-I*); *Gung thang dkar chag* (*GT*); *sKyid shod sde pa'i skor* (*KSh*); *sKyor mo lung chos 'byung* (*KLCh*); *dGa' ldan chos 'byung I* (*GD-I*); *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru* (*Rlangs*); *Kam tshang brgyud pa* (*KTsh*); *Klong rdol gsung 'bum* (*KL*); *bTsong kha pa'i rnam thar* (*TsKh*); *Thang stong rnam thar I* (*TS-I*); *lHa ldan dkar chag* (*LD*); *DL 5 I-III*; *Zul phu mkhan rabs* (*Zkh*); *JCh*
Secondary Sources:
Dung dkar tshig mdzod (*DT*); *Ming mdzod* (*MD*); TPS Tucci; *HSLG*

The following Tables 12.1–3 offer a genealogical scheme of the ruling lords of three central *rdzong* or governor seats, defined as estates (*gzhis ka*), and each headed by local feudatories, governors or regional officials (variously addressed *sde pa*, *nang so*, *sde dpon, rdzong dpon* or *blon po*). They were all located in the central and upper sKyid-shod region. Throughout the 14th-century era of the dominant Phag-mo-gru-pa regime in Central Tibet, these secular retainers or governors became the new effective regional rulers not least of the former extensive Tshal-pa domains, and should remain so almost up the rise of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang rule in the mid-17th century :

- The **sNel-pa** / **sNe'u** ruling seat (with the main seat in sNe'u *rdzong*).[1]
- The **Brag-dkar** ruling seat (named after the original residence at Brag-dkar in Upper sKyid-shod).[2]
- The **Nyang-bran dGa'-ldan-pa** ruling seat – initially an offshoot of the sNel-pa, later known as the ruling house of the **dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod sde-pa**.[3]

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[1] Located in present-day sNe'u district of sTod-lung county. The *rdzong* is no more extant. In the last century, the building submerged and vanished into the ever-meandering and greedy sKyid-chu river. Geograph. postition of the site not far to the west of Ra-ma-sgang village: 29°37'15.7"N 91°03'34.5"E. In 15th century sources, the seat of the ruling house is given as sNe'u Brag-thog (see e.g. TBH Sørensen 36, 483). However, there have been two *rdzong* in the history of the sNe'u district and it is not entirely clear which *rdzong* is meant by the name of Brag-thog. It is reported that the original *rdzong* initially was located on a neighbouring hill where some remains of ruins still are to be found, a site locally known as Gekhar, i.e. the dGe-bo-mkhar of the written sources. Cf. *KTsh* 278a6; see below Fig. 63–65. The sources variously render the aristocratic house's name sNe'u-pa, sNe-pa or sNel-pa. The latter clearly seems to be a later development.

[2] The *rdzong* of Brag-dkar (Brag-dkar-po/mo in *Rlangs* 296, 338, 340, 352) is situated in present-day Brag-dkar-zhol (loc. 29°41'N 91°25'E; *XD I* 88a–89). The full territorial extent of the old estate is not fully clear; its heartland nevertheless was situated in present-day Dar-rgyas *xiang* (29°45′N 91°25; Part I: fn. 542; Map 1b). In *Rlangs* 296, Brag-dkar is first registered for the year 1357, mentioned in the context of the 'Bri-gung – Phag-mo gru-pa fightings of the 1350's where it is said that Brag-dkar-po was seized by the Phag-gru under the command of *dpa' shi* Tshul-bzang. *KLCh* 29a gives the year 1356 for its confiscation by the Ta'i Si-tu. It suggests that there existed already an estate of Brag-dkar prior to the installation of this new Phag-gru *rdzong* in sKyid-shod (for details, see Czaja 2006: Chap. 4). At the apex of their power (late 14th and early 15th cent.), their influence in northern sKyid-shod and in the lHa-sa area was considerable. They not least were listed as key patrons for the establishment of the *sMon lam chen mo* of 1409 in lHa-sa (cf. *TsKh* 315). Cf. also Part I: fn. 408. Linked to the governorship "White Cliff" was

The list roughly follows the details offered in the Fifth Dalai Lama's chronicle *Bod kyi deb ther* (*BD* 171–175; 182–185); *GD 1*; supplementary data are to be found in *Deb dmar gsar* (*DMS*; Tucci 1972) and in *SY* 75ff.; and stray notes offered in *VS* and in particular in Dung-dkar Rin-po-che's *Tshig mdzod* (*DT*); see also Part I: fn. 542, *passim* and App. II, *passim*. As tradition dictates, all seats were carrying their manorial names.

The three sKyid-shod district *rdzong*, with their ruling heads who were propped by their clan and families, merely represent a small, yet important section of a highly complex network of local ruling houses within the new political administration and organization that in the main was made up of in total thirteen *rdzong* established by Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan in 1350's and 1360's. These local or regional seats, as hereditary estates (*gzhis ka*) subordinate to the Phag-gru regime, not only entered a number of political and family alliances with one another, but also with other ruling lineages in Central Tibet (both in dBus and gTsang), usually headed by aristocratic clans of ancient stock. A dominant trait of the fragile political and social texture of medieval Tibet, in a period lacking unified state structures, was the existence of a large number of petty ruling houses like the present ones in sKyid-shod. It not least was the delicate and highly ritualized equilibrium in terms of their relative military and economic strength between these competing or rivalling powers that prompted the forging of a network of politically motivated alliances between them. To avoid or reduce the occurrence of incessant skirmishes and warfare, matrimonial bonds therefore proved a valid and successful instrument.[4] These prestigious families kept holding high positions and thus kept playing important roles in the political landscape both prior to and during the centenary-long Phag-mo gru-pa regime. In the case of the ruling houses of sKyid-shod (Upper Central dBus) district, a long row of dominant lineages had prevailed, and in the case of the Phag-gru estates discussed here, they were descended from sub-lines of the dGyer and Myang clans originally stemming from the Yar-lung area. The inclusion of a number of powerful aristocratic families and houses into the new political administration – replacing the centenary-old *khri skor* structure – was ensured by conferring a number of hereditary estate-lands to loyal officials and underlings. It was accompanied by the coferral of appropriate edicts, title, citation, rank and prerogatives.

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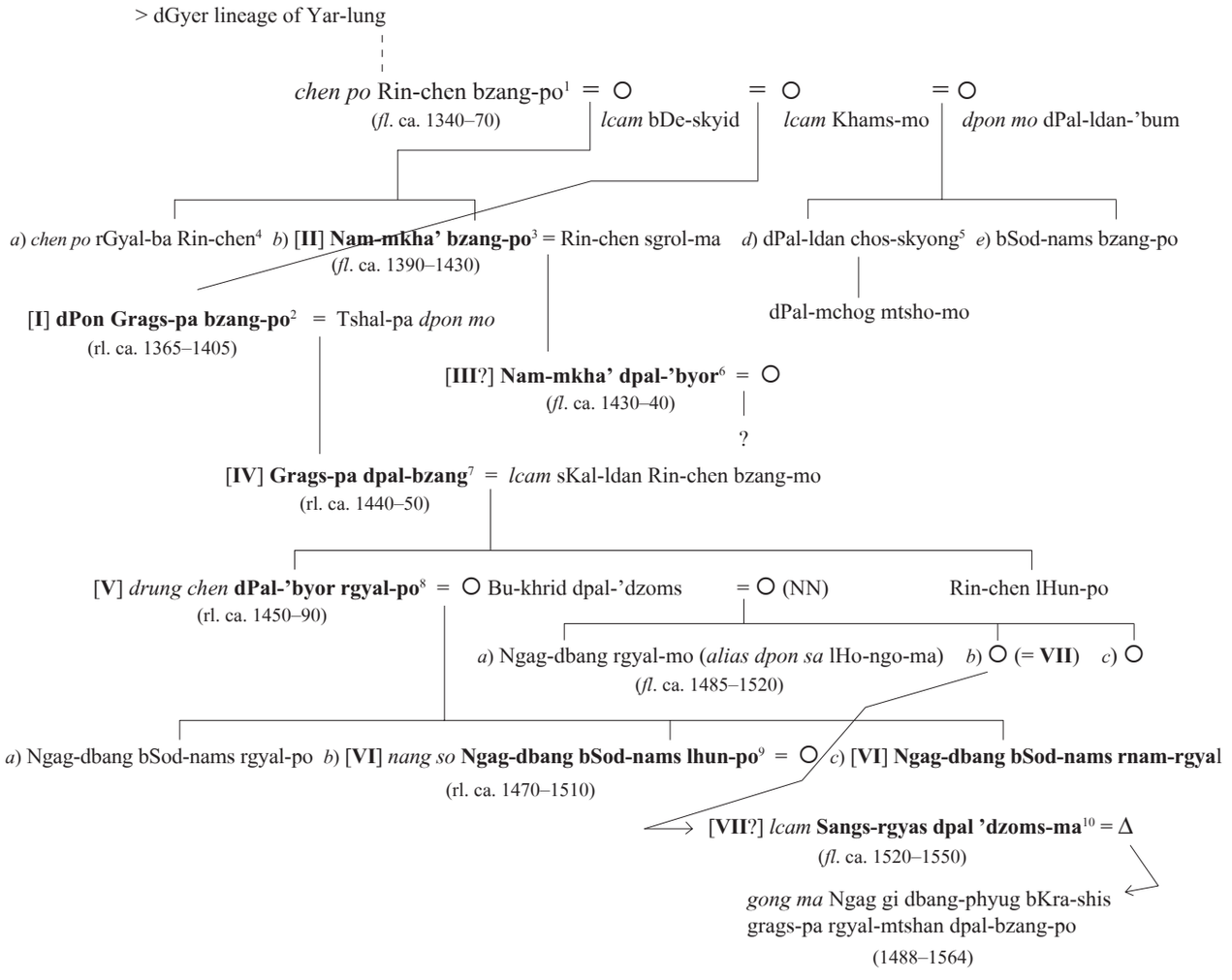
the seat of bDe-chen Brag-dkar. The fortress or hillfort in present-day bDe-chen (i.e. present-day sTag-rtse county center) was located at the entrance to the valley of Ba-lam (-shar, -nub) and Shing-tshang. It is given as Brag-dkar gSang-sngags bDe-chen *rdzong*, a name which combines originally two different establishments, at the foot of which Tsong-kha-pa founded the gSangs-sngag-mkhar monastery (Part I: fn. 547). The *rdzong* of Brag-dkar remained their original seat and it appears that bDe-chen-rtse, "Citadel of bDe-chen," only formed a kind of outpost of the early Brag-dkar rulers. bDe-chen *pho brang* or *mkhar* in the 1520's still was in the hands of the "Brag-dkar-ba *yum sras*", but it seems that already in about 1534 A.D. and more readily in 1555 was appropriated (after the Brag-dkar line became extinct) by the powerful sKyid-shod-pa; cf. *DL2* 381, 587; *DL3* 46a5–6.

[3] Their original seat was in the area of Nyang-bran, now a northern suburb of lHa-sa township (loc. *ca*. 29°42'N 91°06'E); in fact a site till this day is known as dGa'-ldan-pa (loc. *ca*. 29°43'N 91°04'E), still registered in the suburb of lHa-sa. Cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi I* 12b. After the rise of the house, they moved their head-quarter to Bye-ri sTag-rtse (loc. 29°50'N 91°29'E) probably in 1525, thereupon to bDe-chen-rtse in 1555, but kept retaining a number of seats or residences in the territory under their sway, such as, in the first place, their lHa-sa-based head-quarter dGa'-ldan khang-gsar, and Zur-khang in Tshal Gung-thang (see Part I: fn. 697). After the establishment of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang rule in lHa-sa, the sKyid-shod-pa was forced by the new strongman of Tibet, bSod-nams rab-brtan (i.e. the 1st regent bSod-nams chos-'phel), to relinquish the Brag-dkar seat only to be compensated with the strategically less crucial mKhar-rtse estate of 'Phan-yul; cf. e.g. *DL5 I* 27a5–6, 89b3–5.

In his presentation of the sKyid-shod *sde pa*, Dung-dkar (*DT*, *passim*) quotes and refers to the lineage or clan house account *dGa' ldan sKyid shod pa'i gdung rabs* (or *sKyid shod dGa' ldan pa'i gdung rabs*), an immensely important source deplorable still not accessible to us (but at least one copy is supposedly still available in lHa-sa). The text – composed by the highly significant political figure of the sKyid-shod-pa, *mi dbang* bKra-shis rab-brtan (1531–89 A.D.) – is also mentioned in the *Gung thang dkar chag* (*GT*) and *inter alia* was both known to and quoted by the Fifth Dalai Lama (cf. *DL4* 23b–26a). Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, *KSh* has dedicated a study to this house. For further source references, see Part I: fn. 697.

[4] Cf. P. Clastres 1994: 160f.

12.1 The Governors of sNel-pa / sNe'u



Notes to sNel-pa/sNe'u *rdzong* (12.1):

[1] *Chen po* Rin-chen bzang-po stemmed from the dGyer/sGer clan in Yar-lung. Klong-rdol (*KL II*: 448–49), unwittingly, assumes that he stemmed from the *Rlangs* clan, clearly confounding the Phag-gru and dGyer house. He originally was in the service as local military commander for Ta'i si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan and was rewarded with the high position as *dpon tshab*, or representative of Ta'i Si-tu and as successful local military leader of the Phag-gru army, he led its army against the Sa-skya-pa in the 1350's (see e.g. Petech 1990: 118, 123, 127). He later erected, as estate, a private residence (*sger gzhis*) at sKam-po-grong (in sKyid-shod?, see Part I: fns. 521, 522). His senior consort – out of in all three lady consorts or *lcam* – was bDe-skyid (her clan affiliation remains uncertain), daughter of his foremost patron Blo-bde. See e.g. *BD* 173; *GD*-I 50b4–6; *HSLG* 3: 18–19.

[2] *Drung chen* dPon Grags-pa (*BD* 173: Shag-pa,* evidently a misprint) served the Phag-mo gru-pa *spyan snga* Grags-pa Byang-chub (rl. 1371–86) and the Phag-gru administrator *zongji* (*rdzong byi/ji*) rGyal-mtshan bzang-po who decided to elect him as the 1st *rdzong dpon* of sNe'u *rdzong*, following his successful service as military commander for the *Gong ma* in lHo-kha. For his services he was rewarded with a private estate of sMon-mkhar erected to suppress the district of gNya'-gnang. He married a Tshal-pa *dpon mo*, which also accounts for his engagement in Tshal Gung-thang. In lHa-sa he is recorded for having not only renewed the pavement of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, but also carrying out substantial renovations of the Khyams-ra, of Bar-skor,

etc. He sponsored the ritual endowment for the statue of Maitreya Dharmacakra or Byams-pa Chos-'khor (brought along by the Nepalese princess) and he est. a number of *sngags grva* centres at Chos-rdzong, bKra-shis-sgang, Brag-nag and at dBus-gling (of Tshal) in commemoration of the Ta'i Si-tu (d. 1364). He provided the means for the annual endowment at Dung-mtsho and the endowment financing the liturgical recitation of the Medicine Buddha in front of the two Jo-bo Brothers in lHa-sa conducted for the atonement of sins accumulated by his parents and his half-brother rGyal-ba rin-chen. He also sponsored restaurations and refurbishment at gSang-phu Ne'u-thog. His *flourit* to be situated *ca*. 1365–1405. Cf. *BD* 174; *LH* 570 (reg. for *ca*. 1376 A.D.).

* Shag-pa, if no other candidate is considered here, may falsely refer to a ruler of 'Ol-kha sTag-rtse.

[3] *Drung chen* Nam-mkha' bzang-po was elected as the 2nd *rdzong dpon* of sNe'u by order of the 5th *Gong ma* (i.e. *mi dbang* Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan). Reign *ca*. 1400–30. He is foremost known for the great patronage of bTsong-kha-pa and esp. his sponsorship behind the erection of 'Bras-spungs by bestowing monastic estate at Dan-'bag (cf. Part I: fn. 574), the site of 'Bras-spungs, by inviting mKhas-grub dPal-ldan seng-ge and by renovating the lHa-sa main temples as well as by providing ample endowment for the *sMon lam chen mo*. He was sponsor of the 5th Karma-pa, donating him Mt. rTse Po-ta-la as monastic estate (*KhG* 1002–15). He is also mentioned as the patron who was responsible for the transfer of Rva *lo tsā ba*'s relics from lDan-ma to 'Bras-spungs (see Hazod 2004: 36; App. IV: fns. 84, 90). Nam-mkha' bzang-po's consort was Rin-chen sgrol-ma (*GD* 130b2). They were patrons to Rong-ston Shes-bya kun-rig (1367–1449) and invited him to lHa-sa; cf. *Rong ston rnam thar* 322–23. As sponsor for sKyor-mo-lung seat, he invited and enthroned its 13th and 14th throne-holders there. Table 8.2 above; *KLCh* 34a–36b.

[4] *TsKh* (see Part I: fn. 529) lists one sNe'u *dpon* lHun-grub rgyal-mtshan – generally unknown from other lists and if so possibly a (half-)brother to Nam-mkha` bzang-po – a ruler who similarly assisted bTsong-kha-pa in setting up and sponsoring the *sMon lam chen mo*. He apparently was *rdzong dpon* in office either before or after Nam-mkha` bzang-po, yet as such not listed here.

[5] dPal-ldan Chos-skyong (*fl*. *ca*. 1410–60) became *rdzong dpon* of bSam-grub-rtse in Lower Myang. His daughter, the lady dPal-mchog mtsho-mo, was married to Nam-mkha'-mchog-grags from the noble house of [rGya-ma] mKhar-rtse-ba of 'Phan-yul, who functioned as chief sponsor for Nalendra, the foundation of Rong-ston Shes-bya kun-rig (1367–1449). Their son was Glang-thang sPyan-snga Kun-dga'-rdo-rje (b. 1424), registered as 5th abbot of Nalendra. See Jackson, *forthcoming*.

[6] *Drung chen* Nam-mkha' dpal-'byor or Nam-mkha' rgyal-po was (most probably) the 3rd sNe'u ruler evidently appointed by the 5th *Gong ma*, and like most minor leaders in Central Tibet carried the nominal title of "Military Commander" (*duyuanshuai*). Among a host of scholars, the Rva-lung throne-holder Kun-dga' dpal-'byor (1428–76) was invited to lHa-sa by him in 1439 (cf. *TsKh* 316, 329; *JCh* 157f.). Kun-dga' Chos kyi rgya-mtsho (1432–1505) of sNam/gNam dist. served from 1440 as *drung 'khor* under this ruler.

[7] Grags-pa dpal-bzang also called *nang so* Grags-pa dbang-phyug (abbr. Grags-dbang); cf. e.g. *GD I* 50b. He served the 6th *Gong ma* Grags-pa 'byung-gnas (rl.1433–1445), in the capacity as military commander of sTag-sna, as judge (*khrims dpon*), and as *gsol dpon*. He married sKal-bzang-ma, also called sKal-ldan Rin-chen bzang-mo (d. 1445?; prayers for her swift rebirth was enacted by Thang-stong rgyal-po), a daughter of the ruler of rGyal-mkhar-rtse. He later was ordained; again later, it is chronicled, he assumed Mongol dress – i.e. assumed the duties imposed upon him by the Mongol (*recte* Ming court?) and became "Military Commander" (*duyuanshuai*), a purely nominal title. He served as *dpon* of Byang sBra-thag. It is uncertain to what extent he officially served as sNe'u *rdzong dpon*. Yet this is likely as may be adduced from the sources. He served as *yon bdag* of Thang-stong rgyal-po, one of his root-teachers. Cf. *TS I* 193–99, 207, 215–19, 243–45. He renovated Zul-phu; see *Zkh* 14a3.

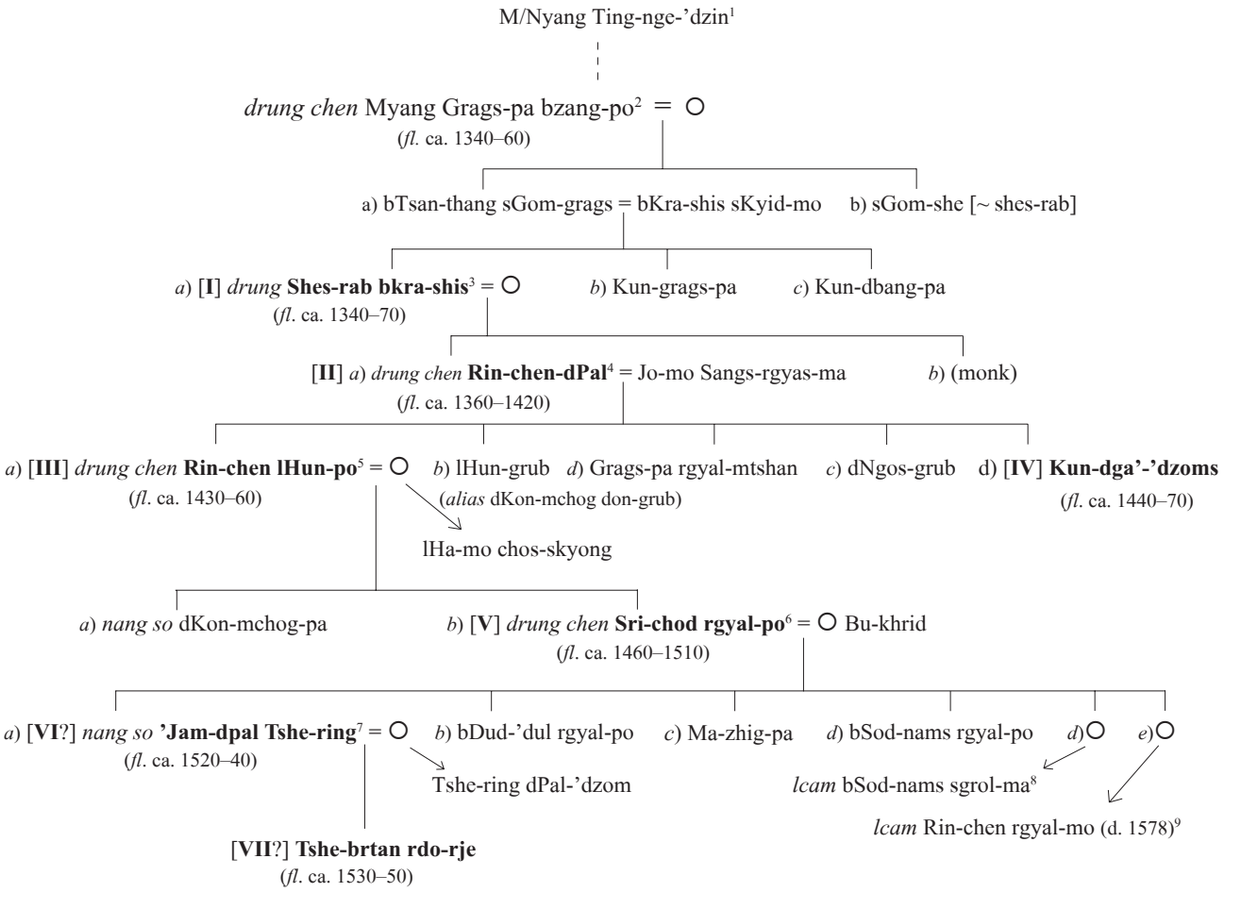
[8] *Sa skyong*, *nang so* and *drung chen* (also *chos rgyal*) Ngag-dbang dPal-'byor rgyal-po (= ? ['Phan-po] dPal-'byor rgyal-po, d. 1490; see *DMS* Tucci 221, 226–27) and his senior consort Bu-khrid dpal-'dzoms were in particular known as affluent sponsors for the main sanctuaries of lHa-sa, in particular the many dGe-lugs institutions in the nearest vicinity; he sponsored the manufacture of a long row of statues and book prints (e.g. the 1478 lHa-sa ed. of *rGyal rabs gsal ba`i me long*; for other prints, see also Jackson 1989). A ruler of supraregional importance, the district he controlled spanned eastwards from 'Bri-gung rDo-tham, until Kha-rag rDo Bug-pa-can (towards gTsang) until Khra-'brug of Yar-lung to the south. To travel or pass through these districts required his travel permission. See also TBH Sørensen 36–37. He was elected as the 5th? sNe'u *rdzong dpon* by the 6th and 7th *Gong ma* Grags-pa 'byung-gnas (1414–45) and his younger brother Kun-dga' legs-pa (1433–82), who was Phag-gru ruler on the secular throne (rl. 1448–81). dPal-'byor rgyal-po hosted a large number of masters, such as e.g. gTsang-smyon Heruka 1474 A.D.; see *gTsang smyon rnam thar* 43–45. He also sponsored the 15th and 16th throne-holders of sKyor-mo-lung; *KLCh* 40b-41a. His brother was Rin-chen lhun-po, who may, as often was the case, have served as assistant *rdzong dpon*. The 5th Dalai Lama mentions another brother, dBang-grags 'byung-ba (not listed here); *BD* 175. His main seat was the dPal-'byor lhun-po estate (cf. App. II: fn. 167). The Se-ra Byes Grva-tshang was founded with the assistance of dPal-'byor rgyal-po and *dpon sa* Bu-khrid dpal-'dzoms as well as by the 8th *khri rabs* of Se-ra, dPal-'byor lhun-grub (1427–1514). dPal-'byor rgyal-po had two consorts (other sources speak of three *bdag mo*): the first and senior lady being Bu-khrid dpal-'dzoms (also called Chos kyi dpal-'dzoms?); she was daughter of the ruler of either Brag-dkar (see below) or of the Rlangs (cf. *KL II* 448) line and the junior consort (name unknown) of his was the daughter of the 'Ol-kha sTag-rtse house (Dung-dkar suggests she was the senior consort) and with her, he fathered the daughter Ngag-dbang rgyal-mo, *alias dpon sa* lHo-ngo-ma (cf. *LD* 44, see also M. Akester in Alexander 2005: 292–94). lHo-ngo-ma arguably refers to her estate in Dog-sde lHo-ngos ("Southern Spur"). She married into the dGa'-ldan khang-gsar house (see below) – her

son was evidently dGa'-ldan-pa bSod-nams rgyal-po, *alias* Ra-nu lHa-bsrungs (1506–46), also known as *chos rje* A-bsod. She too provided ample endowments for the Ra-mo-che institution and its *sMon lam chen mo* (also *Ra che smon lam*) in 1538; See *DT* 1883; *DMS* Tucci 242. During dPal-'byor rgyal-po's reign, in 1467, the father of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs was assassinated by the sNel-pa.

[9] *Sa skyong* or *nang so* Ngag-dbang bSod-nams lhun-po (*fl*. *ca*. 1470–1500) and his younger brother *sa skyong* Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal evidently ruled conjointly, resp. as the 6th (and 7th?) sNe'u *rdzong dpon*. The younger brother is also registered as *nang so* rNam-rgyal; he hosted the (future) 2nd Dalai Lama 1486/87 (cf. *DL2* 363). Their older brother Ngag-dbang bSod-nams rgyal-po had died in his infancy. In the earlier years of his reign, they were registered as stout supporters of the dGe-lugs-pa and Tshal Gung-thang – in fact of a major number of religious institutions in the lHa-sa area – but following the first raid by the Rin-spungs-pa in 1480–81 (in the wake of repeated warfare in dBus-gTsang where the sNe`u chiefs were directly involved), their commitment and patronage turned towards the temporary new rulers of Central Tibet, the Rin-spungs and the Karma-pa. The "new" root-teachers of the sNel-pa were to become the 4th Zhva-dmar and 12th sTag-lung-pa. See *KTsh* [B] 729: 1497/98; *DL2* 363; *Ngag dbang chos rgyal rnam thar* 552.4; Table V.11.2. bSod-nams lhun-po and Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal opened their treasury and soothed the Rin-spungs-pa and the Karma-pa after the sNe'u estate was repeatedly (1480, 1498) attached, confiscated or looted by the Rin-spungs army. These military incursions and the loss of sNe'u, evidently was a long-awaited response to the assassination of a close ally and supporters of the Karma-pa, a member of 'Brug-pa hierarchs at Rva-lung and 'Brug-pa, as well as sNang-rtse *sde pa* of sTod-lung perpetrated by the sNe'u-pa. Cf. App. II above for details and *GD I* 50b. The result was a strategic and denominational reorientation of the sNe'u towards the Karma-pa. The subsequent early 16th cent. *volte face* of the sNe'u away from supporting (exclusively) the dGe-lugs-pa seats in lHa-sa, led to considerable frustration among the latter. The sNe'u seat should play no independent political role hereafter (*ab* 1500), and the seat was during the 16th cent. in part controlled by the Phag-gru rulers who simultaneously controlled the sKyor-mo-lung-pa (cf. Table V.8.2); see also *BD* 184; further *sTag lung chos 'byung I* 481; *KTsh* 308b2–6; Klong-rdol (*gSung 'bum II* 448); *KhG* 1073, 1142. The two brothers should be the last regular rulers of sNel-pa after the loss of their power (*srid*) to Rin-spungs, and they never regained their power or played any role.

[10] The redoubtable ruler (*dpon sa*, *bdag mo*, *lcam*, *sa skyong ma*) (b. *ca*. 1485) Sangs-rgyas-dpal-'dzoms-ma was an extremely influential ruler of sNe'u (rl. *ca*. 1520–50), evidently being the second daughter of dPal-'byor rgyal-po with his second wife, albeit the sources occasionally are at variance. Losing its independence, sNe'u was now ruled by Phag-gru: She was married (*btsun ma*) to the powerful Phag-gru *gong ma chos rgyal chen po* Ngag gi dbang-phyug bKra-shis grags-pa rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1488–1564), who together with his sNe'u consort ruled sNe'u rdzong from 1517/18 until the mid 1550's and hence ensured the powerful presence of the Phag-gru rulers in the heart-land of lHa-sa by settling in sKyor-mo-lung – the other strong outpost and gradually competing branch seat of the Phag-gru being the Gong[-ri]-dkar[-po] seat occupied during this period by another Phag-gru branch-line headed by (the *gong ma*'s son) 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po (1508–48) and his consort Bu-khrid rgyal-mo. For the conflict between the Phag-gru branches, see O. Czaja 2006. Whereas the *gong ma*, for the most part (permanently?) resided in rTses-thang, she certainly resided in sKyor-mo-lung in their/her local residence rNam-sras [lha]-rtse. They (and notably she) were affluent patrons for all major seats and monasteries in the narrow lHa-sa area, in fact ruling lHa-sa and not least its major dGe-lugs seats. Being the main *sbyin bdag* of the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje*, i.e. the prospective 2nd Dalai Lama, she e.g. sponsored the dGe-lugs-rein-stitution of the *sMon lam chen mo* festival in lHa-sa (after the Karma-pa had lost control of lHa-sa in 1517/18), sponsored the erection of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang in 'Bras-spungs, and funded the refurbishment, manufacture and the erection of countless edifices, statues and prints in this period. She repeatedly hosted dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho from 1517 until his passing in 1542. Especially at the close of his life, the Dalai Lama *in spe* confided that there was "no Dharma-patron comparable to this *dpon sa* (*dpon sa 'di bstan pa'i sbyin bdag gzhan dang mi 'dra ba*)." In fact, it was this patroness who had orchestrated the ascent of the immensely influential Phag-gru-born Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa – the most powerful dGe-lugs Hierarch in the early 16th cent. – to the sKyor-mo-lung see (his *rnam thar* 12a, and doubtlessly to other key dGe-lugs thrones as well). Nursing the ailing Dalai Lama in 1542, she choreographed, here actively assisted by the same Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa – this can be gleaned from the biography of the 2nd Dalai Lama – the finding of the re-birth of the latter, and conveniently identified a new-born son in a neighbouring noble estate as the new 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* (*alias* the 3rd Dalai Lama) – who on his mother's side, incidentally, also stemmed from the Phag-mo-gru-pa house. Her influence on the early years of the prospective 3rd Dalai Lama must have been dramatic, too, albeit the prevailing biography of the 3rd Dalai Lama inexplicably refrains from mentioning her name after 1543 at sKyor-mo-lung, and instead mentions bSod-nams grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1532–66), the son of 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po whose Gong-dkar line temporarily must have been installed or were present at sKyor-mo-lung from mid-1540's. Galvanizing the bonds to dGe-lugs-pa at a crucial junction in their fragile history, she nevertheless influenced the course of Tibetan political history, when the latter school needed it most for its survival. It was the above-mentioned *mi dbang* (or *zhabs drung*) bSod-nams grags-pa rgyal-mtshan who in 1553 A.D. (and until 1558/61) was kept captive as hostage (in sKyor-mo-lung, later in dGa'-ldan pho-brang in 'Bras-spungs), when the dGa'-ldan-pa raided and occupied sKyor-mo-lung. It was through the mediation of bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (another source lists 'Bri-gung Rin-chen phun-tshogs instead) that the hostage(s) were released and peace resumed. In sum, she was one of the most powerful and fascinating female rulers in Tibet. Cf. Table V. 8.2; *KLCh* 87–90, 98; *DL2* 394–96, 402–03, 550–53, 600–03, 617–29; *DL3 passim*; *JCh* 357b2–88b1; Mullin 2005: 95f.

12.2 The Governors of Brag-dkar



Notes to Brag-dkar *rdzong* (12.2):

[1] The original ruling house of the family behind the Brag-dkar estate and of Grags-pa bzang-po was the Myang (var. Nyang) clan, and esp. the patriline that issued from/through Myang *bande* Ting-nge-'dzin bzang-po (*Samādhibhadra; and his brother Myang Sha-mi go-cha – the latter allegedly erected the imperial rMe-ru rnying temple in lHa-sa): the former served as monk-minister or religious minister (*chos blon*) under Khri lDe'u srong-btsan Sad-na-legs (764–814 A.D.) and under Khri Ral-pa-can; cf. TBH Sørensen: 416. Grags-pa bzang-po thus in fact stemmed from one of the most influential imperial-era clans who *inter alia* had estates in Yar-lung, 'Phyong-po and other parts of the lHo-kha area. From *Rlangs* 230 we are informed that Grags-bzang was a 'Phyos-pa, stemming from a key valley of the 'Phyong-po district, known as the home of a number of masters from the Myang lineage (e.g. Nyang Dharmasiṃha or sMan-lung-pa Śakya-'od (grandson of Nyang-ston chen-po and founder of the 13th cent. Bang-so dmar-po lha-khang; also the lineage of the *chos rje* (oracle) of Khra-'brug, the central sanctuary of Yar-lung, was Myang; see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 103, 289, *et passim*). Already one of the leading ministers of gNam-ri slong/srong-btsan, was one Myang Tseng-sku and for his military service against the former's foe Zing-po-rje, he was to receive both estate-land and slaves; it is e.g. not unlikely that the area in northern lHa-sa, Nyang-bran (orig. *Myang-bran) may refer to this. Later, one Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang served under Srong-btsan sgam-po and under Mang-srong mang-btsan. Other 8–9th-cent. Myang ministers included Myang Khri-bzang legs-'dus and Myang rGyal-rgan legs-btsan. In the post-imperial epoch, a number of clan members of the widely ramified Myang, not least Myang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1136–1204) and his lineage, played a central role in the transmission of key *myang lugs* esoteric cycles not least in the rNying-ma-pa circles.

[2] Grags-pa bzang-po was born in the old and prestigious imperial seat of bTsan-thang in lower Yar-lung. It is located south of dGon-gsar/ mKhar-thog where the ruling lineage of Rlangs Phag-mo-gru had one of its main residences (cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 56f, 102f.). Serving the Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan, Grags-pa bzang-po was appointed *rdzong dpon* of 'Ol-kha sTag-rtse (~ 'Ol-mdo sTag-rtse; see e.g. *Rlangs* 229, 352; for the 'Ol-kha *sde dpon* governor seat – also of the Myang clan – see *DMS* Tucci 235; *BD* 177–178). His two sons were both born in bTsan-thang and they evidently were – polygamously and hence customarily – both married to one bKra-shis sKyid-mo, daughter of a local Yar-klungs mGo-nag ruler (it tentatively may refer to the site of mGo-nag; cf. CFS Gyalbo *et al*. 32).

[3] *Pakshi* Shes-rab bkra-shis served the Ta'i Si-tu in different capacities. 1361, he was dispatched to the imperial court to counter the allegations launched by the Sa-skya-pa towards Ta'i Si-tu who had been depicted as a rebel. Negotiating successfully, he was allowed an audience with the last Yuan emperor Toγan Temür. Back in Central Tibet, Shes-rab bkra-shis was rewarded with the appointment as the 1st *rdzong dpon* of Brag-dkar, donated him as a hereditary estate along with a *'ja' sa*. Cf. Petech 1990: 134. His two younger brothers, Kun-grags and Kun-dbang resp. became the 2nd *rdzong dpon* of 'Ol-kha sTag-rtse estate after his father and the youngest son was student at rTses-thang *chos sde*.

[4] Rin-chen-dpal was appointed 2nd *rdzong dpon*, officially elected by the [5th] Phag-gru *gong ma*. He proved to be a key sponsor for the many seats and establishments initiated or est. by bTsong-kha-pa in the early 15th cent. He provided the financial means and support for the erection of dGa'-ldan monastery and the gSang-sngags-mkhar at the foot of Mt. bDe-chen-rtse. Cf. *TsKh* 315f.; *JCh* 140b6; Kaschewsky 1971: 202–03. He married a lady Jo-mo Sangs-rgyas-ma of a 'Phyong-rgyas aristocratic house. *DMS* Tucci 217 seems to suggest that Shes-rab bkra-shis and Rin-chen-dpal were uncle and nephew (*khu dbon*).

[5] Rin-chen lhun-po was elected as the 3rd *rdzong dpon* of the Brag-dkar estate or governorship, appointed by the 5th or the 6th *Gong ma*. He too was the major patron, *yon bdag* or *sbyin bdag* of dGa'-ldan located within the Brag-dkar vicinity. His younger brother lHun-grub (? *alias* dKon-mchog don-grub; cf. *DMS* Tucci 224) appropriately had served as *gsol dpon* for the utmost powerful 5th *Gong ma*, *mi dbang* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and a third Brag-dkar brother, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (a namesake[*sic*]) is registered as being well-versed in the Buddhist scriptures; he allegedly became throne-holder of Se-ra Theg-chen-gling. However, he – under this name – is not listed in the *VS*, nor in *Se ra chos 'byung* – which would suggest a lapsus by the scribe of the *BD*. The name of this brother is here arguably wrongly transmitted. The penultimate brother dNgos-grub became *gsol dpon* of the Phag-gru *che sa* Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan from Yar-lung dGon-gsar (fn. 2) (1389–1457), the redoubtable brother of the 5th Phag-gru *Gong ma*; for the latter's infamous role politically at sNe'u-gdong and gDan-sa-thel in the mid-15th cent. that eventually led to the decline of Phag-gru regime; cf. App. I, fn. 1. The last Brag-dkar brother finally was elected as the 4th *rdzong dpon*, appointed by the 7th *Gong ma* Kun-dga' legs-pa (1433–82/83), who ruled on the secular throne 1448–81; the latter's father *che sa* Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan may have been instrumental in securing the younger brother of his *gsol dpon* on the Brag-dkar seat. The eldest and youngest brothers, i.e. the 3rd and 4th Brag-dkar rulers (along with their brothers? in this case polygamously since – as we may adduce from *DMS* Tucci 223–24 – possibly they ruled conjointly or as a family affair) married a daughter from the powerful Rin-spungs house by the name lHa-mo Chos-skyong, a liaison probably engineered by the influential and unscrupulous *che sa*. In the early 1450's, lady lHa-mo of Brag-dkar hosted rJe-btsun Chos kyi sgron-ma (1422–1456) at lHa-sa; see *Chos kyi sgron ma rnam thar* 131b. In about 1456, the s*pyan snga* of gDan-sa-thel, Ngag gi dbang-po (1439–91) temporarily took up residence (or was exiled) at Brag-dkar, where he stayed for almost 16 years (*DMS* Tucci 224).

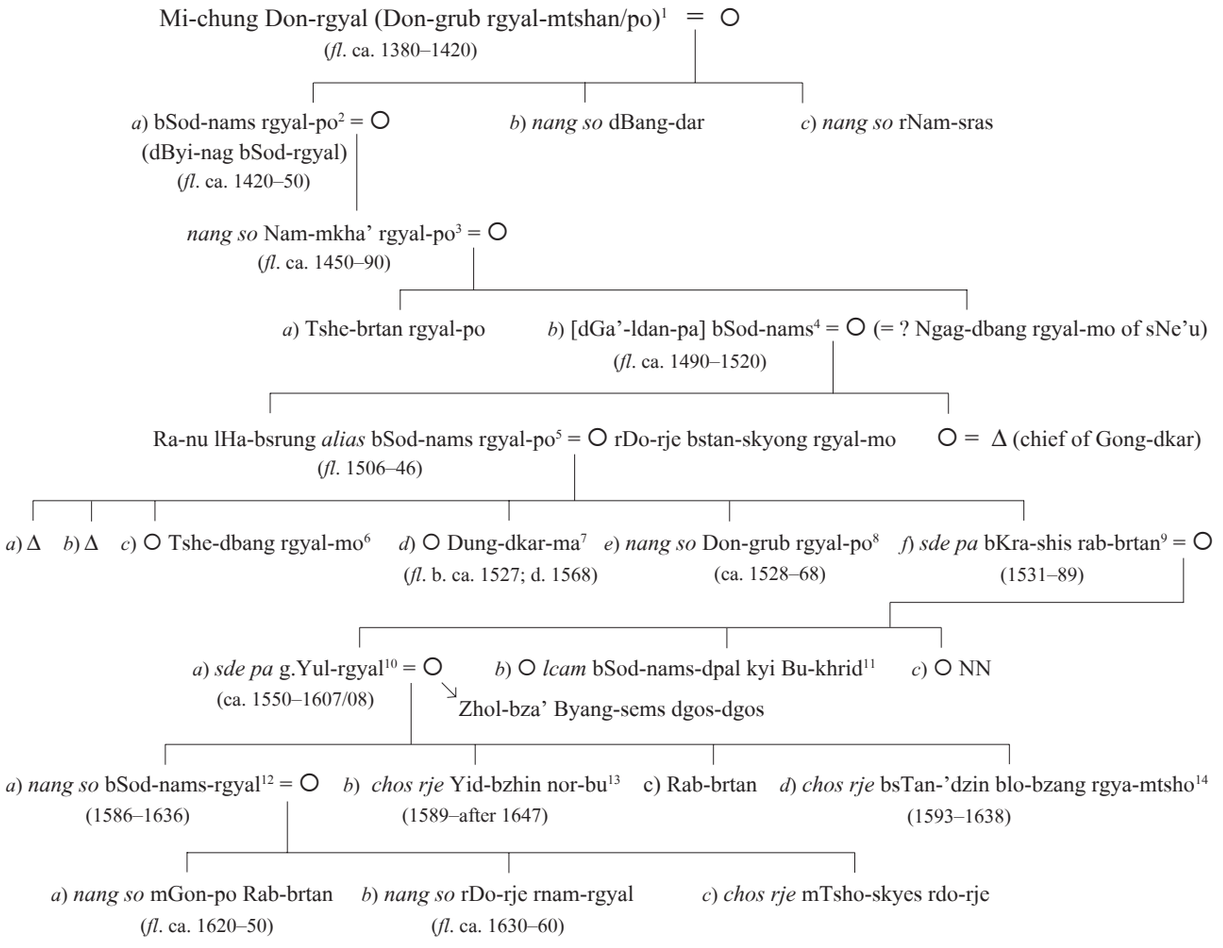
[6] *Mi dbang* Sri-gcod rgyal-po (rl. *ca*. 1460–1510) ascended the throne as the 6th Brag-dkar ruler, being appointed either by the 6th Gong-ma, 7th Gong-ma Kun-dga' legs-pa (rl. 1448–80) rather than his successor Tshes-gnyis Rin-po-che Ngag gi dbang-po (1439–91). His elder brother *nang so* dKon-mchog indeed may temporarily have been administrative ruler of Brag-dkar too, but soon requested for ordination and turned monk. During the rule of Sri-gcod, the Rin-spungs ruler Don-yod rdo-rje reportedly restored order in Brag-dkar. The Second Dalai Lama was invited by *rgyal po* Sri-gcod rgyal-po in 1500 and again in 1511 to Brag-dkar, where he meet Brag-dkar-ba *yum sras* (see *DL2* 366, 486, 526). Sri-chod was married to one lady Bu-khrid of the neighbouring rGya-ma ruling house (i.e. dGyer clan; cf. Table 8 above). He reportedly studied with gNas-rnying-pa Kun-dga' bde-legs rin-chen, the 8th dGa'-ldan throne-holder sMon-lam-dpal (1414–91) as well as with the 15th 'Bri-gung throne-holder Kun-dga' rin-chen (1475–1527), who may have been his root-teacher. Cf. *'Bri gung gdan rabs III* 168–169.

[7] 'Jam-dpal tshe-ring [rgyal-po] and his son Tshe-brtan rdo-rje – arguably the 6th and 7th *sde dpon* of Brag-dkar – were the last generations of Brag-dkar rulers. Cf. also *BD* 155. In the mid-16th century – as some sources suggest – the line died out, which would imply that Tshe-brtan rdo-rje probably remained without issue. At that point the Brag-dkar-pa played no notable political role anymore. The *rdzong* and was appropriated by the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa around 1555 A.D.; see Table 12.3 below.

[8] One of the unnamed *lcam* or noble sisters indeed may be identified with bSod-nams sgrol-ma (b. *ca*. 1500?), mother of the 17th and 18th throne-holder of 'Bri-gung. Cf. Table 11.1 above.

[9] Registered is a passing of one Brag-dkar *lcam* Rin-chen rgyal-mo in 1578 A.D. Cf. *DT* 256.

12.3 The dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa



Notes to sKyid-shod-pa (12.3):

[1] Mi-chung Don-rgyal originally was foot-man or soldier in the service of the 15th Tshal-pa *khri dpon* dGa'-bde bzang-po (1384/86–1409/10); cf. *GT* 41a; Part I: fn. 561. He stemmed from the mGar clan (in the line of *blon po* mGar; see Introduction, Chap. 9.3.1). His estate-residence was the still-unidentified Yar-phyogs-gling ("The Garden in the Upper District" = Nyang-bran? in lHa-sa Nyang-bran dist.?) of sKyid-shod. He later served the 2nd ? sNel-pa *rdzong dpon* (see Table 12.1 above), and for his service, he was elected *mi dpon* of Nyang-bran dGa'-ldan-pa, an outpost of the sNe'u/sNel-pa *rdzong*.* Hence the future name of the noble house which in the 16th cent. should be the leading governorships in the sKyid-shod area.

* The estate of Nyang-bran dGa'-ldan-pa (*sKyor mo lung chos 'byung* 34a: Nyang dGa') was loacated in present-day dGa'-ldan-pa village in upper Nyang-bran; in the memory of the local tradition it is referred to as the former residence of one "*dmag dpon chen po*" (Loc.: 29°43'28.7"N 91°04'06.2"E). In the same area, the Gar-ri (place of the Gar-ri *dgon*; Part I: fn. 416) is to be found, which perhaps is to be read as [m]Gar and related to the history of a mGar branch settling here. It would suggest that the Yar-phyogs-gling, the original residence of the mGar Mi-chung Don-rgyal, was in the area of upper Nyang-bran. See below Fig. 62.

[2] bSod-nams rgyal-po, *alias* dByi-nag bSod-rgyal. He (as also his brothers) were in the service of the influential sNe'u *rdzong dpon* dPal-'byor bzang-po (see Table 12.1 above). The territory he was entrusted included the area of Lo sBrel/sPrel sNa-gdong, formerly belonging to Byang-phyi Chos-lung (29°39'N 91°19'E, in present-day sTag-rtse *rdzong*) and to the *nang*

so of Tshal Yang-dgon. His *flourit* to be situated *ca.* 1420–50. His two younger brothers dBang-dar (*alias* dBang-phyug dar-rgyas?) became *bdag po* of Bon-grong (loc. 29°27'N 90°54'E – adjacent to lJang) of gNam/sNam district (of present-day Chu-shur *rdzong*) – in sKyid-smad. The last brother rNam[-thos-]sras was residing at Ri-sngon of 'Brong[-rtse] (in gTsang?). Later he resided in Tshal where he was occupied with residential constructions. It is likely that all the brothers polygamous were married to a still unknown lady.

[3] *Nang so* Nam-mkha' rgyal-po temporarily appropriated [the position as *rdzong dpon* of] lHun-po-rtse of Chu-shur dist. in sKyid-smad. However, at a point when a conflict with the sNel-pa governors culminated, the Rin-spungs army arrived in sNye-thang (and lHa-sa in 1480; cf. App. II above), he relinquished his position and surrendered Chu-shur. Not much is otherwise known of this governor.

[4] The elder brother of dGa'-ldan-pa bSod-nams [rgyal-po] (who carried the same name as his grandfather), Tshe-brtan rgyal-po was ordained as monk, whereas bSod-nams rgyal-po himself, at a point when the Rin-spungs ruler Don-yod rdo-rje with his army in 1480 invaded the sKyid-shod area during an enduring conflict with the sNel-pa estate, sided with Rin-spungs-pa with the result that the latter occupied sNe'u and Po-ta-la (= dMar-po-ri) = lHa-sa, sites that were held by the Rin-spungs-pa until the late 1510's. For his assistance to the Rin-spungs army during this foray against the sNel-pa, he received an edict allowing him to rule an area spanning from rNying-khung [= sNying-drung of 'Dam-gzhung?] until Chu-ka in the Valley of sNye[-mo]. Shortly after, at a point when the *Gong ma* Ngag-dbang bKra-shis grags-pa (1480/88–1564) arrived in Po-ra [*sic*] of gZhung, the rebellious Yar-rgyab *dpon* had to reach an agreement with the Phag-gru through the mediation of bSod-nams rgyal-po which meant that the dGa'-ldan-pa and Shag-pa [i.e. the Yar-rgyab rulers?] sided with and became supporters of the Phag-gru *gong ma*. Shag-pa received sKyor-mo-lung and became *ru dpon* of sKyid-shod g.Yas-ru, whereas dGa'-ldan-pa [bSod-nams rgyal-po] eventually was appointed new District Judge (i.e. Local Inspector and Arbitrator; *khrims dpon* = M. *jarγuči*; Ch. *tuanshiguan*). The area he ruled – after the influence of sNel-pa had diminished dramatically – included sKyid-shod lHo-Byang (i.e. the territory foremost along the southern and northern bank of sKyid-chu), plus bDe-chen-rtse, and the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang itself (for details, see *BD* 183; see also Part I: fns. 563–68; elsewhere he is registered as *dmag dpon* of sKyi g.yor `phan (i.e. of sKyid-shod, g.Yor-po and 'Phan-yul). In the relevant literature, the reign of bSod-nams rgyal-po, his wife and their scions (*yab sras*, *yab yum sras*) can be dated to the first quarter of the 16th century (*ca*. 1490–1535); they eventually served as patrons of the dGe-lugs-pa and were designated as bsTan pa'i sbyin-bdag dGe-ldan-pa (see *Chos grva chos 'byung* 642). This is confirmed by 'Bri-gung sources, the dGa'-ldan-pa eventually – filling the vacuum left behind by the sNel-pa and Brag-dkar-pa in these vast territories – was ruler of sKyid-shod, 'Phan-yul and g.Yor districts; cf. *Kun dga' rin chen rnam thar III* 178–182; 580.4. He may also have been known as *nang so chos rje* A bsod (or it refers to his son? = Ra-nu lHa-bsrung; see below); cf. *DL2* 611; *Ngag dbang chos rgyal rnam thar* 555.6–7. For 1508 and 1512, the *sde pa* dGa'-ldan-pa *nang so chos rje* is mentioned who invited to lHa-sa and Tshal, the 'Brug-pa Ngag-dbang Chos kyi rgyal-po (1465–1540); cf. the latter's bio. 253.7–254.1.

[5] See previous note. Ra-nu lHa-bsrung (1506–46) was addressed bSod-nams rgyal-po too (obviously in token deference to his father and great grandfather), in fact was appointed *dmag dpon* of sKyid-shod by the *Gong ma* Ngag-dbang bkra-shis grags-pa – due to his service rendered to the Phag-gru's against the Rin-spungs-pa; cf. *BD* 184. After the lineage of Bye-ri sTag-rtse (loc. 29°50'N 91°29'E; cf. Part I: fn. 542, *passim*) had died out being until then ruled by Shag-pa *dpon drung* Tshe-dbang rnam-rgyal [of the Yar-rgyab-pa/'Ol-kha sTag-rtse?], he in 1525 married the surviving Bye-ri stag-rtse bride (*mna' ma*) by the name rDo-rje bstan-skyong rgyal-mo (who had rebelled again the former 'Ol-kha sTag-rtse hegemons), a union ensuring that the Bye-ri sTag-rtse territories merged with that of the dGa'-ldan-pa. See *DT* 254–56, quoting the indispensable *dGa' ldan sKyid shod pa'i gdung rabs* – there he is listed as the elder brother of Don-grub (see below) – only direct access to the latter source shall clarify this. In 1539–40, bSod-nams rgyal-po reportedly invited the 2nd Dalai Lama to bDe-chen-rtse; see *DL2* 607, 611.

[6] *lCam* Tshe-dbang rgyal-mo was married into the 'Phyong-rgyas [seat at 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse] Hor bSod[-nams] dar-rgyas; see *BD* 169. They had three sons: Hor bSod-nams sTobs-kyi rgyal-po, Tshe-dbang bSod-nams bstan-'dzin and Karma Ngag-dbang grags-pa. It was in this family line that the Great Fifth Dalai Lama was born.

[7] *lCam* Dung-dkar[-ma] (b. 1526?–d. 1568) was married to the 12th? Phag-gru *sde srid* 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po (1508–48), ruler of the dGong-dkar branch seat of the Phag-gru regime. They had two sons bSod-nams grags-pa rgyal-mtshan dpal bzang-po (1532–66) and rNam-rgyal rab-brtan (1538–68?). For the latter, see e.g. *rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog rnam thar* 252.

[8] *Nang so* Don-grub rgyal-po, *aliases sde pa* or *sa skyong* Don-grub rab-brtan, Don-grub mgon-po. Seated in their new residence at Bye-ri sTag-rtse overlooking strategically the north-east-bound part of the sKyid-chu river, he was elected *rdzong dpon* by the 11th? Phag-gru *Gong ma* (i.e. Ngag-dbang bkra-shis grags-pa). His active flourit to be situated *ca*. 1520/25–1568 A.D., confirmed by sources such as the biography of Zhig-po gling-pa (1524–1583 A.D.) and a host of other sources. He was the figure who later rebelled against the Phag-gru mother-house by disobeying the sNe'u-gdong *Gong ma*, the same Ngag-dbang bkra-shis grags-pa (1488–1564). The warfare of sKyid-shod (of 1553–54) thus began during his tenure. The *Gung thang Me tog mchod pa* and the 1553 A.D. *sMon lam chen mo* had to be postponed due to this warring conflict. He occupied sKyor-mo-lung for seven years until 1561. To him is also ascribed the erection or rather refurbishment of the dGa'-ldan khang-gsar mansion in lHa-sa (the later famous residence in Tibetan political history, Fig. 68 below), erected or rather renovated by him in 1549

A.D. Together with his younger brother *sde p*a bKra-shis rab-brtan, he was involved in the restoration work in the immediate aftermath of the 1546 Gung-thang fire. The patronizing assistance, above all, made them the new "rulers" of Gung-thang, their branch residence there was known as Zur-khang. He made forays into sTod-lung and 'Phan-yul where he conquered many seats and territories. He dispatched troops to lHo-kha late in around 1567, and shortly after he passed away. He met a violent death being feared and hated in wide circles heralding his imminent assassination (as detailed in contemporary sources).

[9] *Nang so*, i.e. sKyid-shod *sa skyong* / *zhabs drung* (also *mi'i rje*, *mi dbang* or *sde pa*) dGa'-ldan-pa bKra-shis rab-brtan (1531–89) – commonly also merely [*a*] *khu* (or *khu dbon* when listed along with his successor in the seat and nephew (*dbon*) g.Yul-rgyal nor-bu (see below) with whom he ruled conjointly) was the most powerful political figure in central northern Tibet in the later part of the 16th cent. He took over the efficient rule after the demise of his elder brother in 1568 and ruled until his death. He was born 1531 in the residence of Bye-ri sTag-rtse. Earning a great repute due to his military and administrative service rendered to the Phag-mo-gru-pa *Gong ma* in his early years, so in 1555 as the Yar-rgyab-pa of Gong-dkar revolted against the Phag-gru sDe-srid, he conquered the lHun-grub-gling of Grva-phyi and the armies of Yar-rgyab. He eventually became *rdzong dpon* of the nearby Brag-dkar estate or fiefship obviously in 1555 when the Brag-dkar estate and seat (cf. Table V.12.2 above) had ceased to exist. He proved militarily successful, in lHo-kha, 'Phyong-rgyas, in the remote gNyal, Byar and Lo of lHo-brag, in Dvags-po, Kong-po as well as in sTod-lung, where he overcame his military opponents. Benefitting from the increasing weakness of the Phag-gru mother-house, he and his house rose to become the most powerful ruling house in dBus. He conducted renovation and acted as an affluent and liberal patron (replacing here the rulers of sNe'u-pa and Brag-dkar-pa in that capacity) for a large number of religious seats in and around lHa-sa and sKyid-shod (such as Jo-khang, dGa'-ldan, Se-ra and 'Bras-spungs, Gung-thang, Rin-chen-sgang, etc.). He financed the expansion of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang complex in 'Bras-spungs initiated by the 'Bras-spungs *phyag mdzod*. Held in high esteem as a very learned man. He e.g. sponsored the erection of a statue of the 3rd Dalai Lama. Under his soubriquet or *nome de plume* dByangs-can dbang-po'i sde (i.e. dByangs-can Ngag gi dbang-phyug bsnyems-pa'i sde [i.e. *Sarasvati Vāgīśvara] or sMra-ba'i dbang-phyug – it alluded to his great erudition as a man of letter – he composed an ode to the 3rd Dalai Lama at his residence Bye-ri sTag-rtse'i *rdzong* (contained in the bio. of the 3rd Dalai Lama). Among his teachers count e.g. *lha btsun* bSod-nams dpal-bzang, and Shar-pa Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1532–92). Registered as patron also for the great 13th Zha-lu abbot Tshar-chen Blo-gsal rgya-mtsho, yet he should in particular entertain a patron-priest relationship with the 'Bras-spungs *chos rje* (i.e. 3rd Dalai Lama *in spe*) bSod-nams rgya-mtsho from 1570 A.D. Repeatedly mentioned in contemporary sources, and often eulogized for his unfailing support to the dGe-lugs-pa sect. The 3rd Dalai Lama – in the words of his biographer, the 5th Dalai Lama – extolled him by comparing him to Hanuman, the monkey champion, the adviser of Sugrīva and companion of Rāma, epitome of an unfailing patron and helper. He further was an elder contemporary and patron of the 2nd 'Ol-kha *zhabs drung* bsTan-pa rgya-mtsho (1557–1621) and of the 24th throne-holder dGa'-ldan Chos-rje Byams-pa rgya-mtsho (rl. *ca*. 1575–1582 A.D.). Cf. *DT* 256; *JCh* 218–19; Part I: fn. 699 for further details.

[10] sKyid-shod *sde pa* (or *mi'i dbang po*) g.Yul-rgyal (~ g.Yul rnam-par rgyal-ba) nor-bu (*ca*. 1550?–1607 A.D.) was nephew (another tradition emphatically lists him as son (*sras*), as given in *BD* 185.13–16 [Nor-brang 1993: 445], but "son" may here possibly refer to being a heir on the seat) of bKra-shis rab-brtan (see above) with whom he over some years ruled conjointly. In our conspectus we have listed him as bKra-shis rab-brtan's son, although this point is not clarified completely. His effective flourit as ruler to be situated 1589–1607 A.D. He was active in both fields of *lugs gnyis*, being considered an authority in religious and secular matters. He was pupil of 'Khon-ston dPal-'byor lhun-grub (1561–1637), and is e.g. known to have repeatedly urged, just like his uncle/father *nang so* bKra-shis rab-brtan, Paṇ-chen Blo-bzang chos kyi rgyal-mtshan (1570–1662) to compose treatises (cf. e.g. de Rossi Filibeck 1994: 119, 121). He therefore was commonly known as *sde pa* Rin-po-che g.Yul-rgyal nor-bu, indicating his dual position and his religious status or commitment. He passed away in 1607, arguably falling victim to a smallpox epidemic raging that year.

He should win some ill-repute because he prompted that the famous autogenous 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara statue (the Potala 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara – one of the renown four autogenous Brother (*rang byon mched bzhi*) statues of Avalokiteśvara – which until then and indeed later again had been installed in lHa-sa), was temporarily moved during his tenure to his Brag-dkar estate; later this famous statue was used by his son to inveigle the Tümed Mongols into supporting the dGa'-ldan-pa alliance including the sKyid-shod-pa towards their joint gTsang foes. For a discussion of this bribery and the celebrated statue's ensuing vicissitude, cf. Per K. Sørensen 2007a.

The four sons with his wife Zhol-bza' (var. Zhogs-bza'; in `Phan-yul) Byang-sems dgos-dgos included *sde pa* bSod-nams rnam-rgyal (see below), and sKyid-shod *sde pa* Yid-bzhin nor-bu, Rab-brtan and finally the hierarch sKyid-shod *zhabs drung chos rje* bsTan-'dzin blo-bzang rgya-mtsho.

Another lady (different from Zhogs-bza'?) was sTag-lung-ma or A-ne drung-pa Ngo-mtshar dKon-mchog Tshe-dbang dpal-mo; cf. *sTag lung chos 'byung* 572. See also the note in Czaja 2006.

[11] *lCam* bSod-nams dpal kyi bu-khrid. She was married to 'Brug-chen Mi-pham bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma (1567–1619), and was mother of *zhabs drung* Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1593–1651), the founder of the State of Bhutan. He was born in mGar-grong (later a religious estate of 'Bras-spungs), located in gNam district of Chu-shul county. Initially a religious estate of gNam Byang-chub-gling of the 'Brug-pa. Cf. e.g. *lHo'i chos 'byung* 14a3–5.

[12] *Nang so* bSod-nams rnam-rgyal (~ -rgyal-mtshan; also known as sKyid-shod A-dpal; 1586–1636). He played a crucial role in the Tibeto-Mongol political interaction in the 1620–40's. bSod-nams rnam-rgyal's sons again were mGon-po Rab-brtan, rDo-rje rgyal-po [~ rnam-rgyal] and *chos rje* mTsho-skyes rdo-rje, who, like his father, again played a major role in the political machinations of the mid-1700's. For his infamous role in confiscating the 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara Statue, bringing it to Brag-dkar and subsequently to Mongolia; cf. Per K. Sørensen 2007a.

[13] sKyid-shod *sde pa* (*alias zhabs drung*) Yid-bzhin nor-bu (1589–after 1647). Yid-bzhin nor-bu (cf. *DT* 255–56) along with his elder brother should follow his father as secular ruler of sKyid-shod in 1607 A.D. But the former was taken hostage (*bu gte*) along with his mother, by the gTsang antagonists in 1605 and was kept in custody until 1621.

[14] *Zhabs drung chos rje* bsTan-'dzin blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1593–1638 A.D.). He was considered the 1st Gung-ru sKyid-shod *zhabs drung rin po che*. For his utmost prolific religious career, see *sKyid shod chos rje rnam thar* 180–81, *et passim*; further *Ming mdzod* 125; *Mi sna* 644–45; *DT* 254–55; *DL5 I* 139b2–3.



***62**. The district of Nyang-bran north of lHa-sa with the old sNe'u estate of dGa'-ldan-pa. From the local sde pa line of this sub-district later the sKyid-shod dGa'-ldan-pa emerged*

Photo: Google Earth 2007



***63**. The closer sNe'u district south of lHa-sa. The figures 1 and 2 refer to the sites of the former sNe'u rdzong (today no more extant). S = the ruins of the great sNe'u stūpa (see Part I: Fig. 67)* Photo: Google Earth 2006



***64**. The hill of dGe-bo-mkhar where the original fortress of sNe'u was located (=no. 1 of Fig. 63)* (2005)



***65**. The old sTod-lung bridge in a photograph from 1904. The building in the background to the left must be the later sNe'u rdzong which in the last century was destroyed by the flood waters of the sKyid-chu (= no. 2 of Fig. 63)*

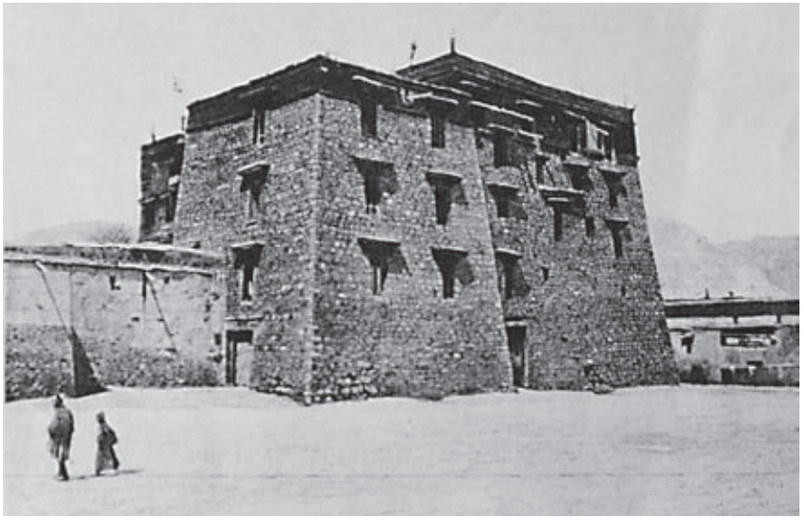




66 a, ***b***. *The seats of Bye-ri sTag-rtse rdzong (54) and bDe-chen rdzong in sKyid-shod*
Photo: Section from a Drawing; 19th cent; Wise Collection British Library



***67**. The site of Brag-dkar rdzong in sKyid-shod* (2001)



***68**. The dGa'-ldan khang-gsar in lHa-sa, one-time residence of the sKyid-shod-pa*
Photo: G.T. Tsybikov (*ca*. 1900)



***69**. The seal of bKra-shis rab-brtan*
From a document issued in 1584



***70**. The ruins of the rdzong of Ba-lam bDe-chen-rtse* (2001)



***71**. The 15th-century monastery and Tantric College of gSang-sngags-mkhar situated at the foot of bDe-chen-rtse* (2001)
Detail of a modern mural



***72**. The twin hills of bDe-chen-rtse from north-east* (PKS 2006)



***73**. The stamp of the sKyor-mo-lung bdag po*



***74**. The ruins of old Bye-ri sTag-rtse* (2007)



***75**. sTag-rtse village and fortress at the eastern entrance to Zhogs. The smaller rectangular marks the site of the later sTag-rtse mansion*
Photo: Google Earth 2006



***76**. The mural from La-mo dgon (opposite Bye-ri sTag-rtse) is said to represent the sTag-rtse mi dbang lHa-rgyal rab-brtan during the reception of a foreign delegation. He was from the sKyid-shod sTag-rtse-ba, the successor house of the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa* (1997)

V.13 A Short Chronology of the History of Tshal Gung-thang

ante **1175** Establishment of the *ri khrod* of Bya[ng]-mkhar, Tshal-sgang chos-spyil etc. and of the s*gom grva* of g.Yu-brag in sGrags.

1160's Dvags-po Tshul-khrims snying-po entrusts the two temples of lHa-sa to Bla-ma Zhang.

1168 Foundation of lHa-ri-kha (lHa-ri sPang-gshong) by the Zhang disciple Nam-mkha'-'od.

1175 Foundation of the Monastery of Tshal Yang-dgon.

1175–1187 Phase of extension of the sphere of religious influence of the Tshal-pa in Central Tibet.

1181? Founding of Kha-rag monastery in Kha-rag by the Zhang disciple Kha-rag-pa 'Dul-ba-'od.

1183 Founding of Ro-skam monastery (in Ba-lam area) by the Zhang disciple Ro-skam-pa chen-po.

1187 Foundation of the Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang and the sKu-'bum chen-mo of Gung-thang.

1189 Consecration of the Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po statue (a.k.a. lHa-chen dPal-'bar dbang-phyug) in Gung-thang (Zhang retires; Dar-ma gzhon-nu and Śākya-ye-shes become the first holders of the religious and secular throne of Tshal Gung-thang. Beginning of the post-Zhang era of the Tshal-pa hegemony).

1193 Ordination of gTsang-pa rgya-ras in Tshal. Death of Bla-ma Zhang.
Founding of lHa-phyug-mkhar monastery in eastern Ba-lam by the Zhang disciple lHa-phyug-mkhar Nyi-zla-'od, consolidating the presence of Tshal schools in Central Tibet (Bar-tshal).

1190's Founding of Ru-thog (in eastern Mal-gro) by the Nyi-zla-'od disciple *rtogs ldan* Ru-thog-pa.

1196 Ti-shri Ras-pa (disciple of Zhang and 'Ba'-rom Dar-ma dbang-phyug) came to Mi-nyag / Xixia; court chaplain of the Mi-nyag emperors until 1227, later known as the eastward spread of the school (sMad Tshal).

ca. 1200 Founding of rTa-sga, the key institution of the sTod Tshal school by the lHa-phyug-mkhar disciple sNang-sgom ras-pa *alias* Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa, thus heralding a westward spread of the school (sTod Tshal).

1209/10 Arrival of the Zhang disciple gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba and his group in Eastern Tibet and Mongolia. Alleged contacts with Činggis Qan; activities in Mi-nyag/Xia. Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge est. the Go-ra monastery in Tsong-kha (date uncertain); in the 1230'ies he becomes teacher of the Tolui widow mother Sayin-cka and the princes Mönke and Qubilai.

1225–30 Conquest of the area of "Srid Ma-bzhi bu-brgyad" in sKyid-smad under the 3rd Tshal-pa *dpon chen* Ye-shes 'byung-gnas (d. 1230). The latter date marks the end of the first phase of the post Zhang-era of Tshal-pa dominated by the ruling lineage of Dar-ma gzhon-nu. Within this period the greater part of the Tshal-pa territory (and later *khri skor*) as well as the key institutes of the Tshal-pa school (sTod Tshal, Bar Tshal) have been established. It is called the period of the introduction of the [Tshal-pa] doctrine (*bstan pa'i dbu brnyes pa*).

1230/31 mGar Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub is appointed *dpon chen*. Beginning of the period of the mGar rule in Tshal. Exile of the 4th Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba* Sangs-rgyas-'bum.

1232 Inthronisation of the 6th Yang-dgon abbot Sangs-rgyas snying-po. (His lineage provided also the following two *gdan sa ba*; the candidates of the religious throne from now on use to come on the formal invitation of the *dpon chen*).

1232/33 Death of Dar-ma gzhon-nu.

1242 Found. of the sGom-sde gZims-khang shar-ba in Gung-thang by the former Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba* Sangs-rgyas-'bum. *mChod-yon* union with the 5th *dpon chen* Rin-rgyal-ba.

ca. **1260** Emperor Qubilai granted *dpon chen* Rin-rgyal-ba the edict confirming the Tshal-pa *mi sde* settlements in Central Tibet as a myriarchy (*khri skor*) within the Yüan/Sa-skya state.

1261 First greater extansion of the building complex of Gung-thang after *dpon chen* Rin-rgyal-ba's return from China (The extension later continued especially under *dpon chen* dGa'-bde-dpal).

1267 dGa'-bde-dpal became *dpon chen* (rl. 47 years; seven journeys to China. Official endorsement of the Tshal-pa as representatives of the lHa-sa sanctuaries, etc.).

1291 Execution of dGa'-bde-dpal's "rival" Sang-go (Zam-kha).

1308 Invitation of 'Jam-dpal-dbyangs Śākya gzhon-nu from gSang-phu Ne'u-thog who established the Chos-'khor-gling College in Gung-thang and the dBus-gling Mantra College and Monastery in Tshal. Invitation of Do-pa Don-grub dpal-ldan from the Sa-skya shar-ba school.

1310 Inthonisation of the 11th Yang-dgon *gdan sa ba* Byang-chub bzang-po (rl. until 1354/56). During his tenure: foundation of the Chos-khri lha-khang in Gung-thang.

ca. **1304–36** Tenure of the Tshal *dpon chen* sMon-lam rdo-rje.

1347–51 At Tshal a compilation of the bKa'-'gyur is completed.

1323–1351 Tenure of Kun-dga' rdo-rje (*alias* dGe-ba'i blo-gros). Ordination in dBus-gling in 1350/51. Invitation of Bu-ston Rin-po-che, Kar-ma-pa Rol-ba'i rdo-rje, etc.; initial compilation of the Zhang *Writings* etc. (the "heydays of Tshal").

post 1355 dPon chen Ta'i si-tu dGe-legs bzang-po: re-confirmation of the Tshal-pa territory (and *khri skor*) by emperor Toγan Temür.

1371 According to *GT,* this date heralds the end of the "Tshal supremacy" in dBus-gTsang (= 140 years after the appointment of the first mGar ruler in 1230/31; it corresponds to the installation of the Phag-mo gru-pa rule in Central Tibet. The Phag-gru *rdzong* in the area of sKyid-shod: sNe'u *rdzong*, Chu-shul lHun-grub-rtse, Brag-dkar, bDe-chen-rtse Bye-ri sTag-rtse.

1373 Tsong-kha-pa sojourns at Tshal Gung-thang (further visits: between 1381 and 1385).

ca. **1415** The 16th *dpon chen* dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan compelled to hand over the Tshal-pa territory to the Phag-mo gru-pa ruler Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan. (In the 15th cent. sKyid-shod is mainly governed from the Phag-gru outpost of sNe'u-rdzong, i.e. the "heydays of sNe'u-s.")

post 1415 The monastic residence of Tshal dBus-gling becomes a dGe-lugs institution; connected with the Ser-Byes College of Se-ra.

ca. 1433 Issue of investiture confirming the 6th *sde srid* of Phag-gru Grags-pa 'byung-gnas as ruler of Tshal. Confirmed by the Kesi Tapestry of Bla-ma Zhang.

1503–18 Parts of Tshal Gung-thang under Karma-pa and Rin-spungs control (the latter invaded several times sKyid-shod.

1529 Transfer of Pehar from Tshal to 'Bras-spungs (tenure of the 2nd Dalai Lama with the sKyor-mo-lung *bdag mo* Sangs-rgyas-dpal-'dzoms-ma from the sNe'u house (rl. *ca*. 1520–1553) and the sKyid-shod-pa as his chief patrons in the lHa-sa valley).

mid-1500's The dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa established their residence in the area of Tshal Gung-thang, called Tshal Zur-khang.

1546 Fire of Gung-thang. Renovation of the temple under the sKyid-shod *zhabs drung.*

1550's–1630 Tshal Gung-thang controlled by successive dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa rulers (*zhabs drung* Don-'grub rab-brtan dpal-bzang-po, *mi dbang* bKra-shis rab-brtan and *zhabs drung* g.Yul-rgyal-ba – Period of the Third and Fourth Dalai Lama).

1633–50 Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol (tantric teacher of the Fifth Dalai Lama) arrives in Gung-thang (1633 A.D.); Tshal Gung-thang fell under the jurisdiction of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang and lHa-sa government. Specific religious traditions such as the *Me tog mchod pa* were incorporated into the "lHa-sa State Rituals."

ca. **1715** The management of the "Gung-thang bla-brang" as *mchod gzhis* is entrusted to the 50th throne-holder of dGa'-ldan dGe-'dun phun-tshogs, presented to him by the Qošot ruler lHa-bzang Qan.

ca. 1729/35 sNgags-rams-pa bSam-gtan rgyal-mtshan (d. 1740), the maternal uncle of the 7th Dalai Lama becomes abbot of Gung-thang bla-brang as monastic estate.

1738 The latter's nephew *Dar han mkhan po* bsKal-bzang yon-tan inherited the monastic estate.

ca. **1764** Gung-thang bla-brang became the latter's private estate. It remains in the hand of the 7th Dalai Lama's *zhang tshan* family up until mid-20th century.

1782 Completion of the *Gung thang dkar chag* by Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin 'phrin-las rnam-rgyal.

1890'ies A family bond is est. between the Khe-smad (or Kun-bzang-rtse) aristocratic house and the Gung-thang bla-brang estate-holders.

1959 The last estate-holder Khe-smad bSod-nams dbang-'dus (1901–1972) leaves for India. Gung-thang estate and the Kun-bzang-rtse mansion in lHa-sa confiscated by the government.

The Gling-skor mansion renovated 2002–03.

[**bold** refers to the key events in the Tshal-pa history]

APPENDIX VI

Gung thang dkar chag

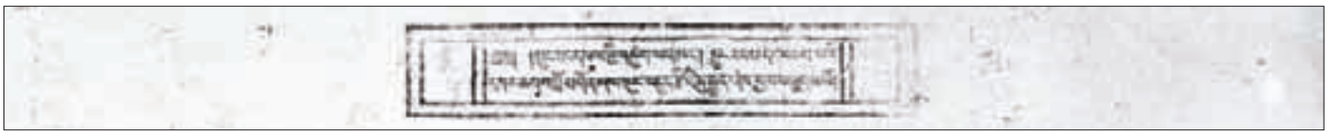
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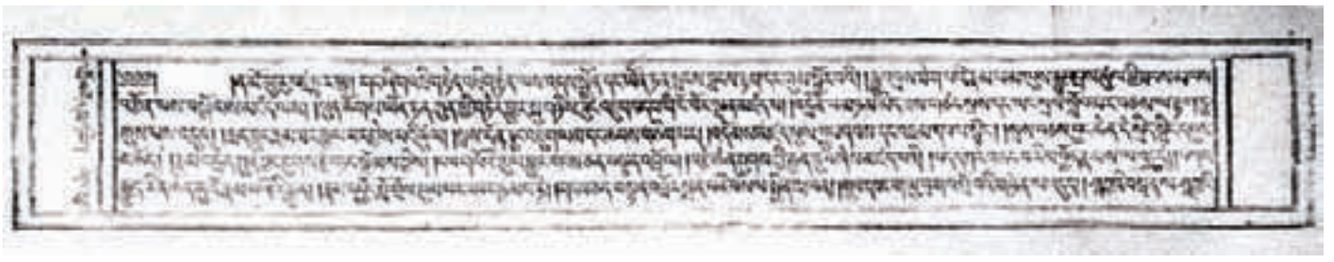
sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar



1. *The procession of the dPal-ldan lha-mo at the Bar-'khor in lHa-sa during the dPa-lha'i ri-khrod festival (cf. App. IV: Chap. 2.2)*
Photo after H. Harrer, *Meine Tibetbilder*

VI.1 The *Gung thang dkar chag* (1b–76b)



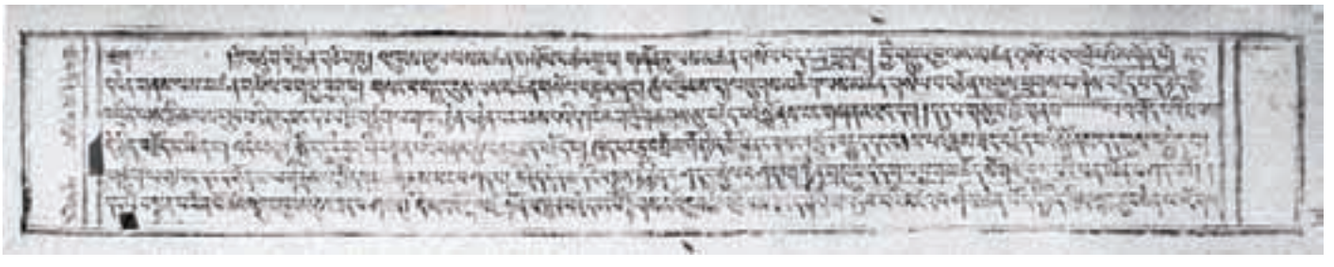


2a, 2b





3a, 3b





4a, b





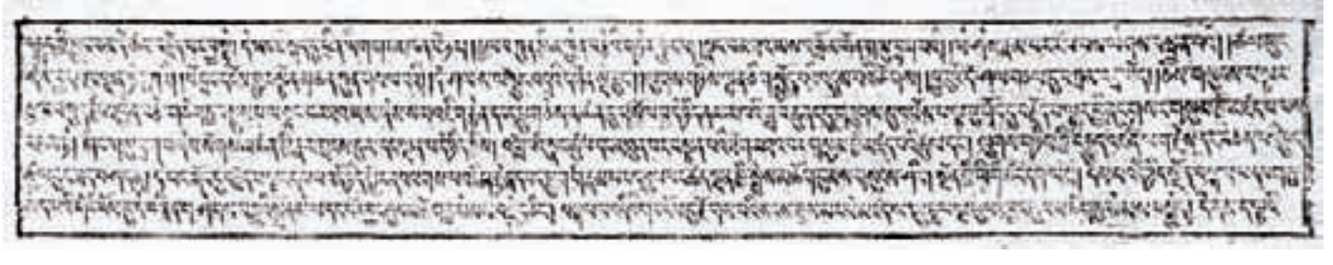
5a, b





6a, b



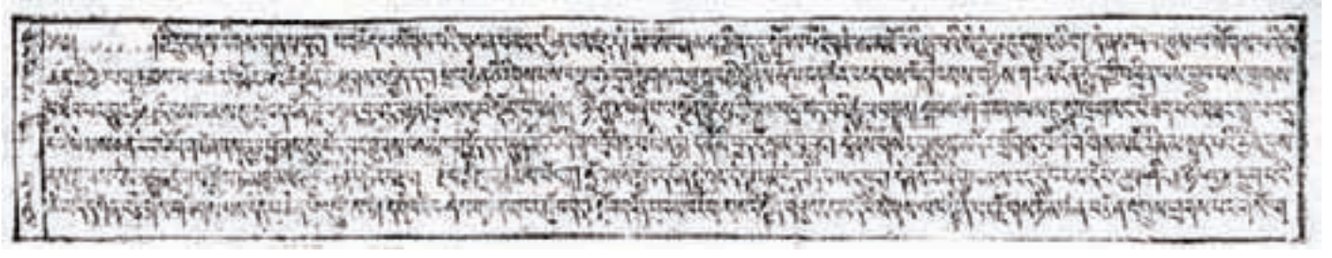


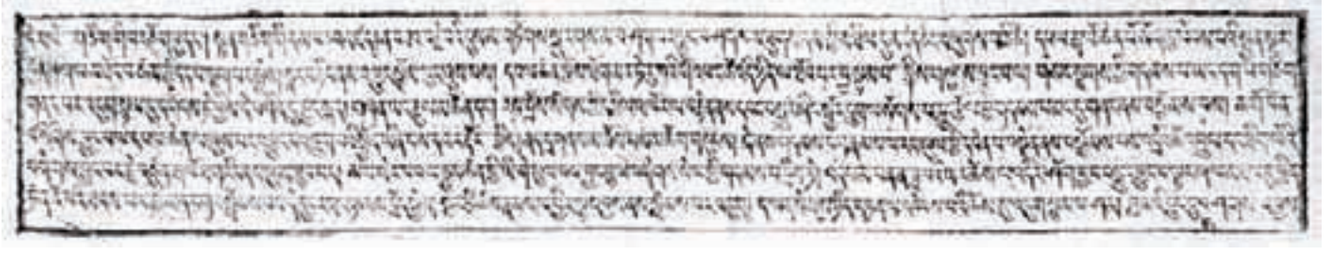
7a, b





8a, b



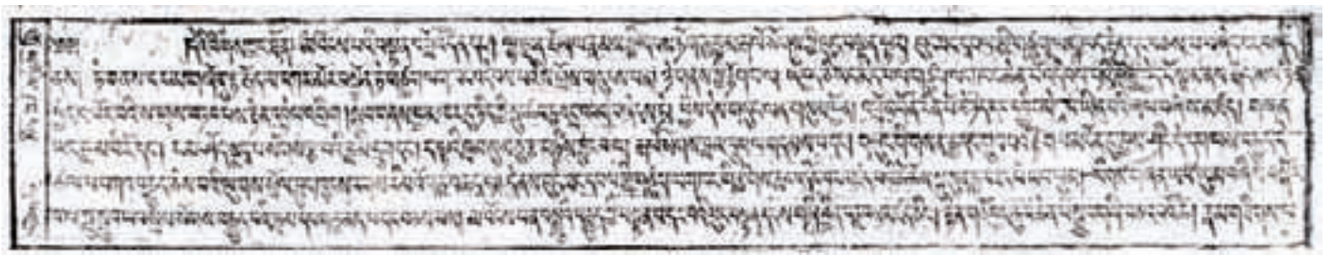


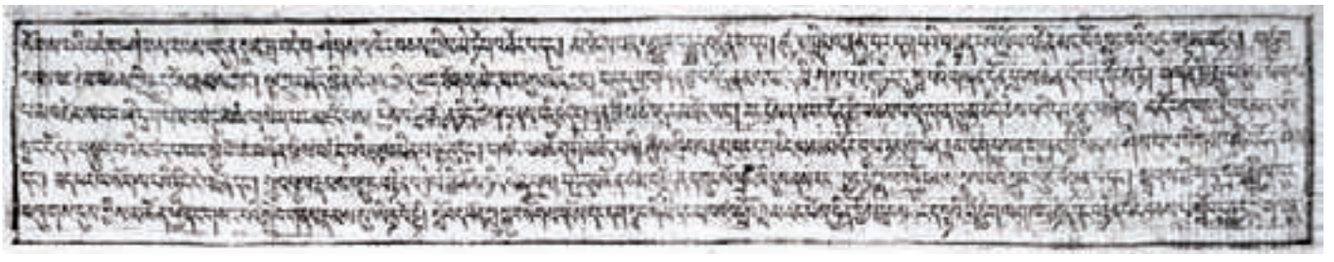
9a, b





10a, b



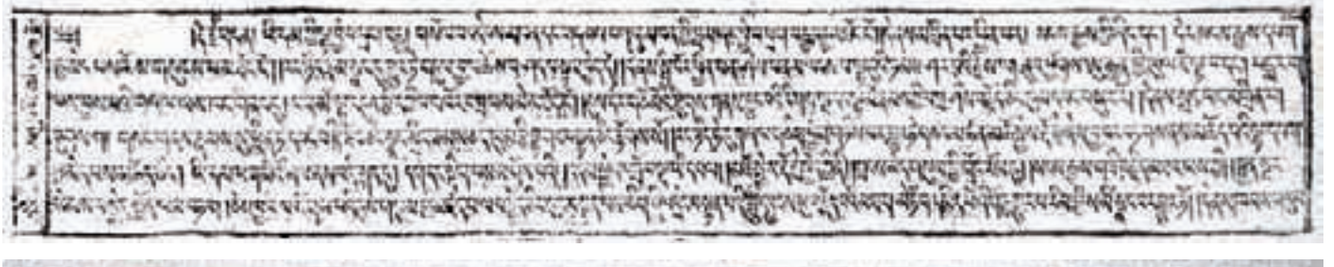


11a, b





12a, b





13a, b





14a, b



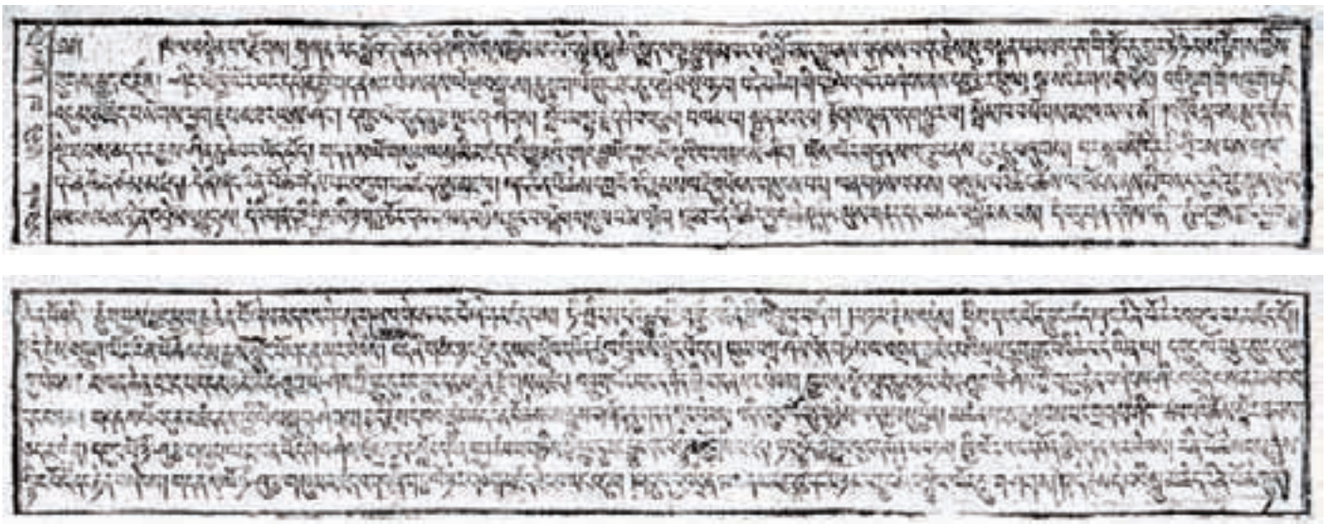


15a, b

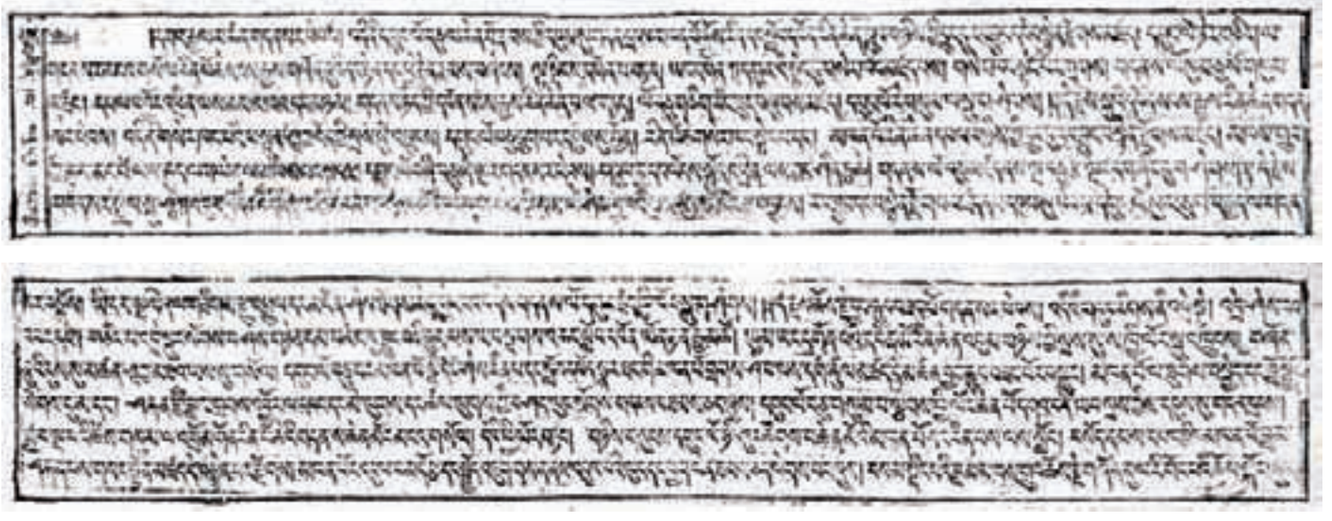




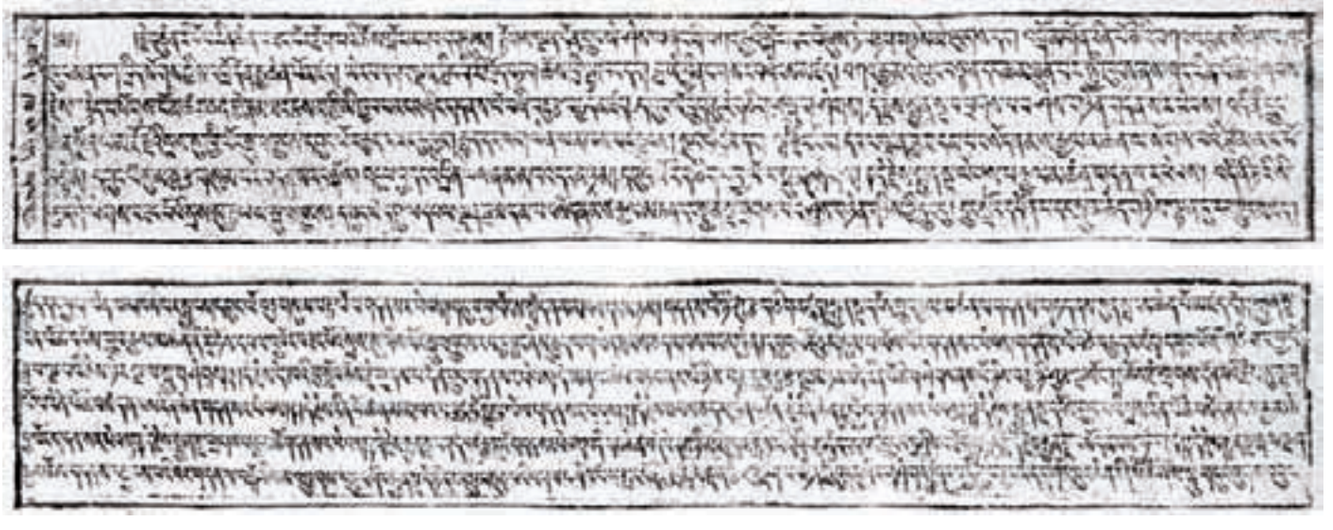
16a, b



17a, b



18a, b



19a, b





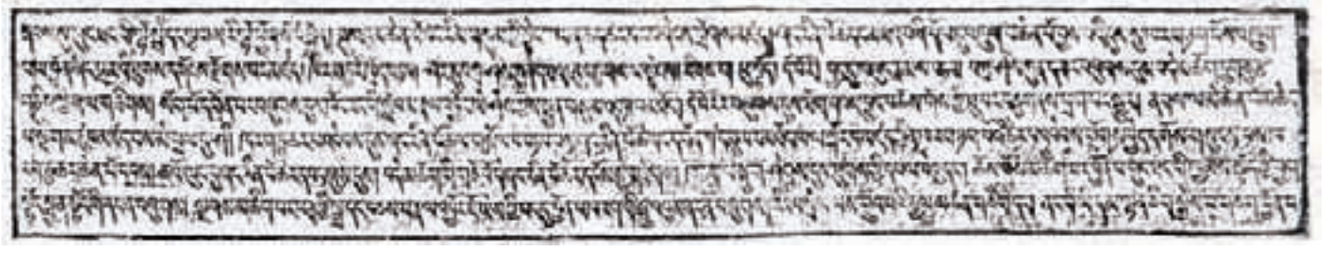
20a, b





21a, b





22a, b





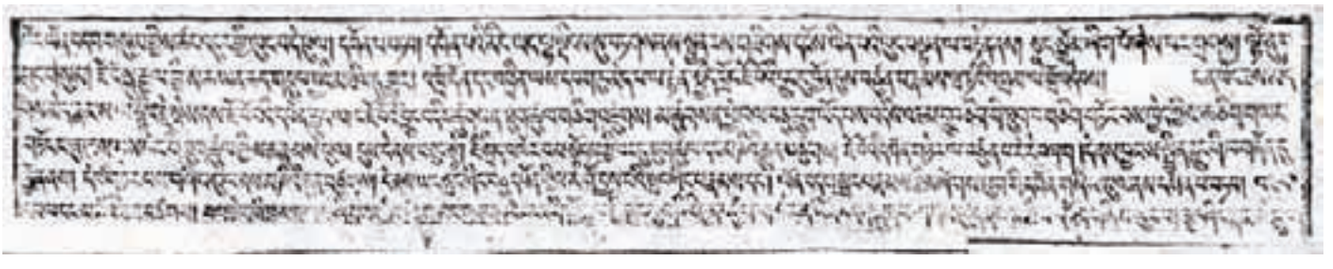
23a, b





24a, b



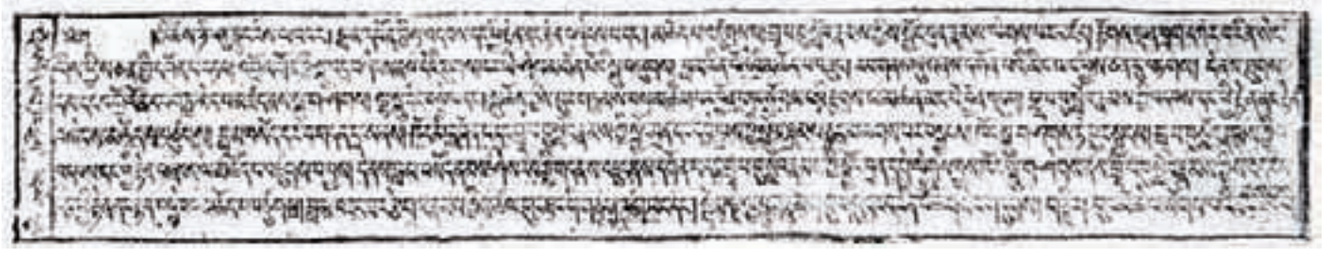


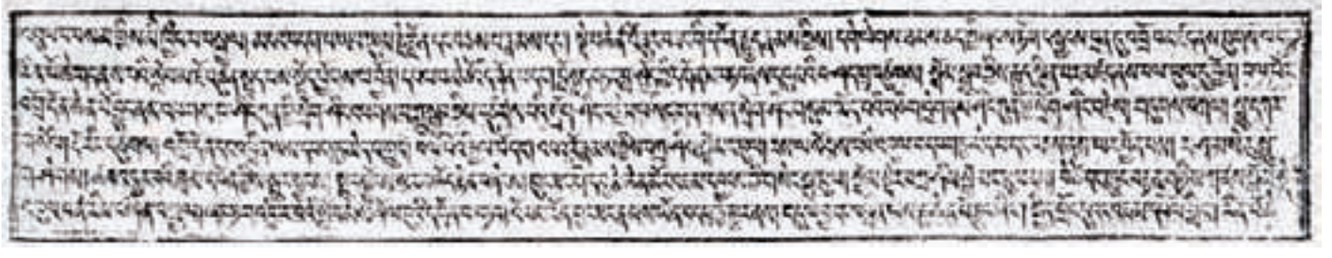
25a, b





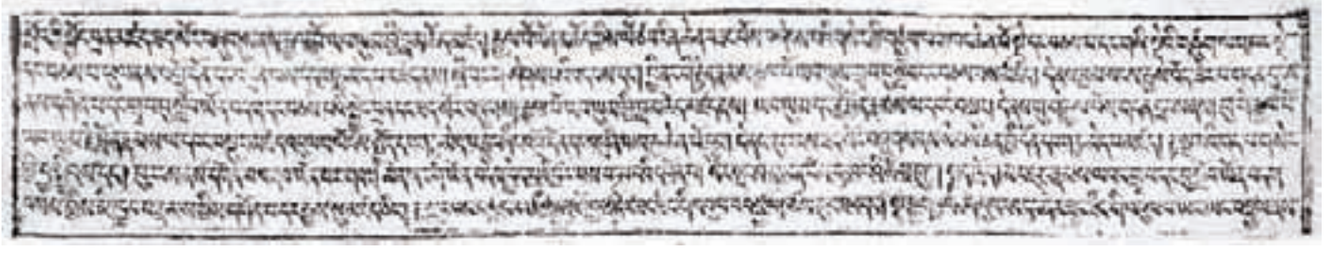
26a, b





27a, b





28a, b





29a, b





30a, b





31a, b





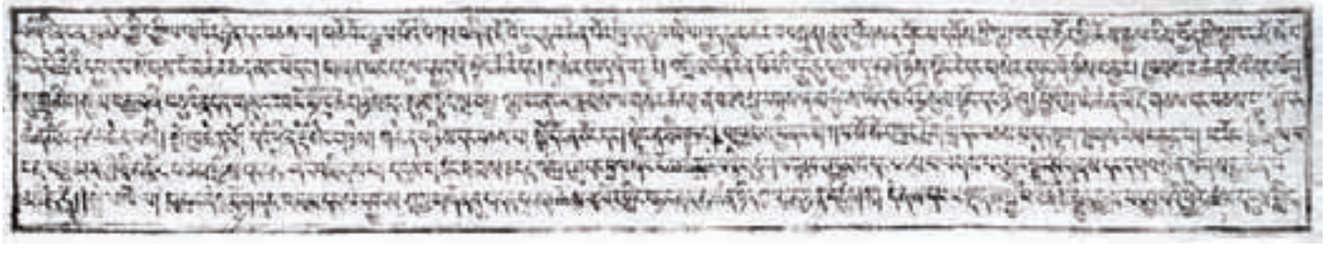
32a, b



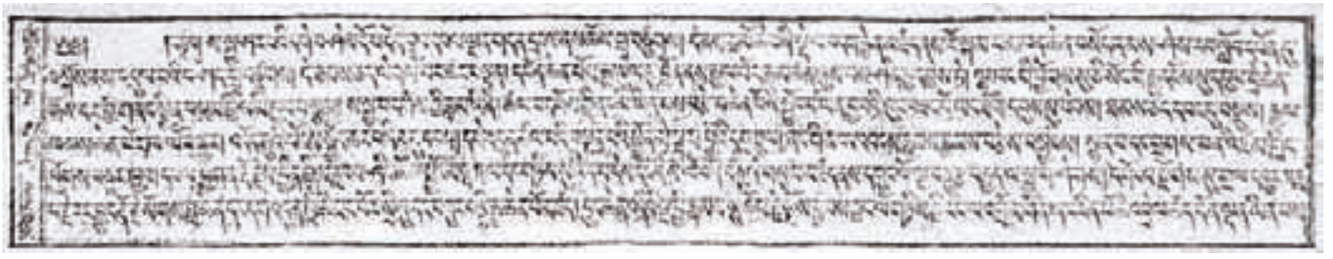


33a, b





34a, b



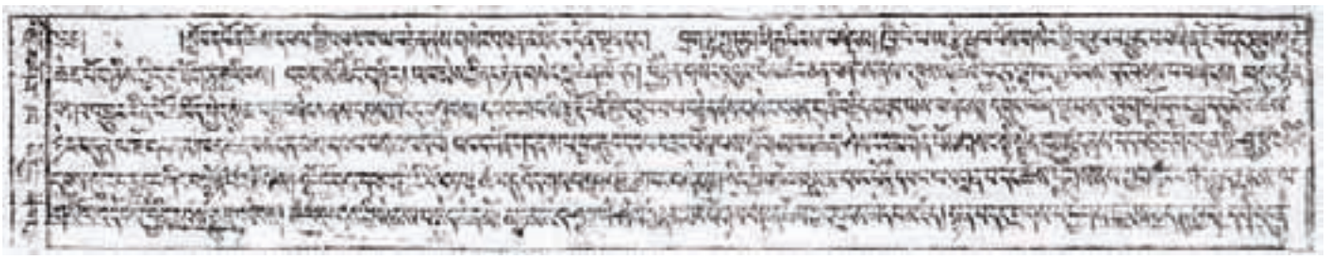


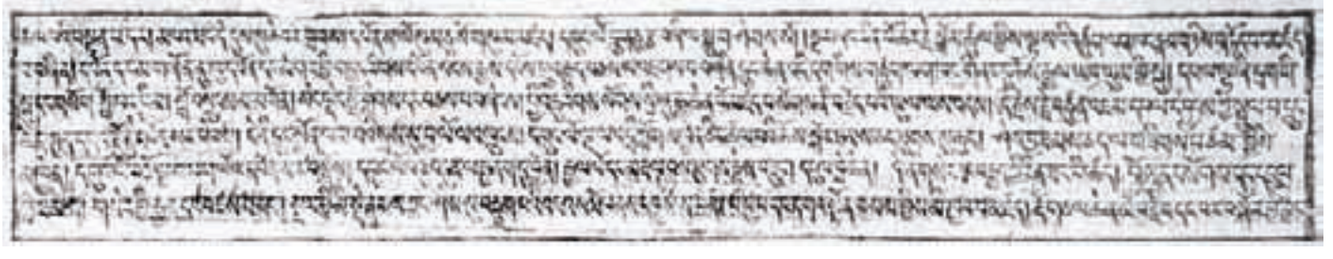
35a, b



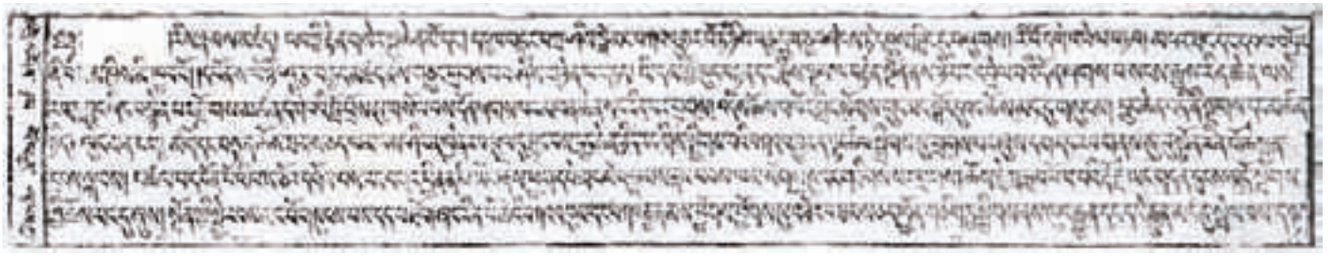


36a, b



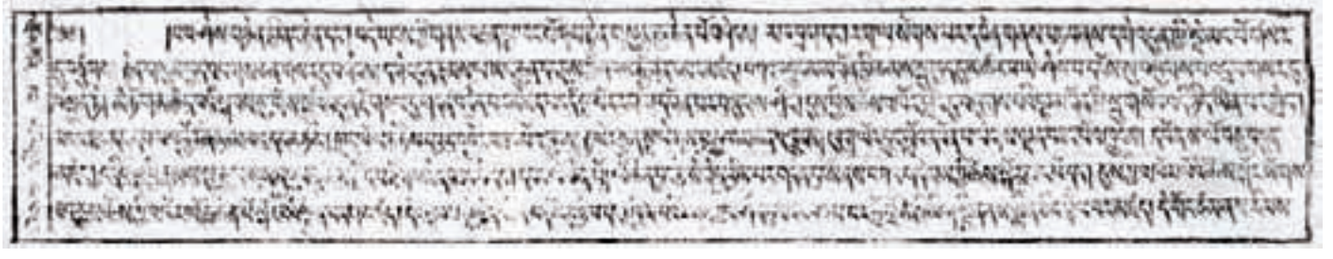


37a, b
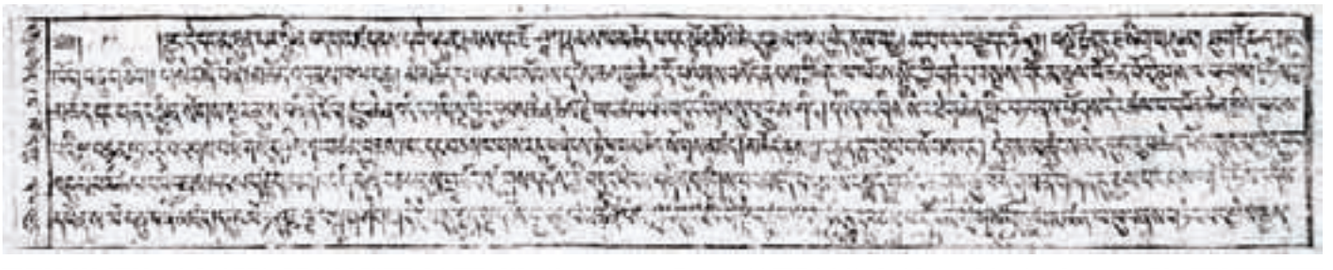




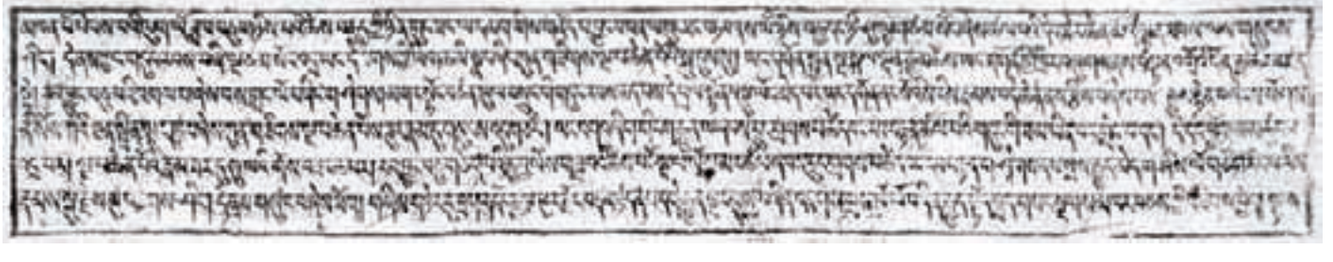
38a, b



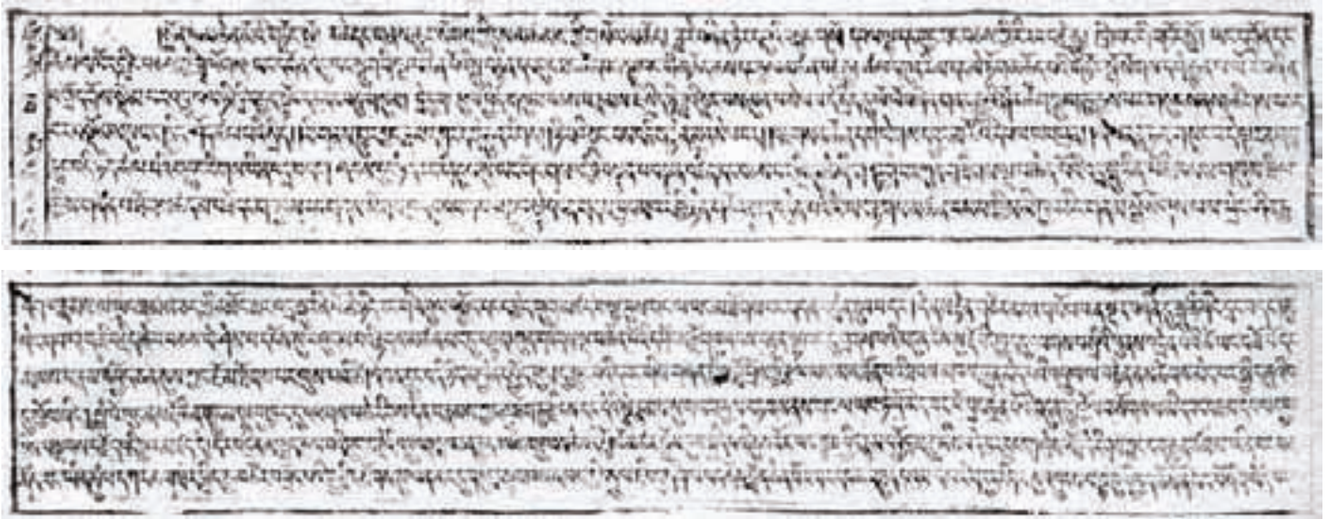


39a, b

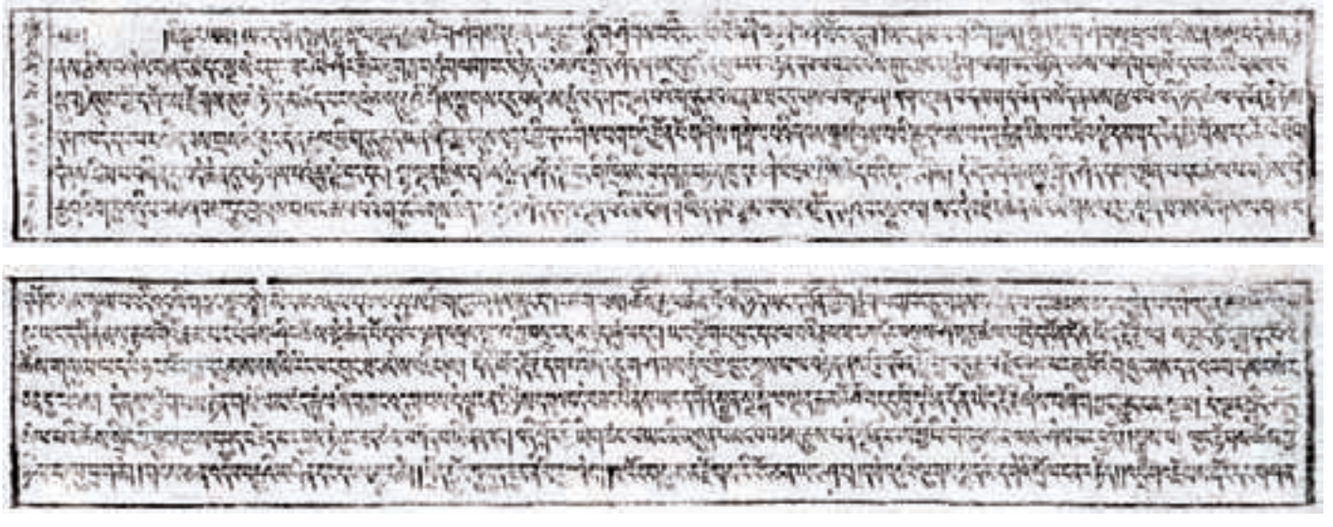




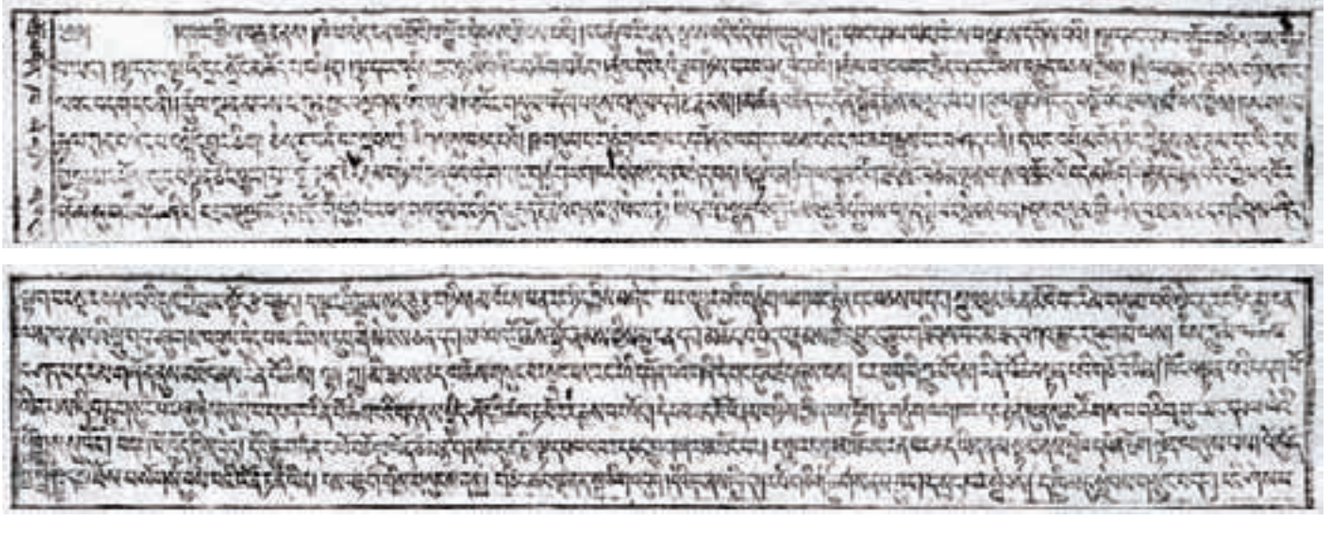
40a, b
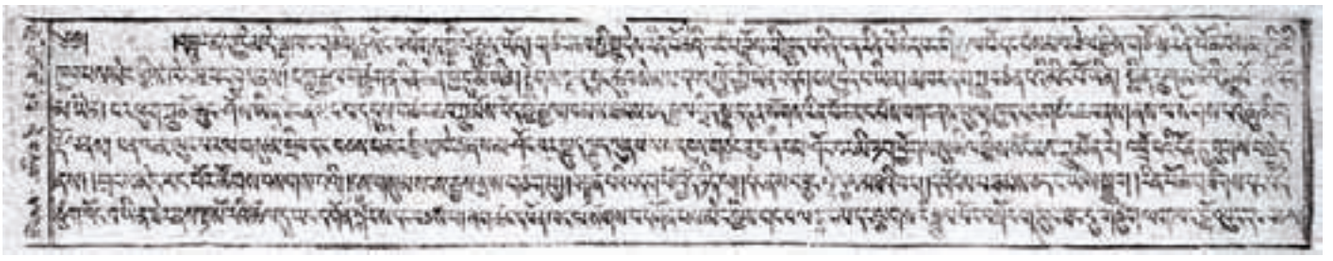


41a, b



42a, b

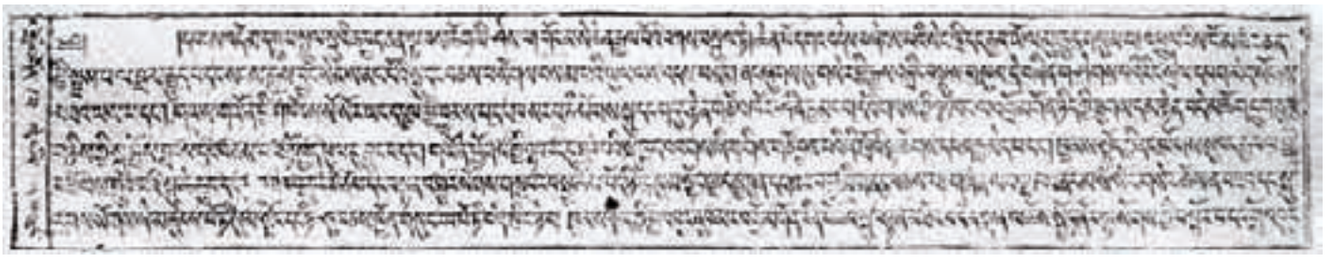


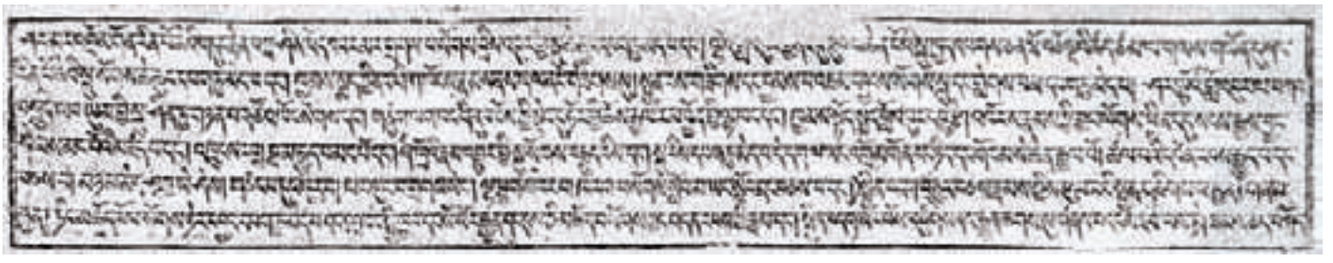
43a, b



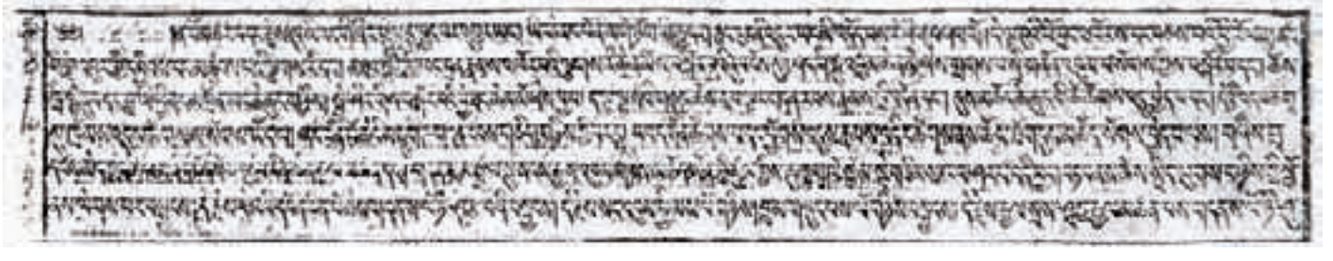


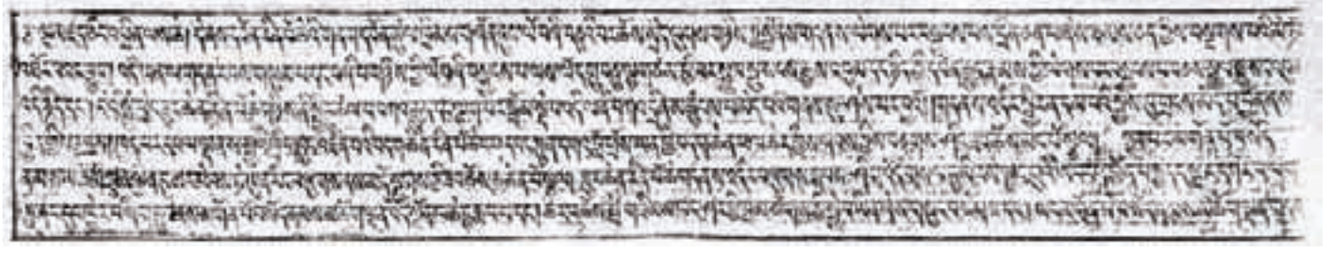
44a, b



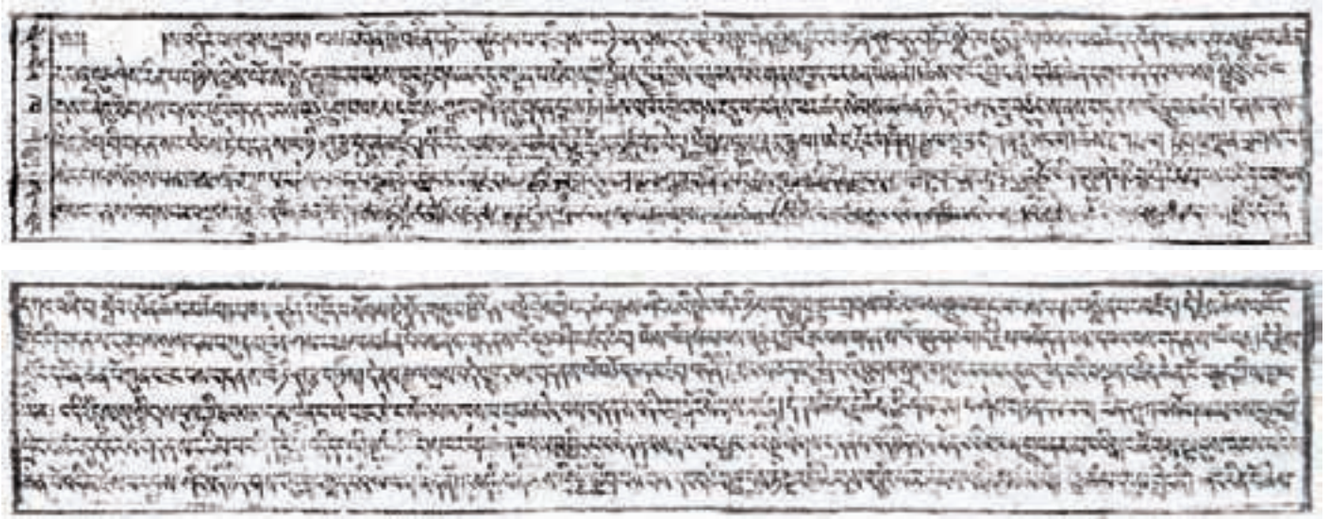


45a, b

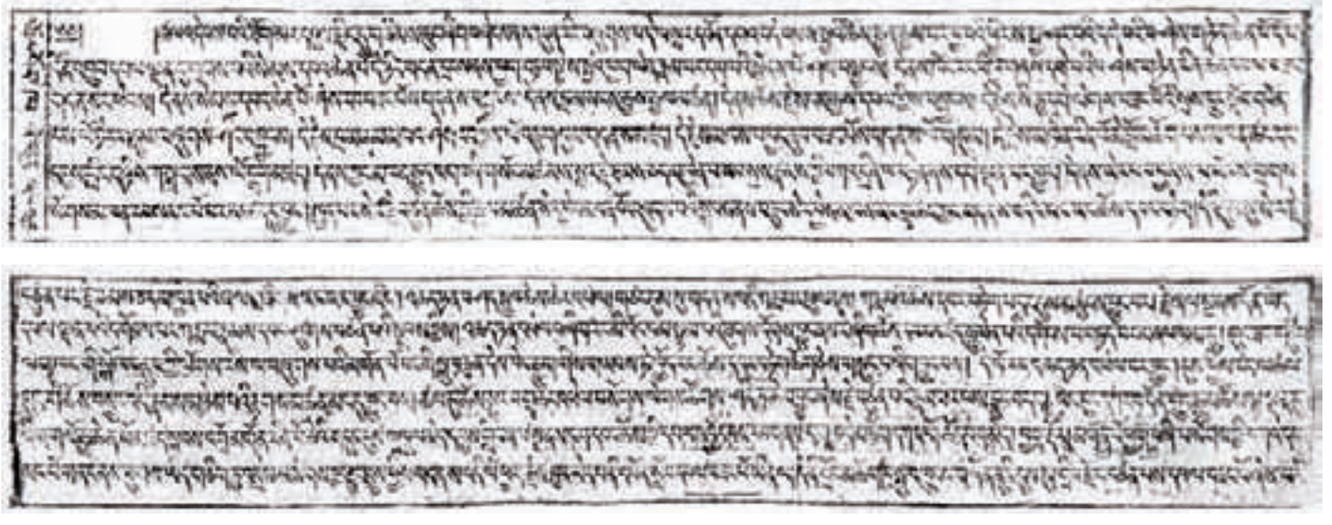




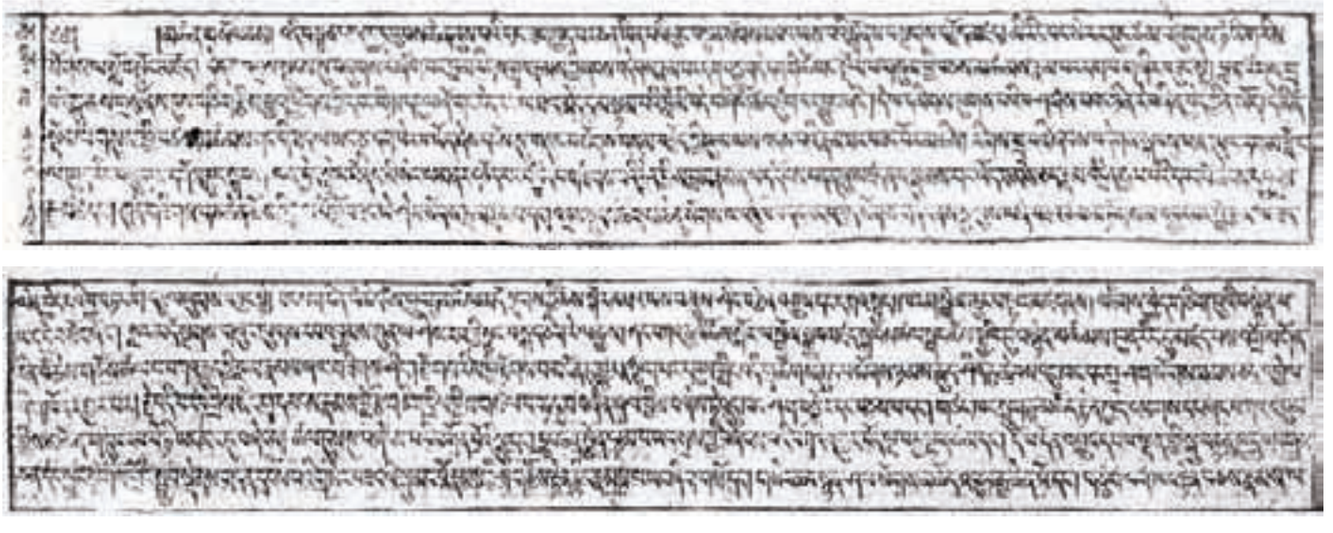
46a, b



47a, b

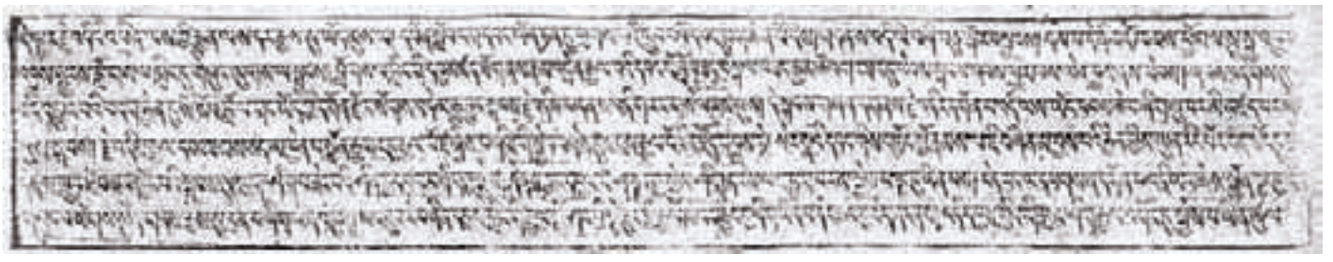


48a, b



49a, b





50a, b



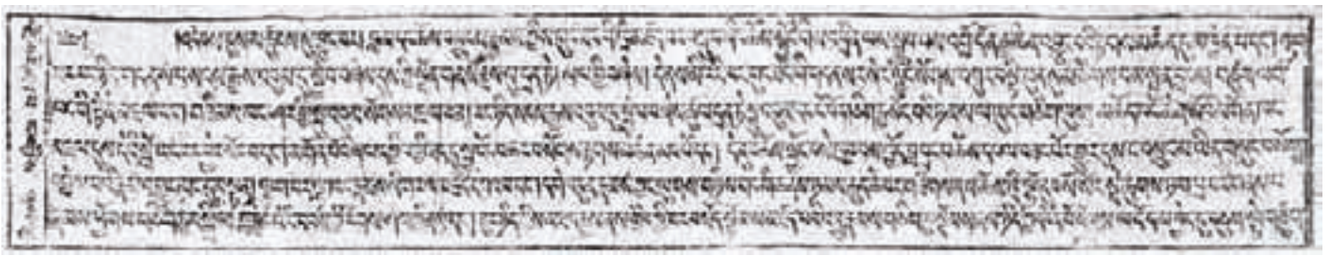


51a, b





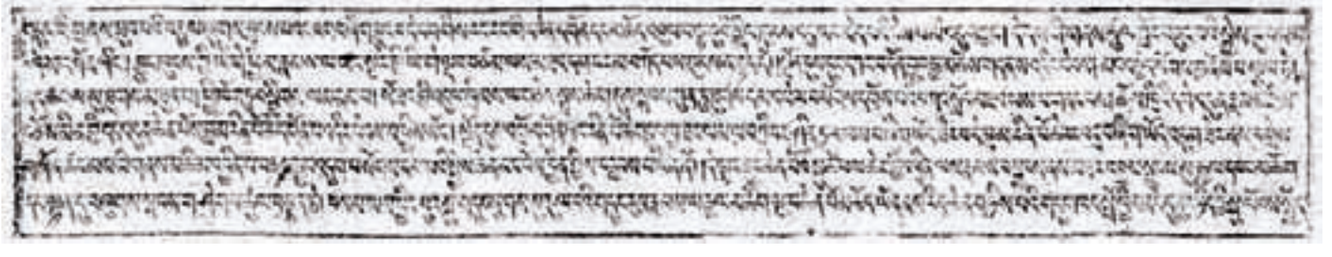
52a, b



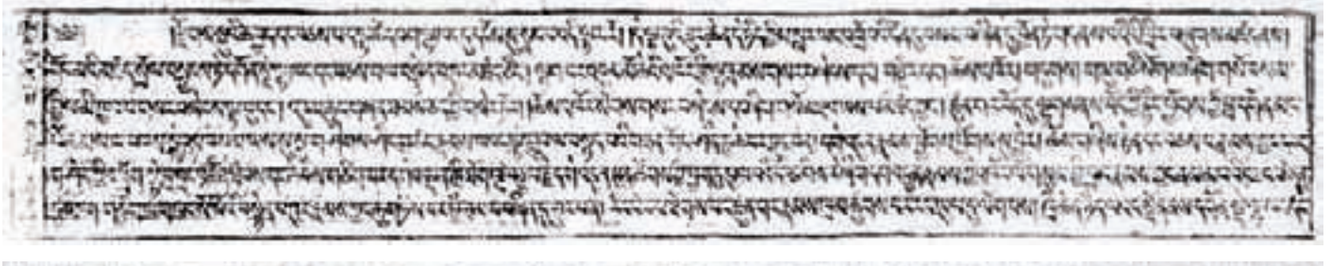


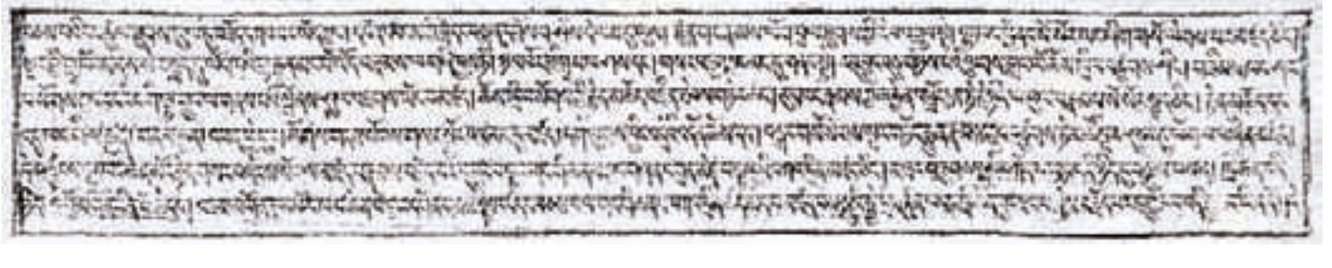
53a, b





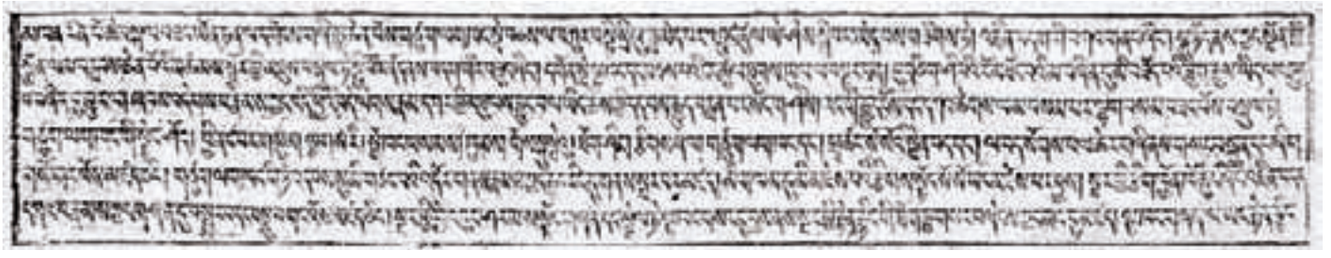
54a, b





55a, b



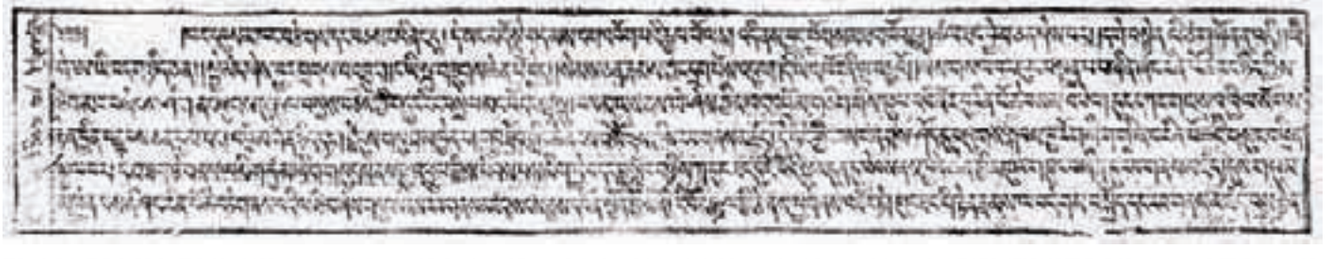


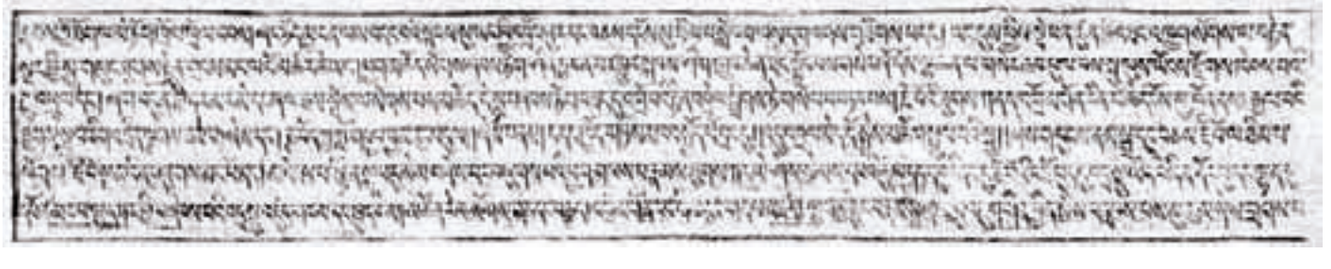
56a, b





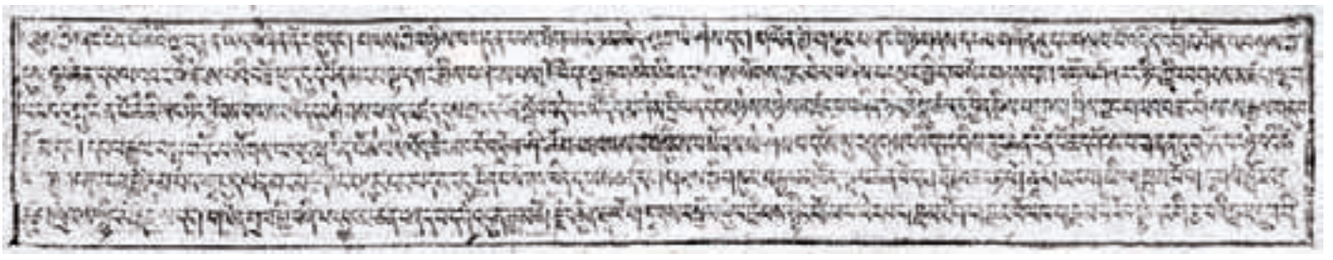
57a, b



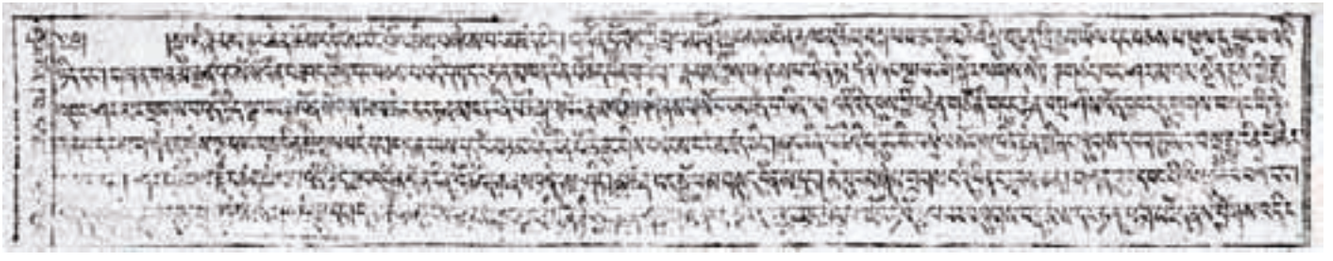


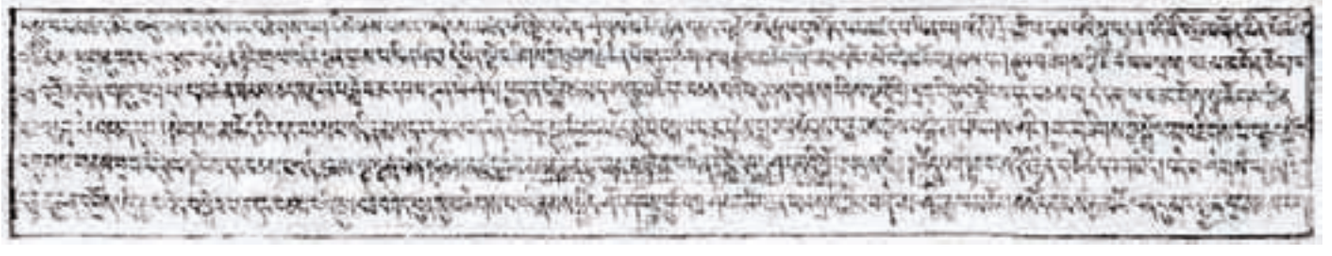
58a, b



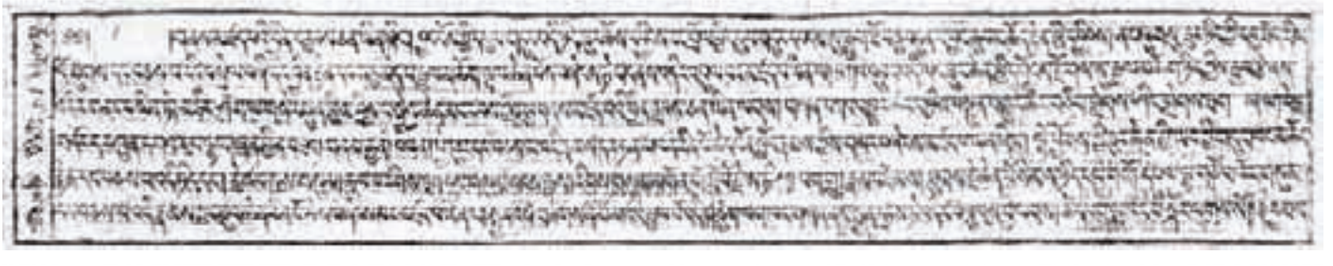


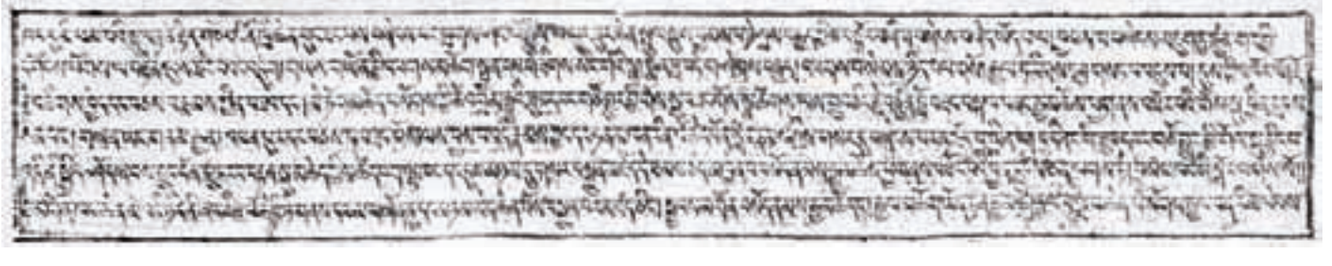
59a, b



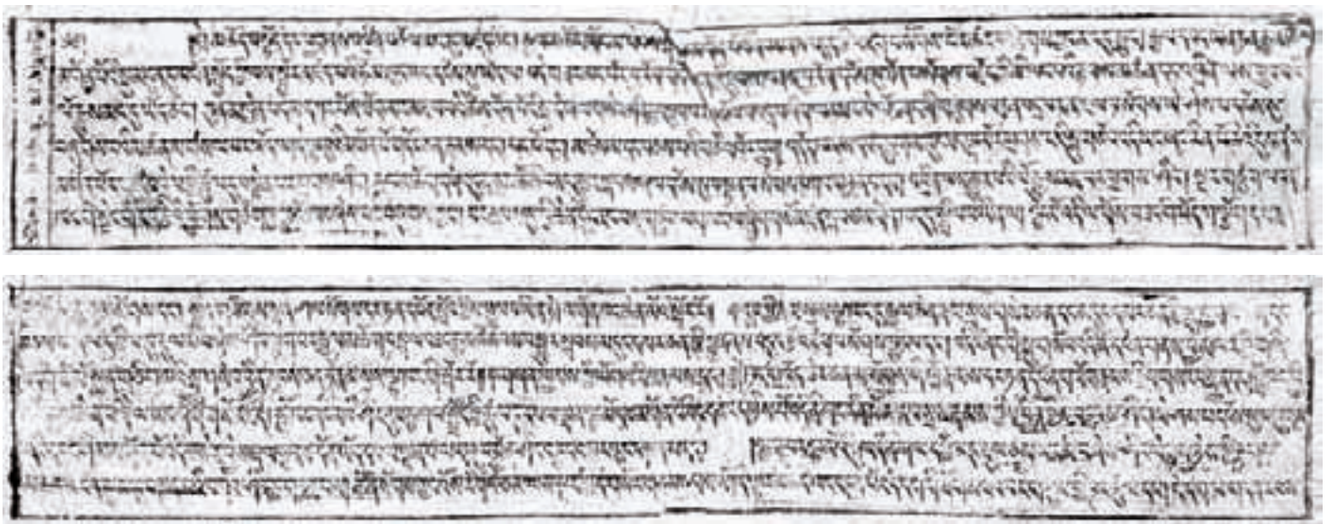


60a, b





61a, b



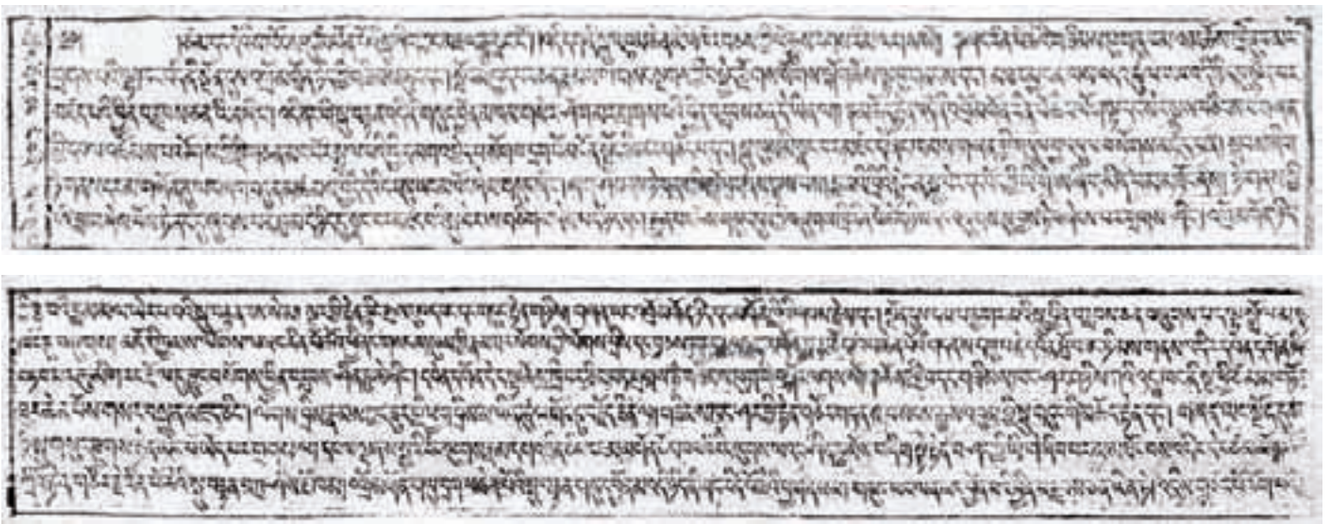
62a, b



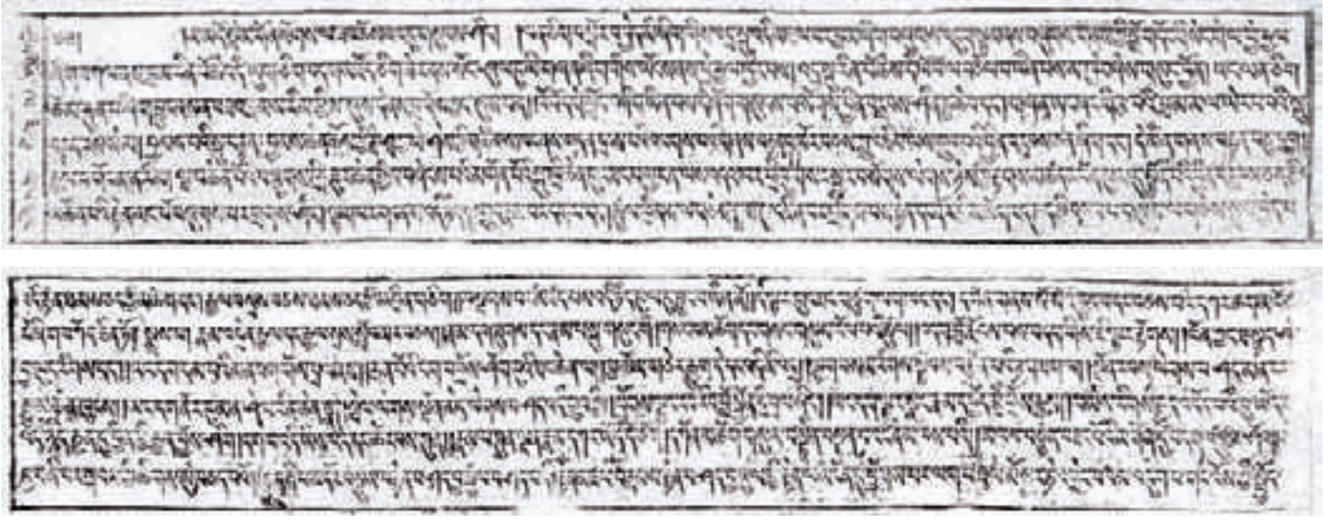
63a, b



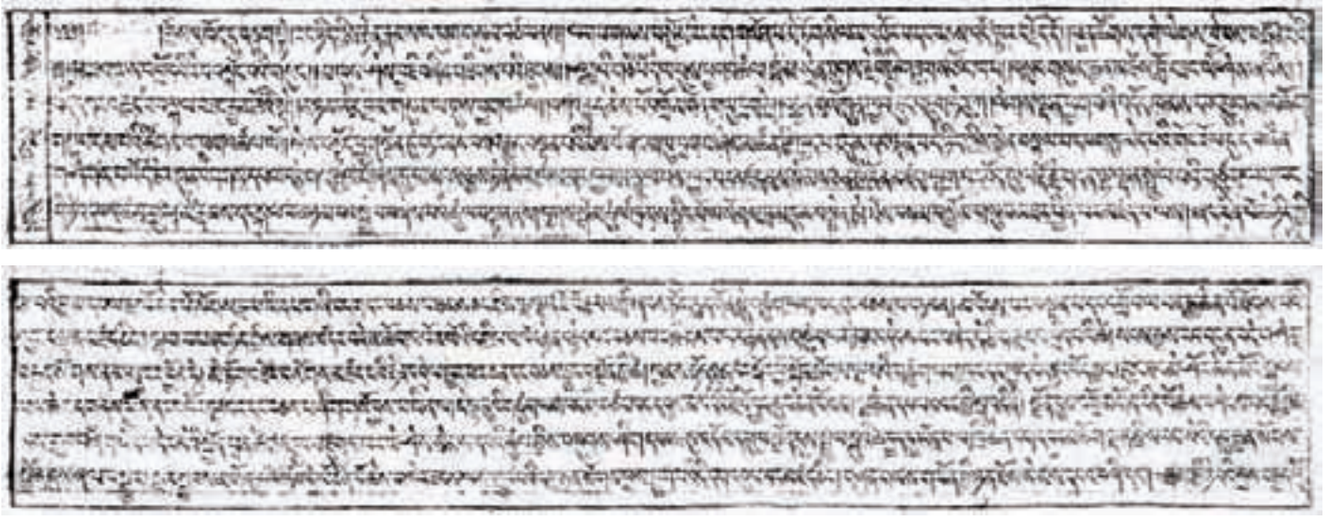
64a, b



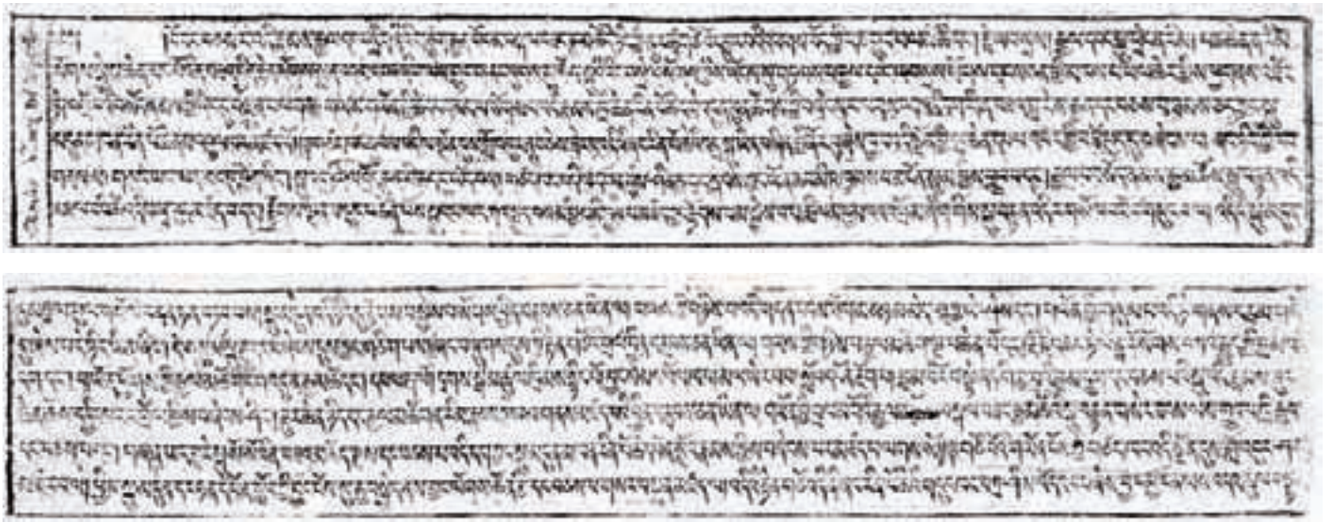
65a, b



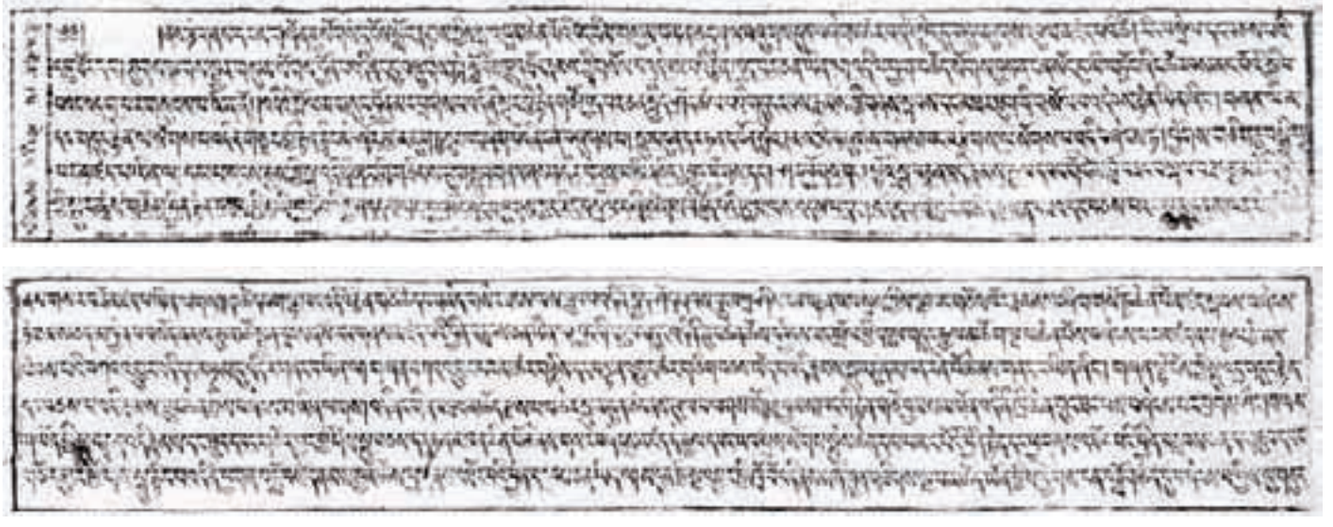
66a, b



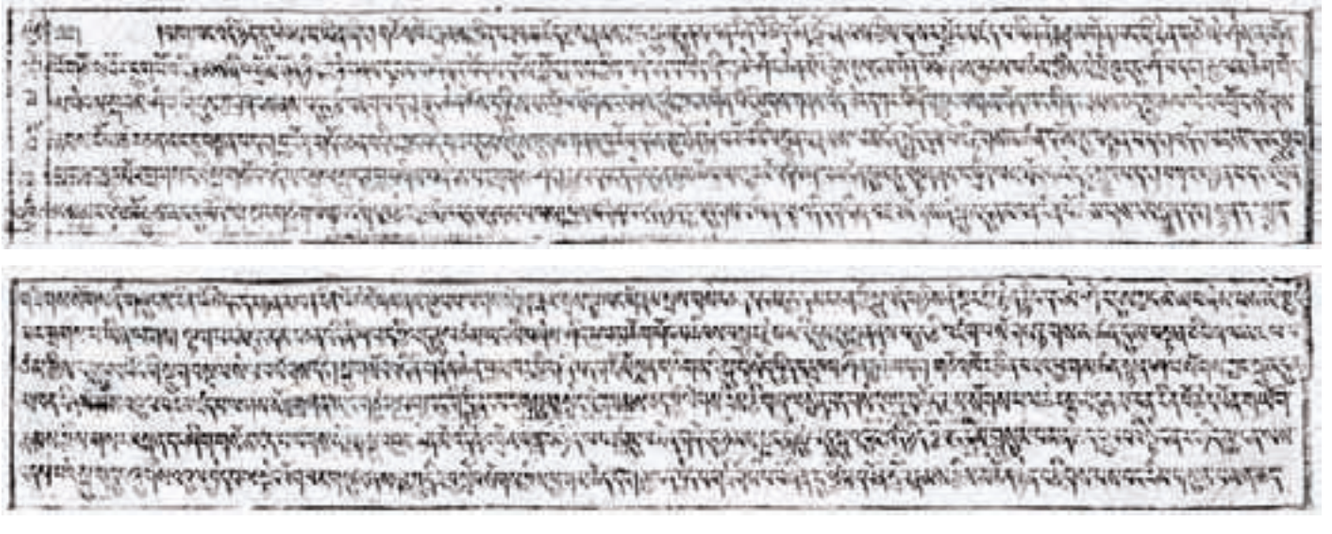
67a, b



68a, b

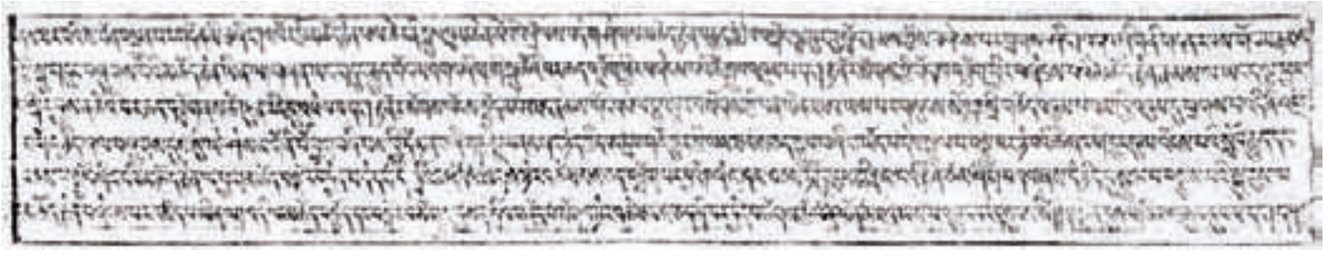


69a, b



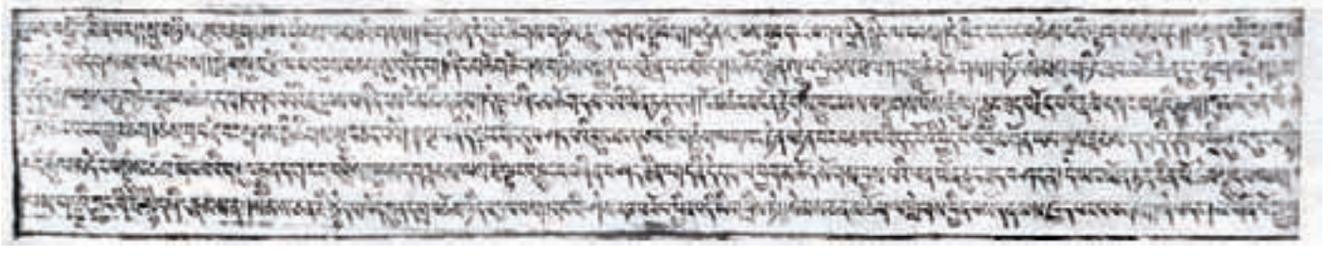
70a, b



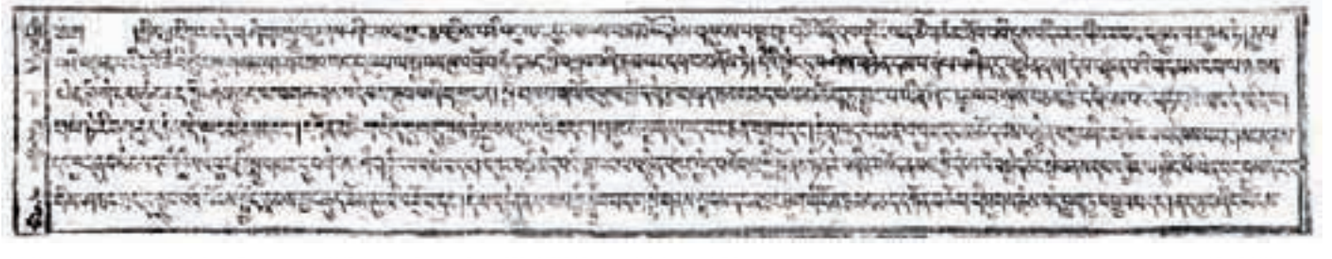


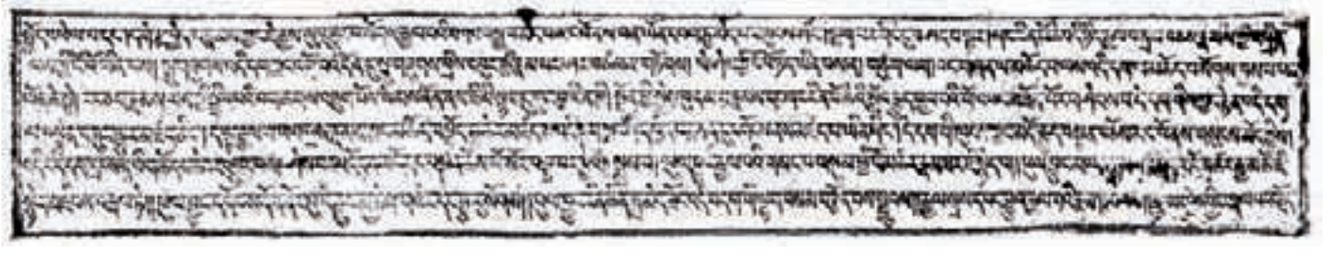
71a, b



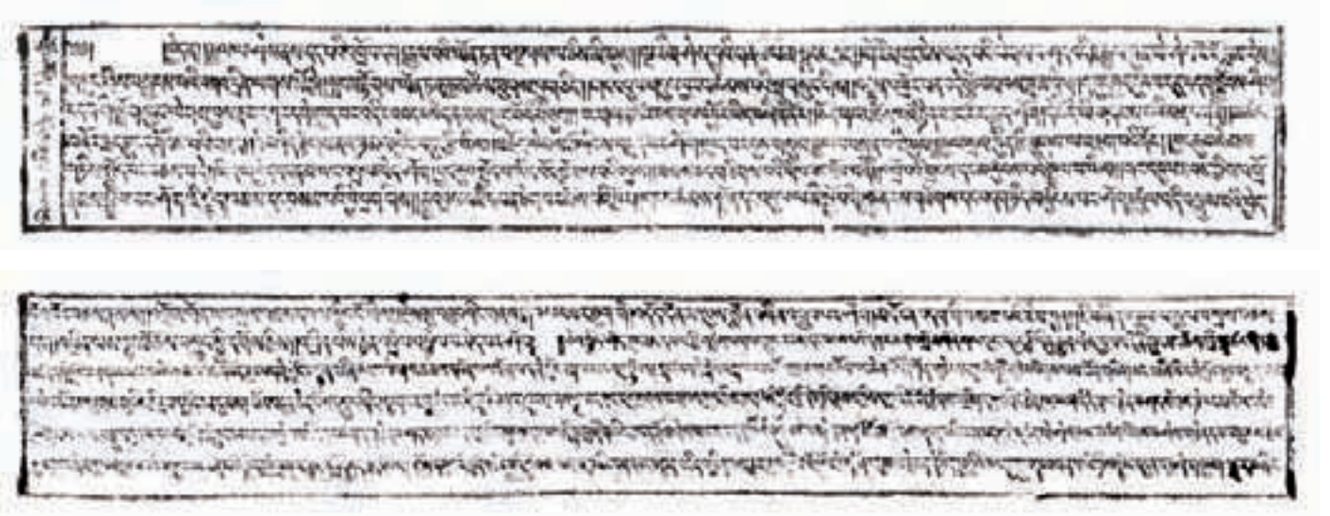


72a, b

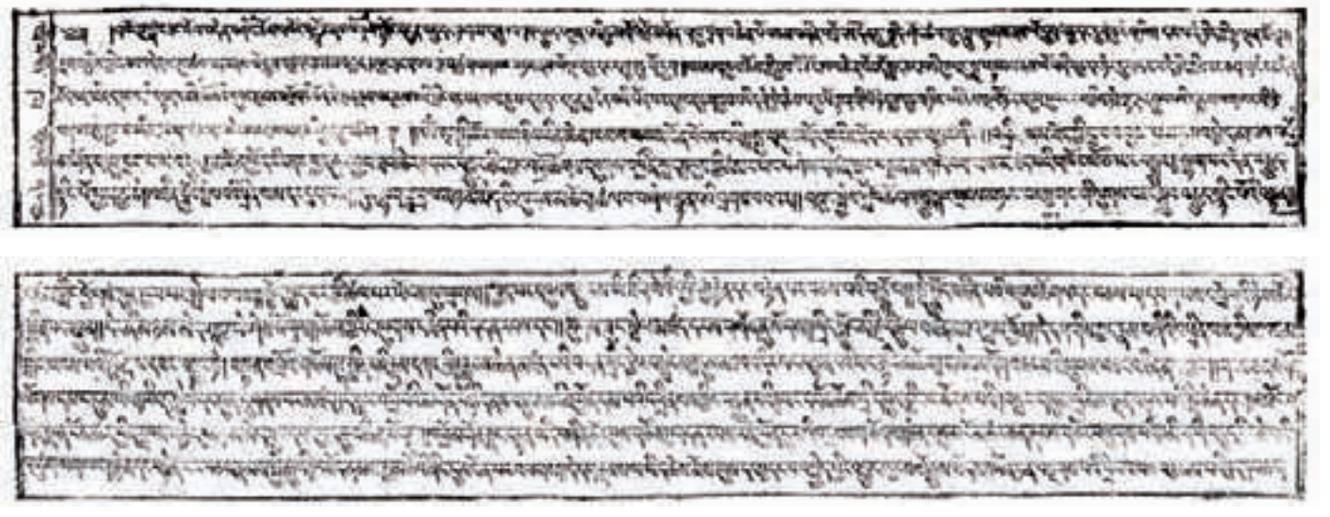




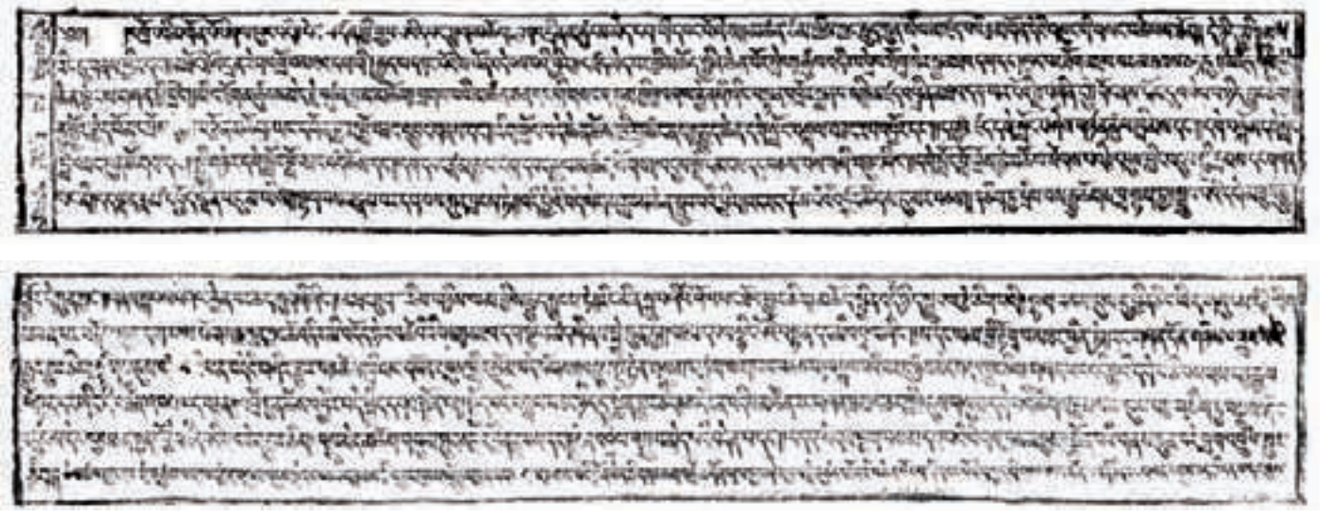
73a, b



74a, b



75a, b



76a, b



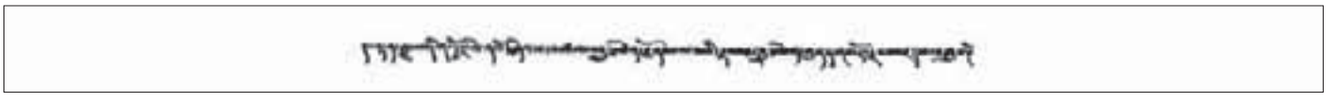




***2**. The Tshal-pa dpon chen Kun-dga' rdo-rje*
Frontispiece

VI.2 The *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* (1b1–69a6)

1a, b





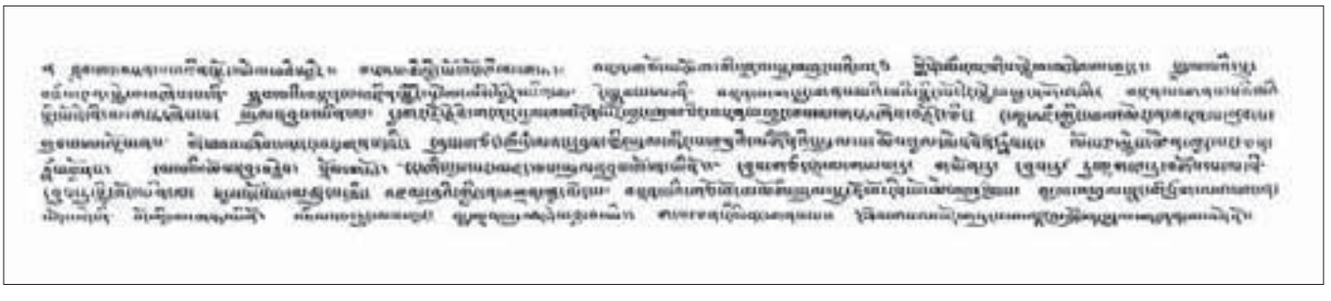
2a, b





3a, b





4a, b

5a, b

6a, b

7a, b

8a, b

9a, b

10a, b

11a, b

12a, b

13a, b

14a, b

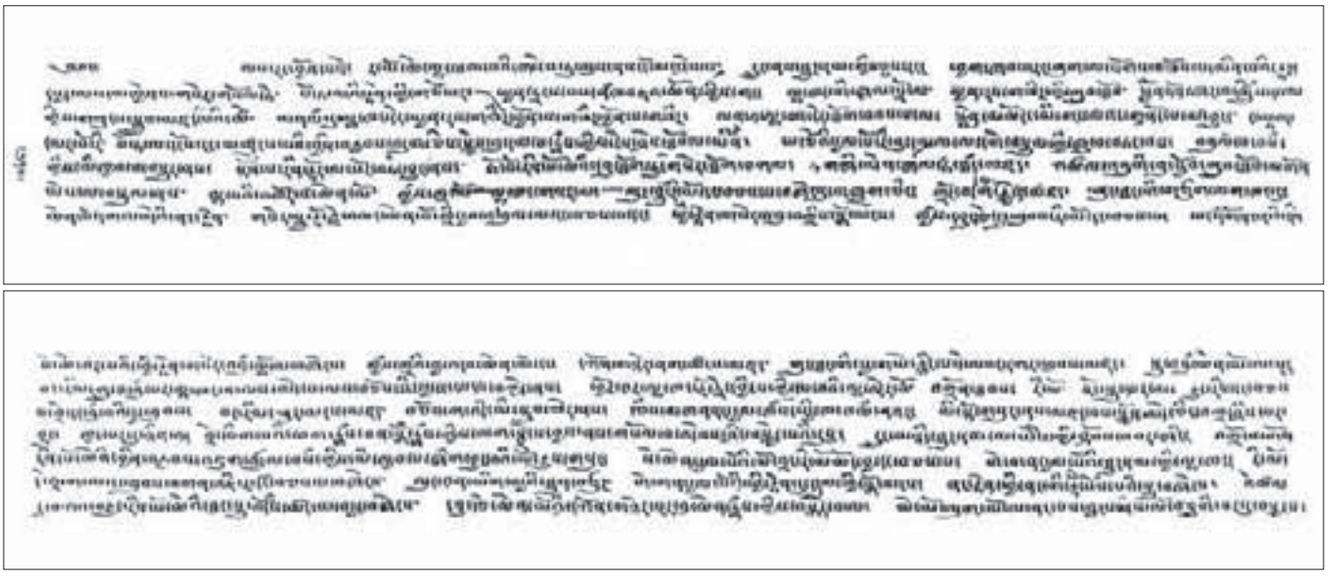
15a, b

16a, b

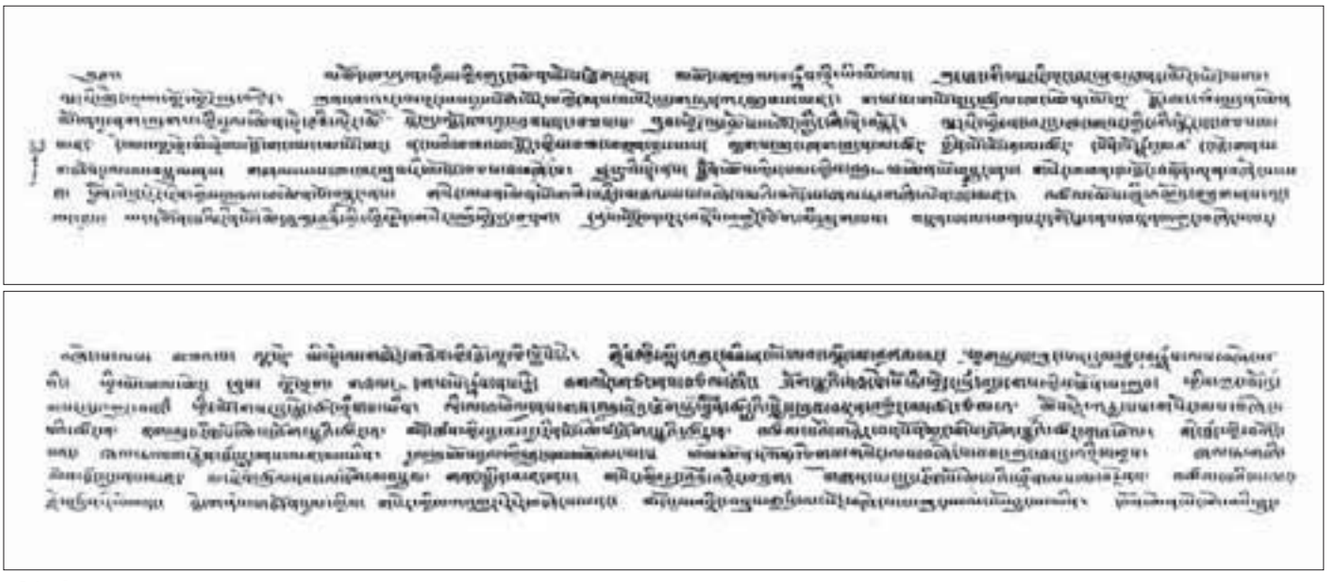
17a, b

18a, b

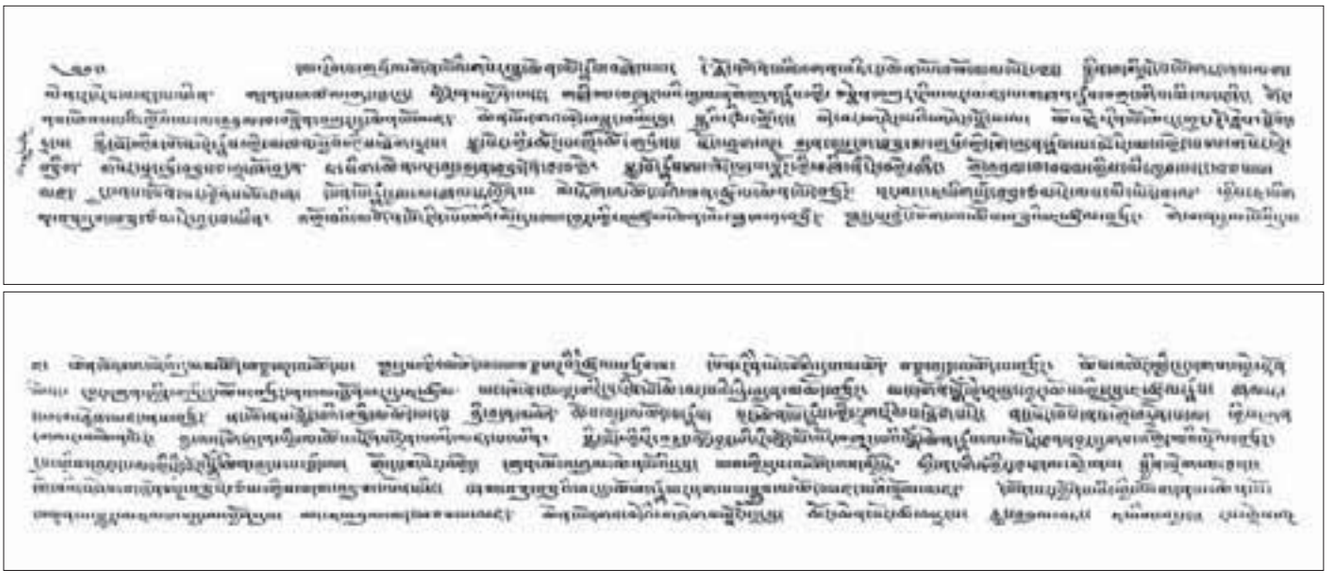
19a, b



20a, b



21a, b

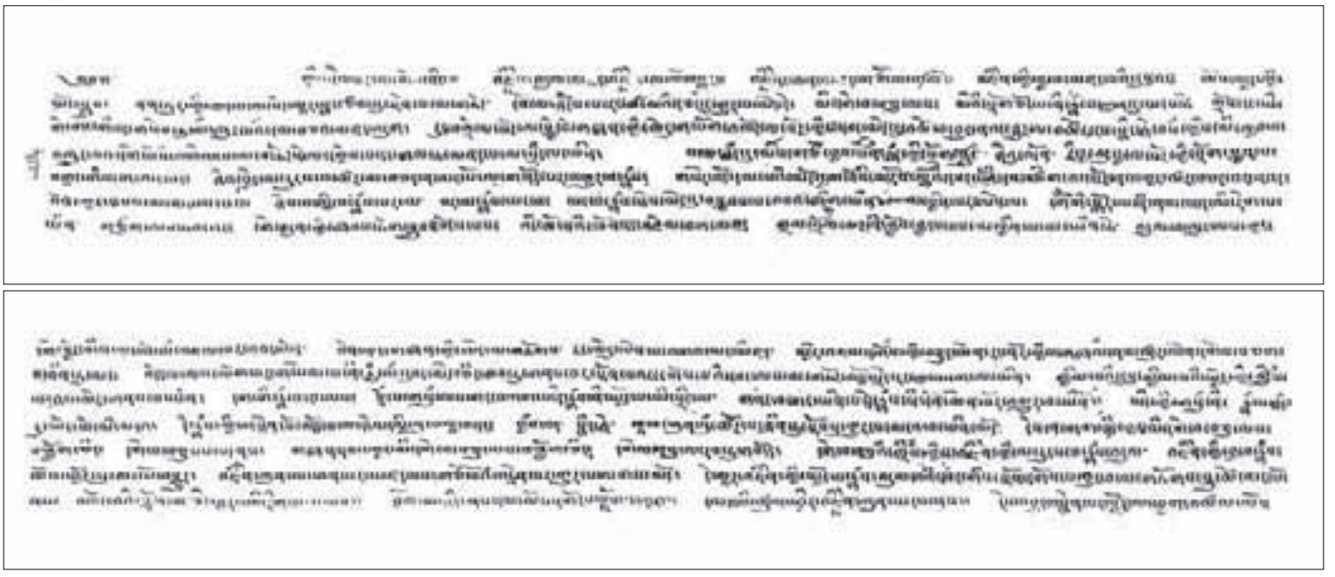


22a, b

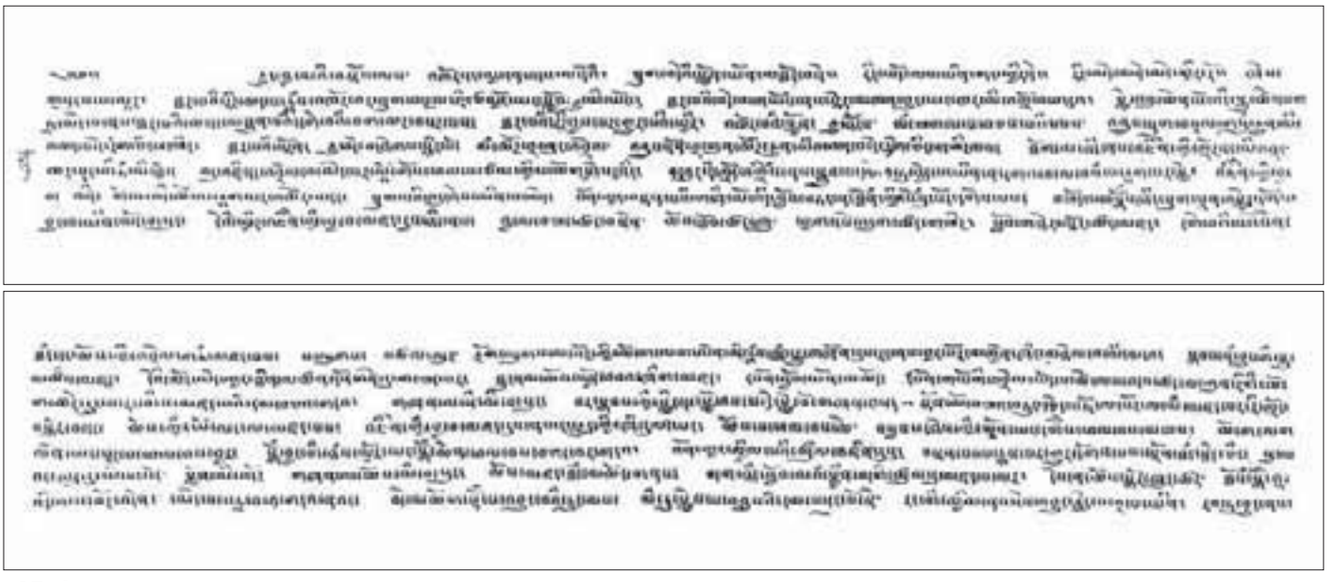
23a, b

24a, b

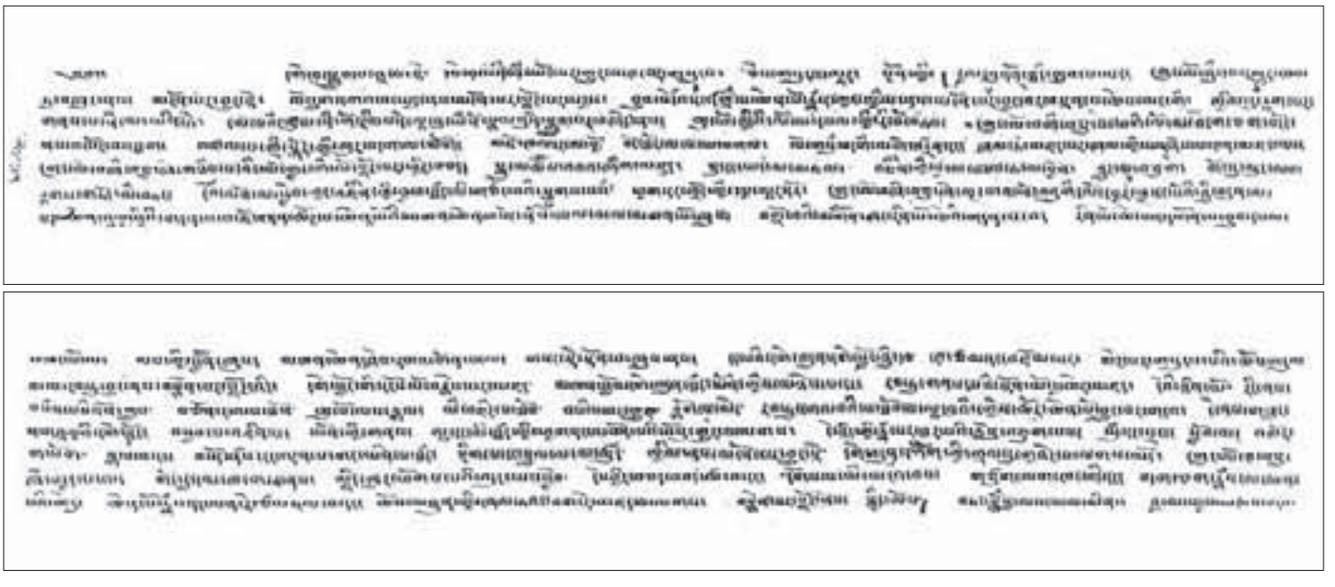
25a, b



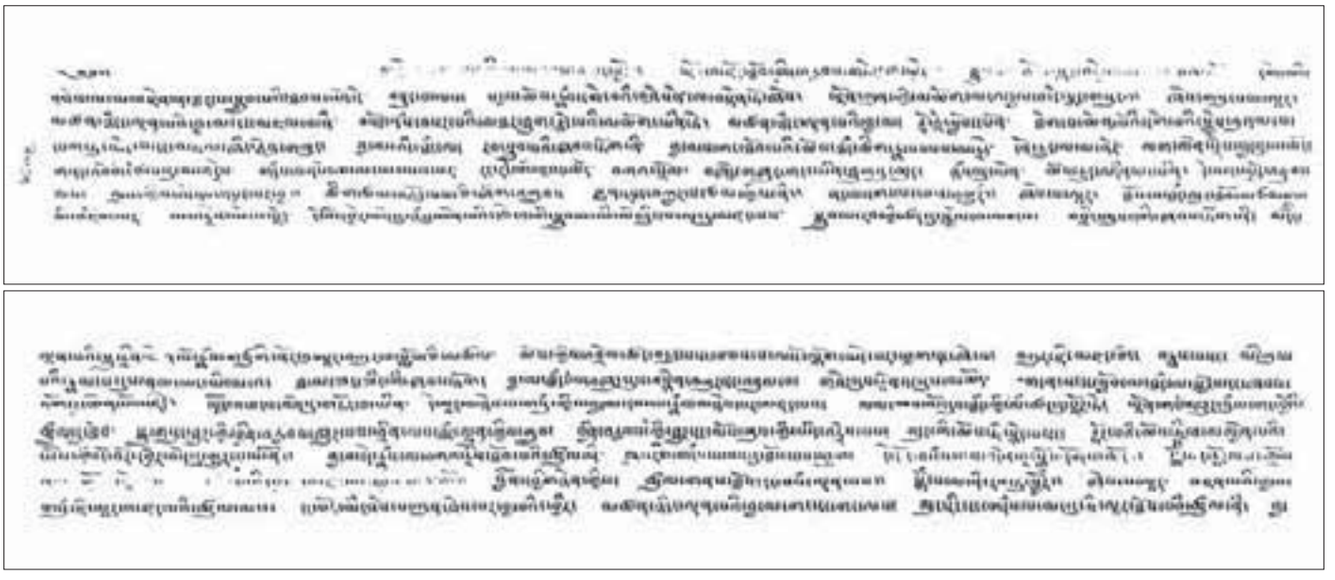
26a, b



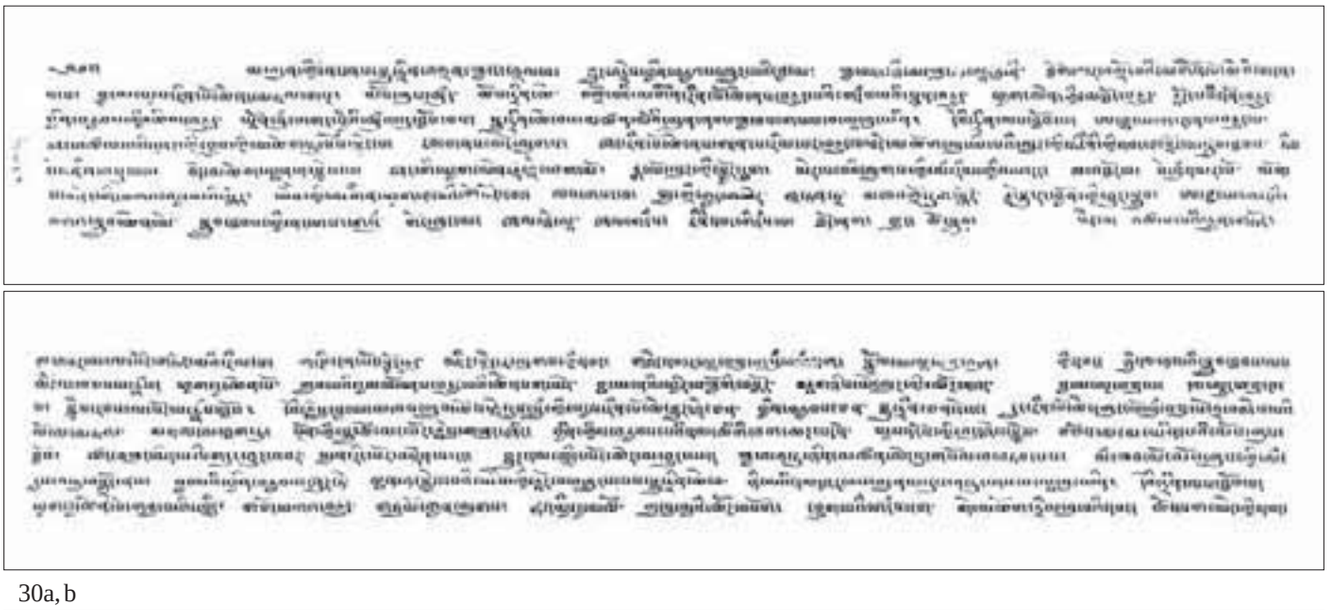
27a, b



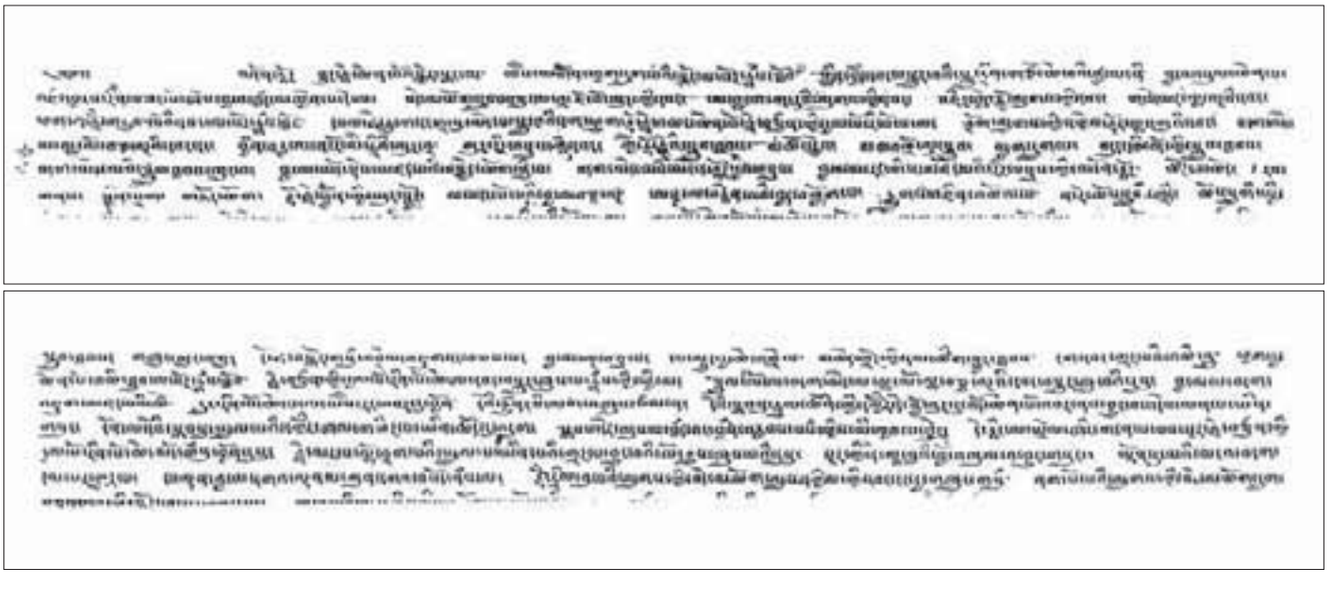
28a, b



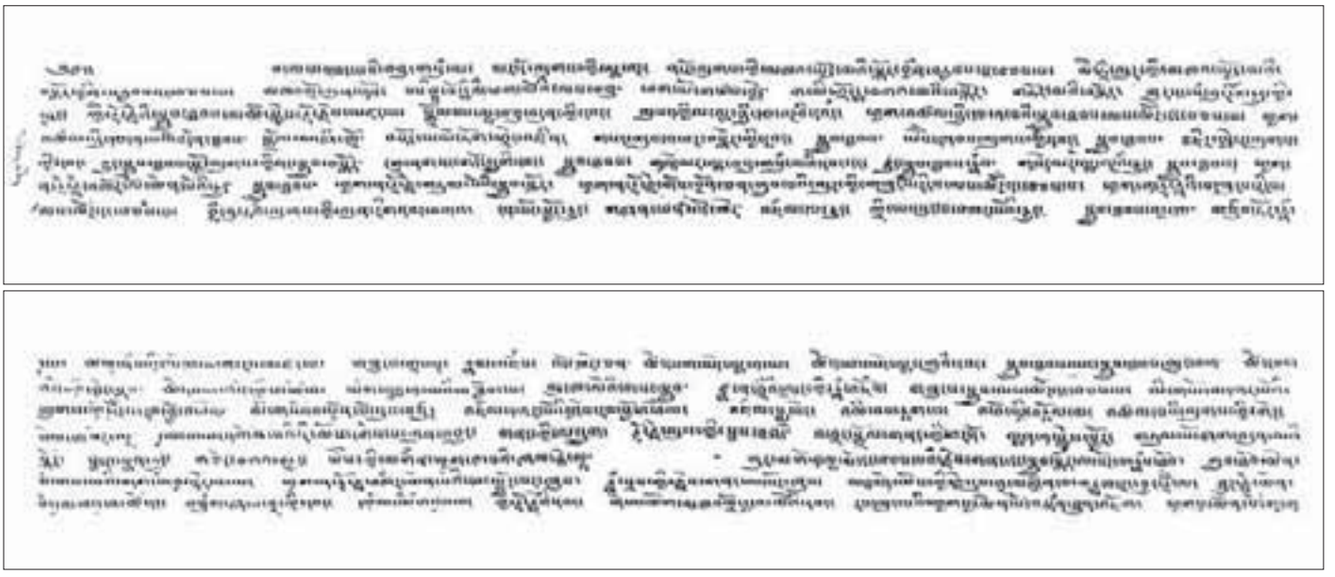
29a, b



30a, b



31a, b



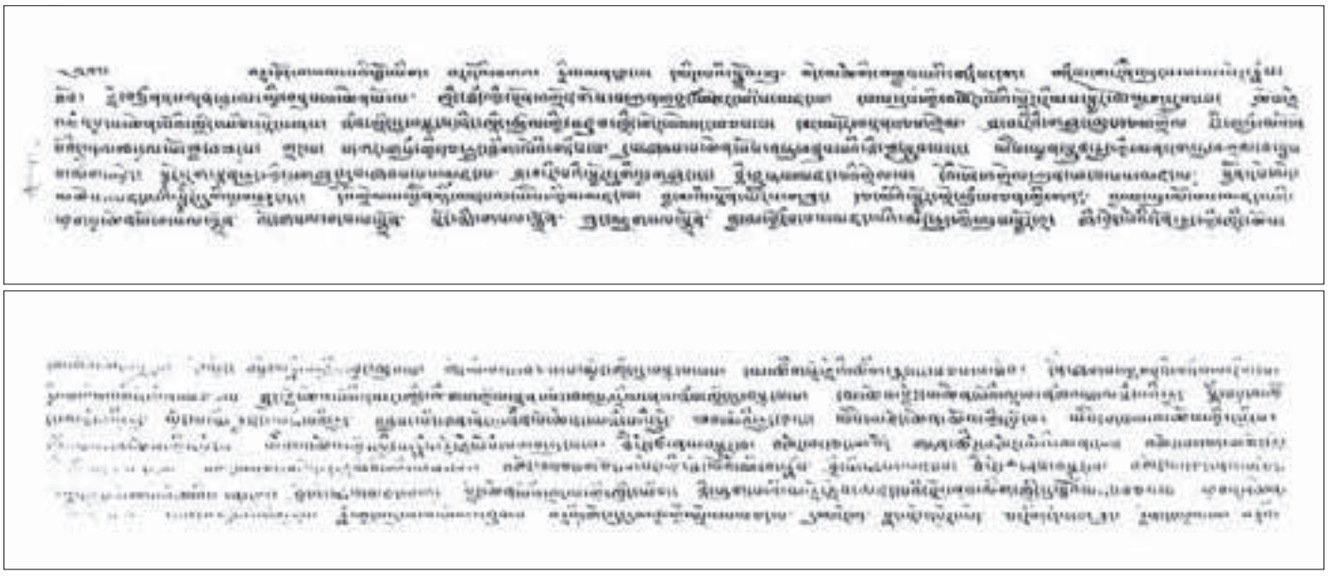
32a, b



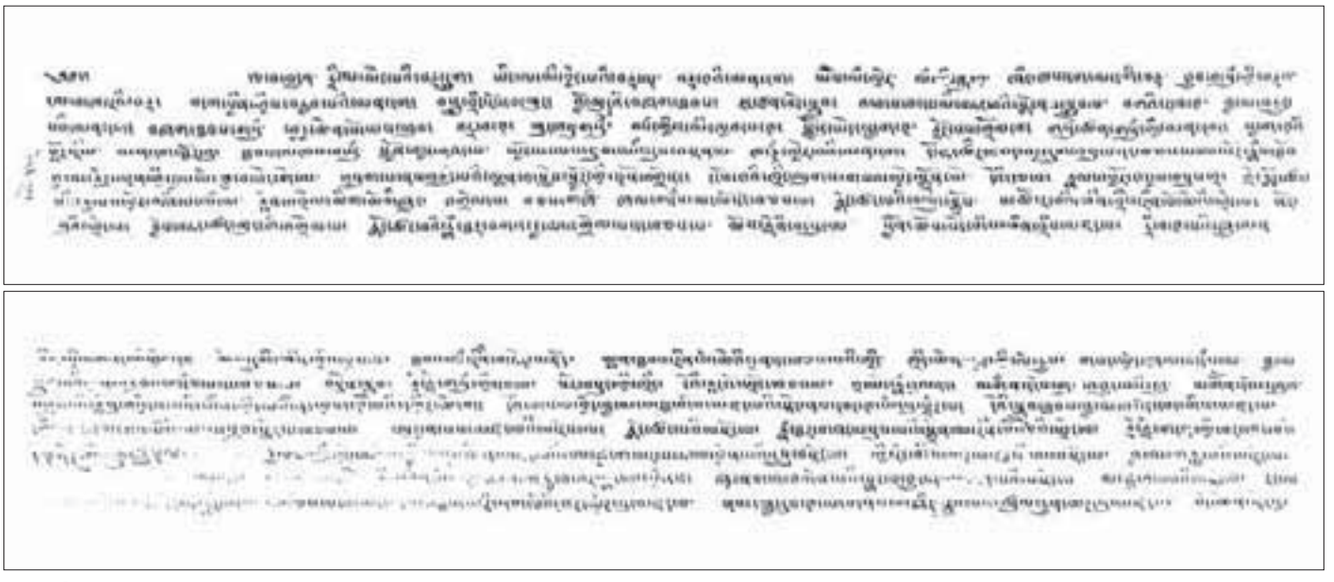
33a, b



34a, b



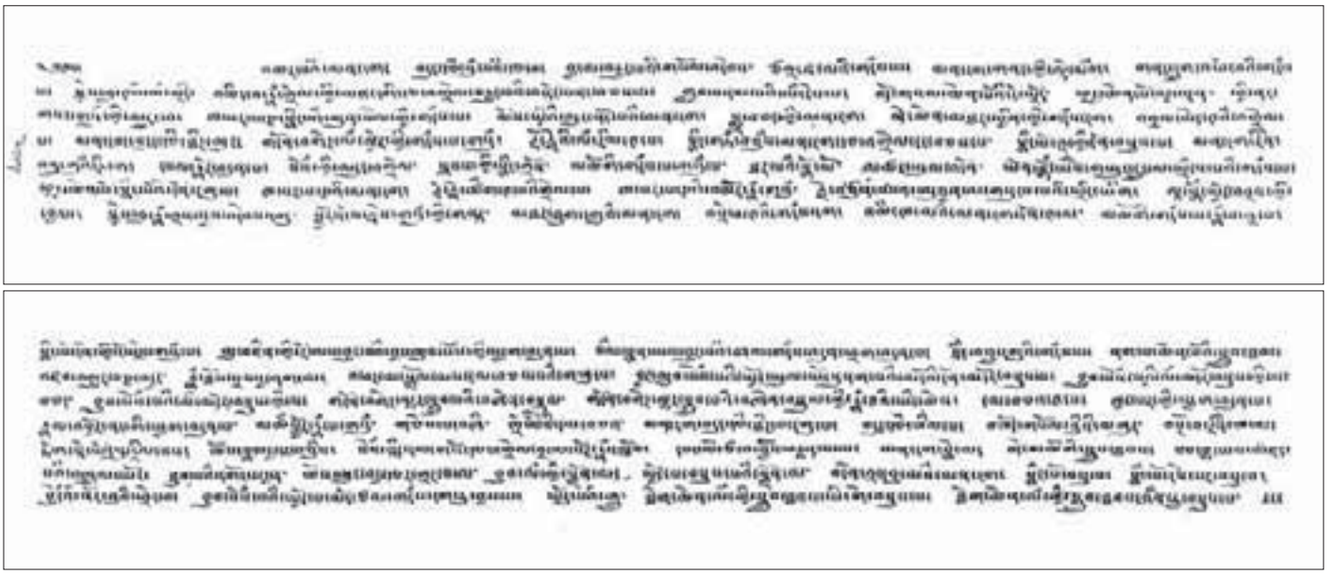
35a, b



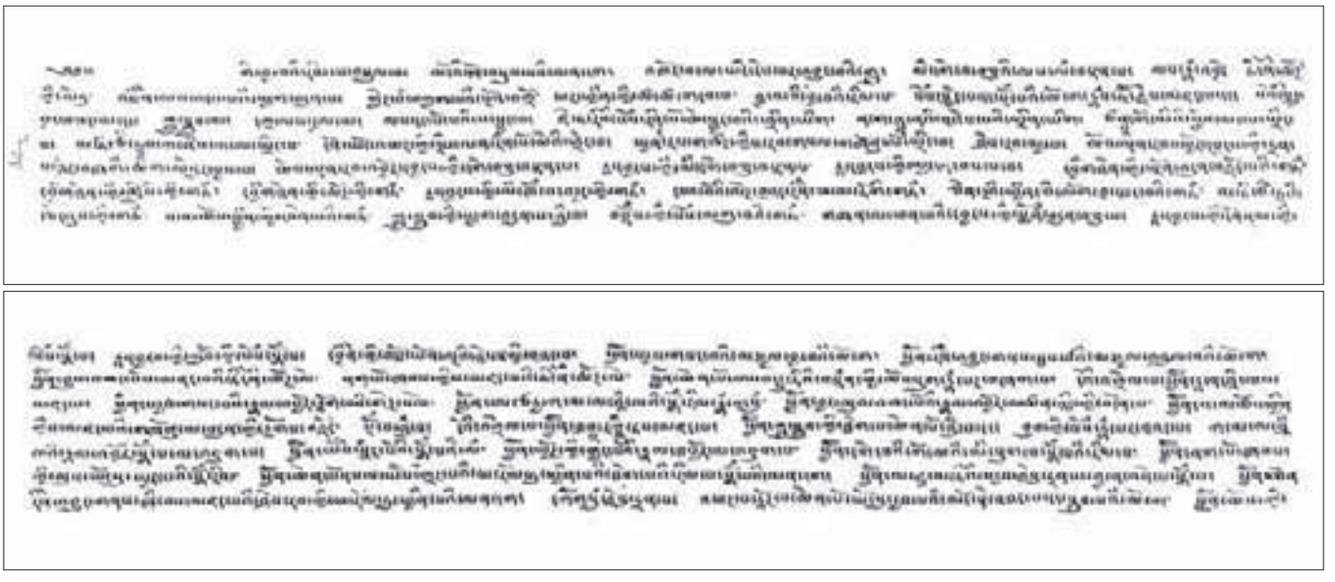
36a, b



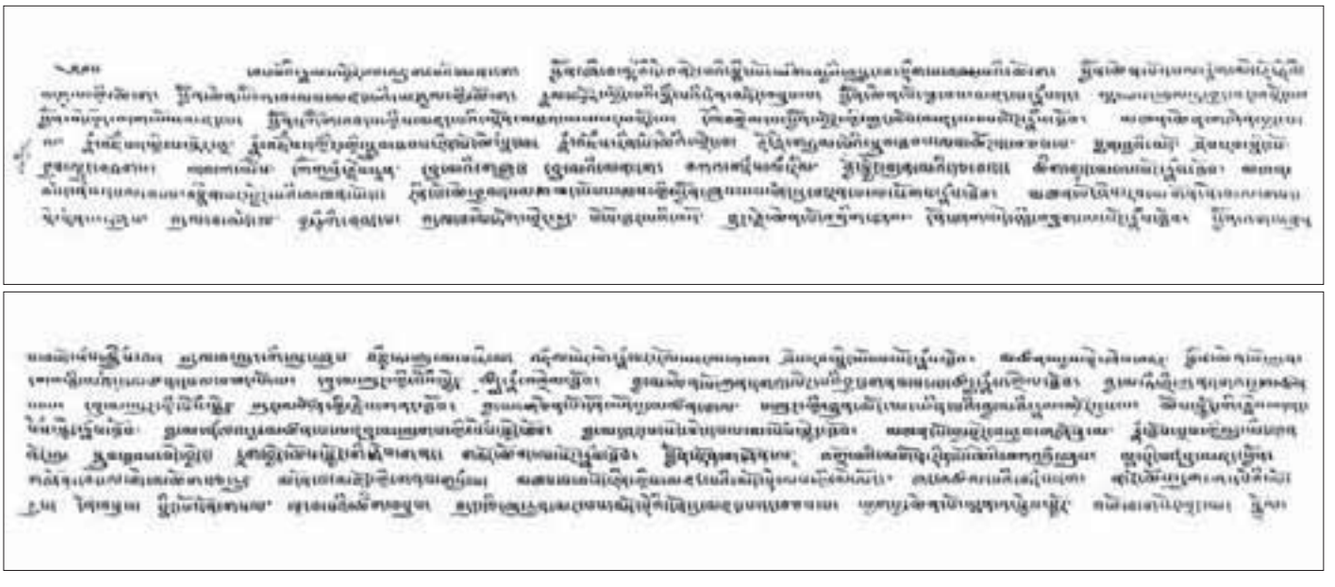
37a, b



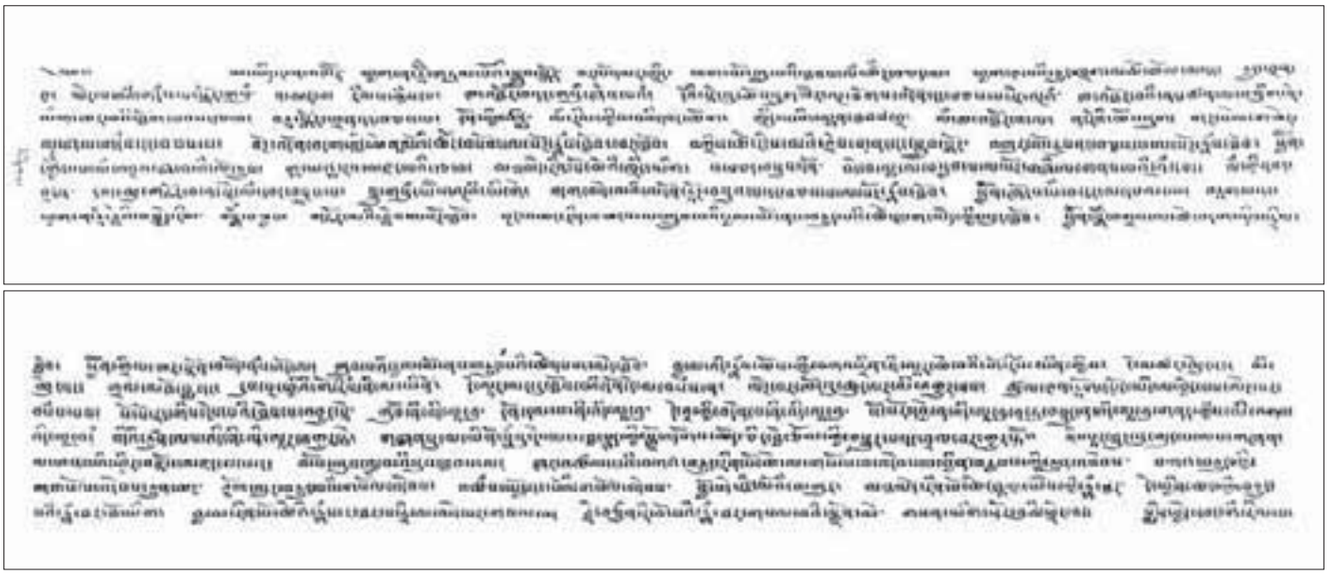
38a, b



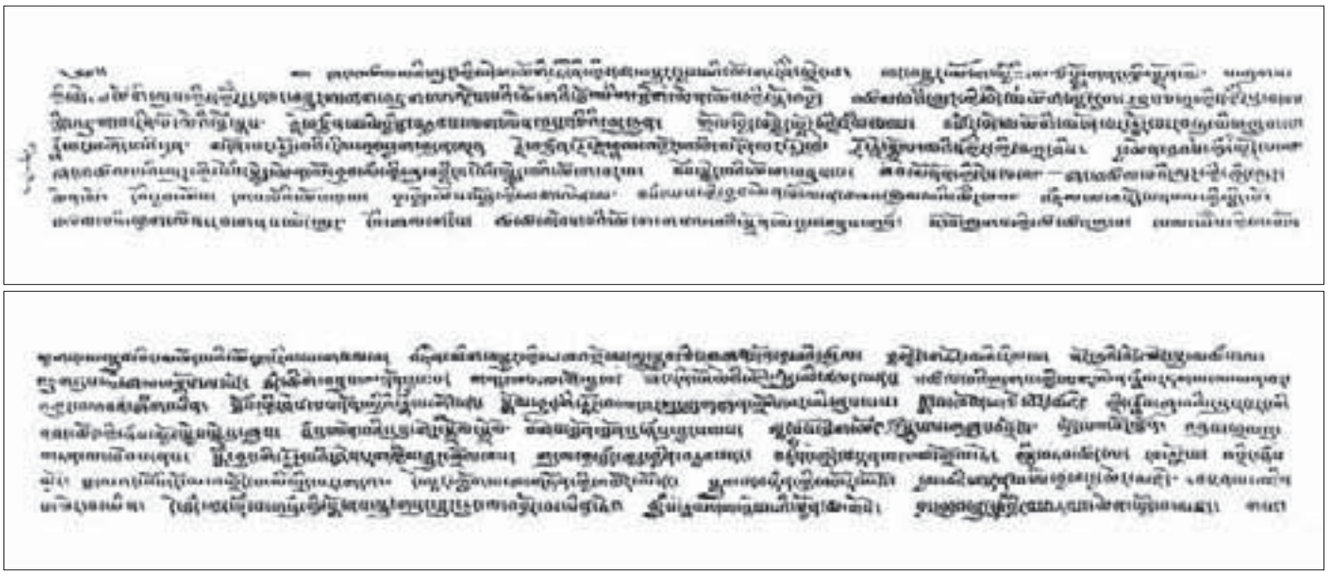
39a, b



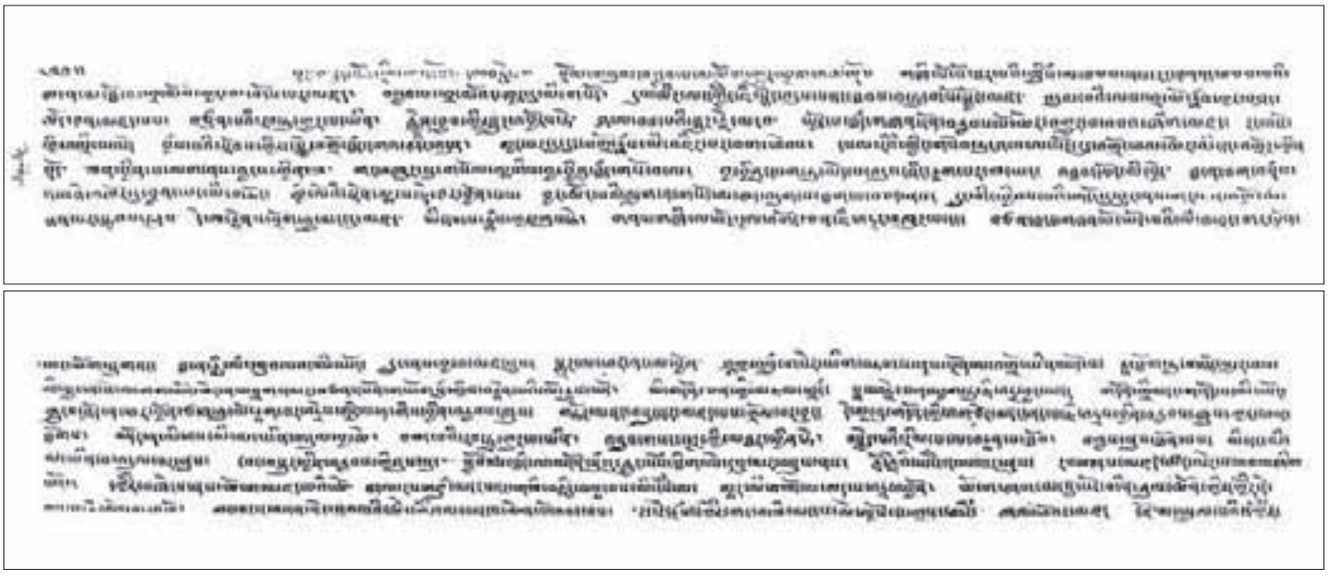
40a, b



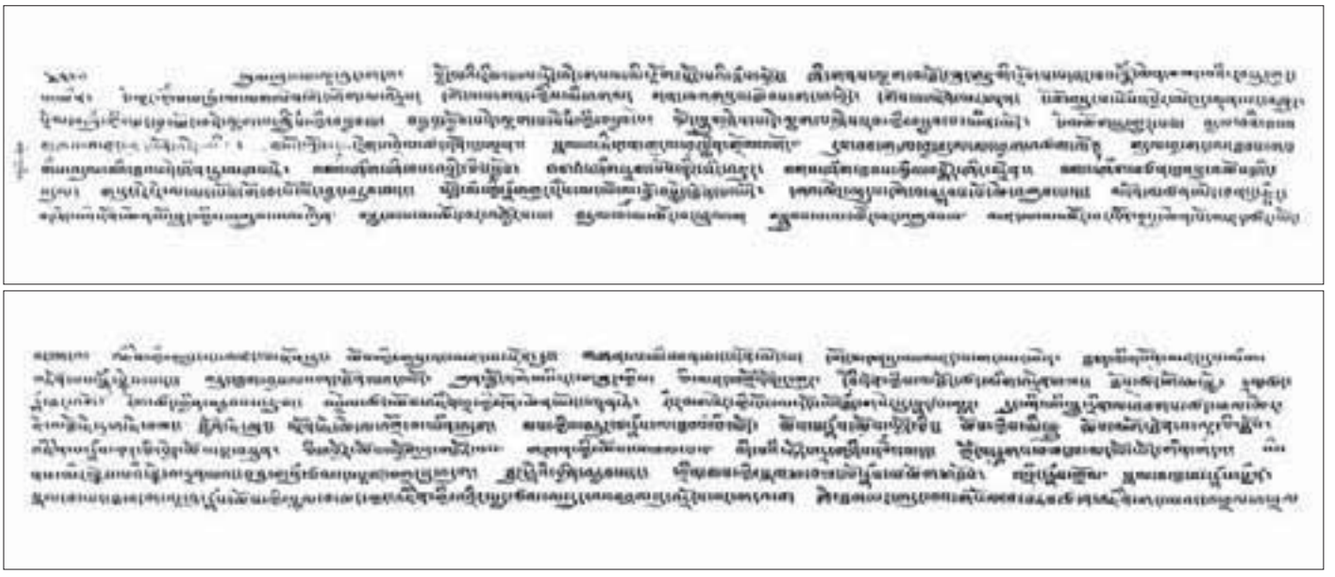
41a, b



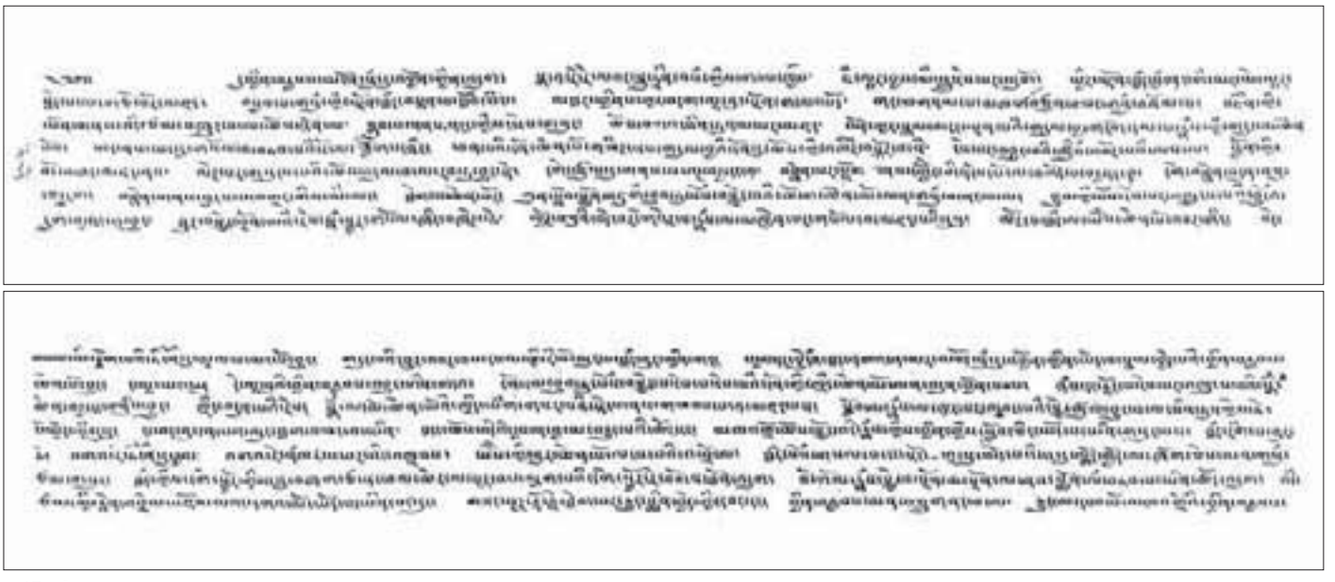
42a, b



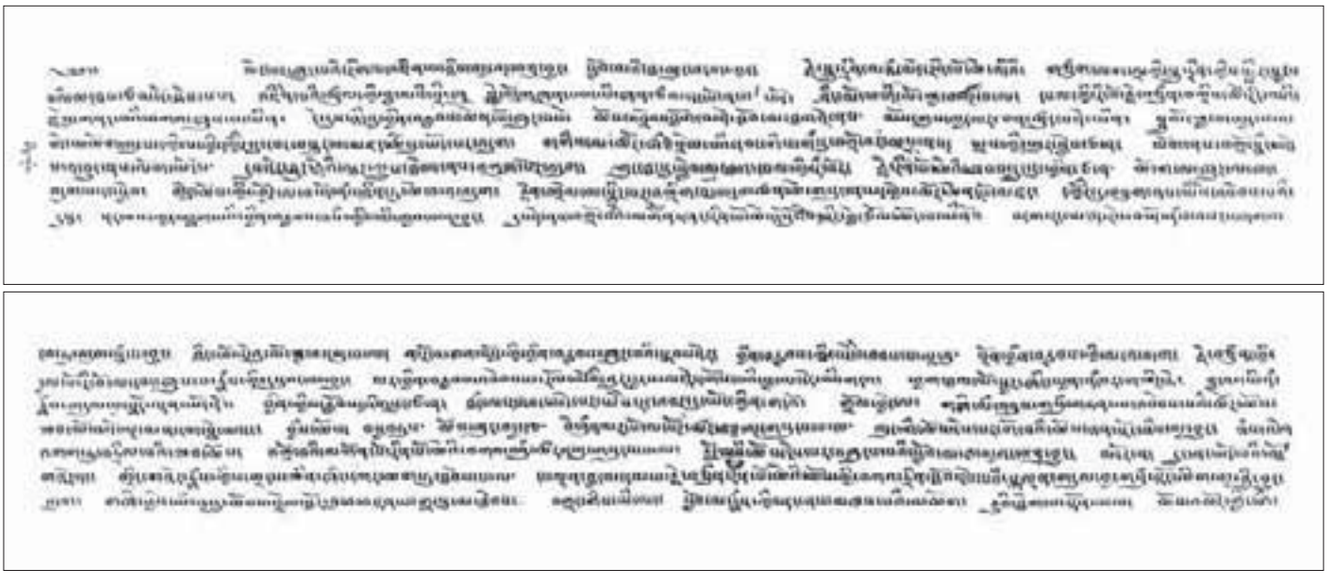
43a, b



44a, b



45a, b



46a, b

47a, b

48a, b

49a, b

50a, b

51a, b

52a, b

53a, b

54a, b

55a, b

56a, b

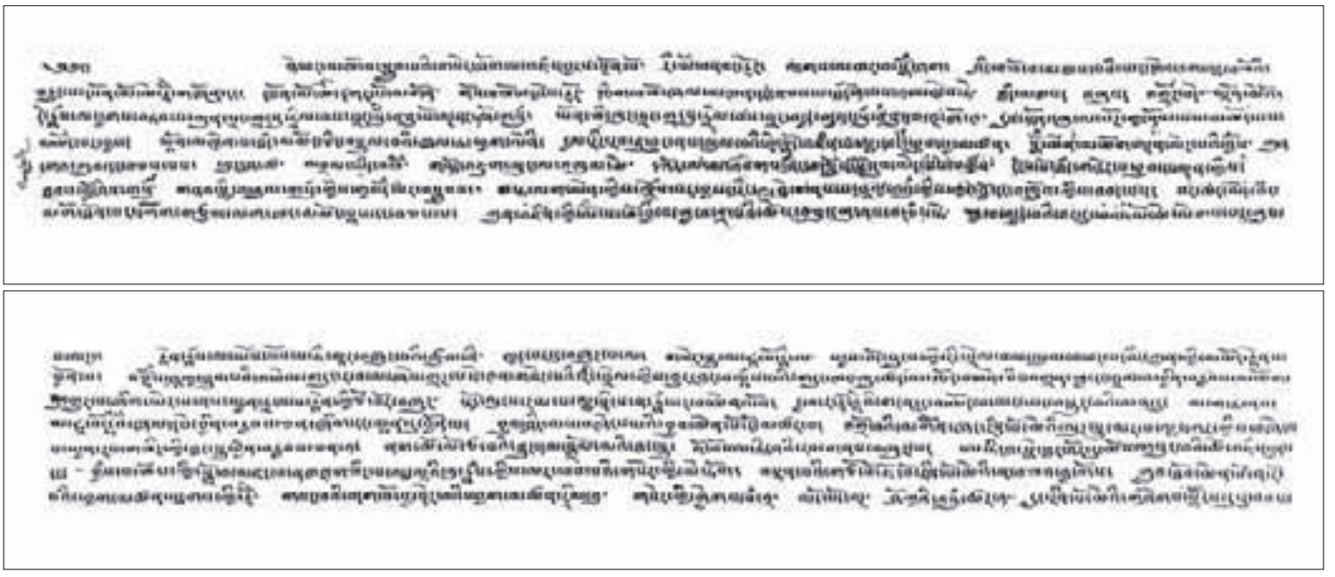
57a, b

58a, b

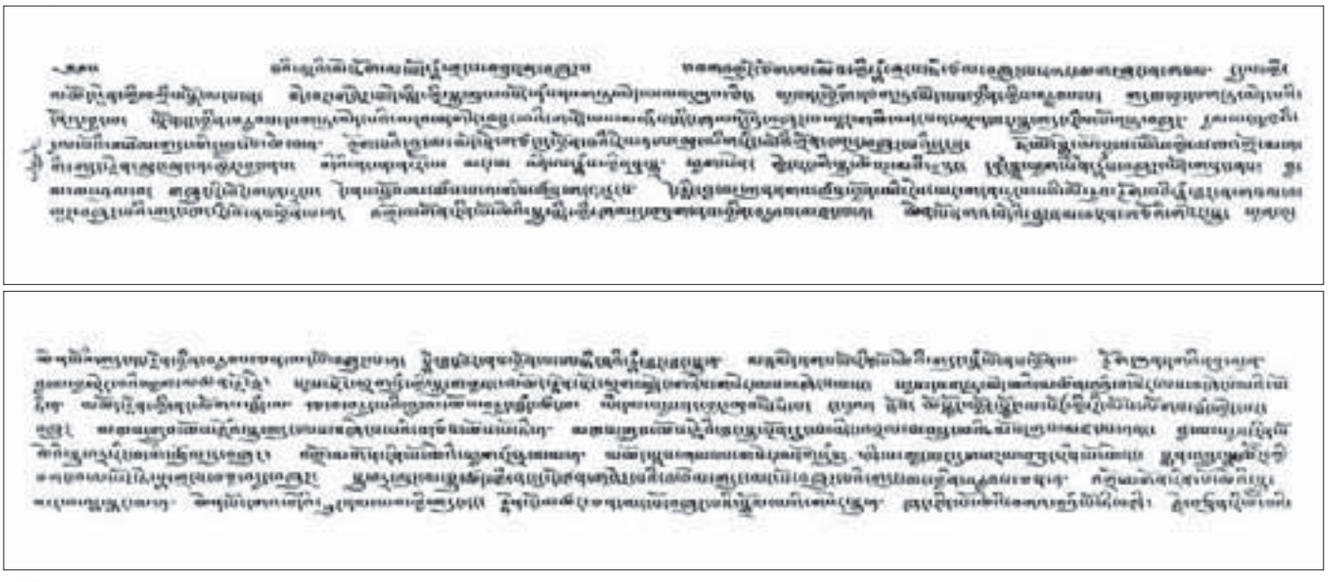
59a, b

60a, b

61a, b



62a, b



63a, b



64a, b

65a, b

66a, b

67a, b

68a, b

69a

VI.2.1 The Collected Works of Tshal-dpon sMon-lam rdo-rje (1284–1347)

The list of books and treatises written or compiled by the influential Tshal ruler and erudite sMon-lam rdo-rje is found in his biography *ibid*. 40b5–41b3

1 *Zhang 'Tshal pa'i bka' brgyud rin po che la gsol 'debs pa byin brlabs kyi rgyun 'bebs*
2 *bKa' brgyud kyi lha gsol 'debs rgyun chags*
3 *rNgog lugs brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*
4 *'Tshams spyod [= gcod] dang po'i gsol 'debs*
5 *Blo bde ring mo'i mgur*
6 *mNyam med rin po che Śākya ye shes kyi rnam thar*
7 *De phyin chad kyi brgyud pa'i rnam thar tho yig*
8 *Bla ma rin po che'i rnam par thar pa Dri ma med par gsal ba*
9 *rJe btsun Ri bo pa'i rnam thar gsal ba'i sgron me*
10 *gSan yig nor bu'i phreng ba*
11 *sMin byed dbang gi rim pa ma*
12 *Zhang 'Tshal pa'i lugs kyi bde mchog gi ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang bskur rgyas pa'i cho ga Rin chen phreng ba*
13 *dBang bskur cho ga spyi'i mtshams spyod [= gcod] gnad kyi sgron me*
14 *Sa lugs kyi bde mchog gi lus kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur 'gag 'jug la ltos pa'i cho ga'i tho yig Theg chen chos kyi sgo 'byed*
15 *'Tshal pa'i lugs kyi bde mchog lha dgu bcu rtsa gnyis (?) kyi dkyil 'khor du bdag nyid 'jug pa Rin po che'i them skas*
16 *rJe btsun ma'i byin brlabs lag len bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun*
17 *Grol byed bskyed rdzogs kyi rim pa ma*
18 *'Khor lo bde mchog gi mngon rtogs pa rab tu mi 'khrugs pa rnam par bkod pa'i rgyan*
19 *mNgon par rtogs pa'i rim gnyis yan lag bdun ldan*
20 *rJe btsun rDo rje rnal 'byor ma'i mngon par rtogs pa*
21 *rDo rje sgrol ma'i dkyil 'khor gyi bkra shis*
22 *rGya chen thabs kyi spyod pa*
23 *Zhang 'Tshal pa'i lugs kyi sems bskyed mo byang chub lam gyi gru gzings Sems bskyed pa'i cho ga bar pa*
24 *Sems bskyed pa'i cho ga bsdus pa*
25 *Zab mo don gyi nges pa*
26 *Zhang 'Tshal pa'i lugs kyi khrid lugs chen mo*
27 *De'i rgyab chos*
28 *Dvags po'i chos bzhi pa*
29 *Bya byed chos spyod kyi lag len*
30 *bSam yas kyi byang chub chen po la na bza' phul ba'i tshigs bcad*
31 *'Jam dpal la bstod pa dPal gyi snying po*
32 *'Tshal pa'i phyag len rab gnas mdo lugs*
33 *De'i zhal gdams*
34 *Tsha tsha 'debs pa'i cho ga gSal ba'i sgron me rgyas bsdus gsum*
35 *Jo bo lugs kyi tsha tsha dgu pa*
36 *dPal ye shes kyi mgon po phyag bzhi sgrub cing mchod pa'i cho ga rim pa gsal ba*
37 *'Jig rten mig bsgyur gyi mkha' 'gro ma lhun sgrub cing gzhan don bya ba'i tshul*
38 *Nor bu'i 'od zer sku mtshams la 'jug dus kyi zhal bskos la sogs*
39 *Thams cad tshig bsdus la don rgyas pa*
40 *gNad zab la go sla ba*
41 *Zhang rin po che'i chos* [xxx] *mi chad pa*
42 *'Tshal pa'i lugs kyi lag len rnam par dag pa la phan bar 'gyur*

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Abbreviations

AOH	*Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*
BA Roerich	Roerich, G. N. 1995 (1949), *Blue Annals*
BJ	*Bod ljongs nang bstan*
Bod Map	*Bod kyi sa ming dpyad gzhi'i yig rigs bsdus bsgrigs*. lHa-sa 1989
BP	See *Bla sprul deb gzhung*
BST von Schroeder	Von Schroeder, U. 2001
Buddhist Iconography	Chandra, L. 1991
Buston chos 'byung Szerb	Szerb, J. 1990
CFS Gyalbo *et al*.	Gyalbo, Tsering *et al.*, 2000
Code	Paul Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*. I–IV. 1972–85
CTZhZh	*lCags stag zhib gzhung* (*The Governmental Iron-Tiger [Year] [1830 A.D.] Land and Tax Survey*); ed. Beijing 1989
brDa dkrol	bTsan-lha 1997, *brDa dkrol gser gyi me long*
DMB	Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*. 1976
Drepung Catalogue I–II	bsTan-'dzin phun-tshogs (ed.), *'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag.* Vol. I–II. Beijing 2004
DKTshDz	lHag-pa phun-tshogs (ed.), *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*
lDe'u-1	*lDe'u Jo sras chos 'byung*
lDe'u-2	*mKhas pa lDe'u chos 'byung*
DL1	*rJe dGe 'dun grub rnam thar*
DL2	*rJe dGe 'dun rgya mtsho rnam thar*
DL3	*bSod nams rgya mtsho rnam thar*
DL4	*Yon tan rgya mtsho rnam thar*
DL5	*Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho rnam thar*: *DL5*-A: *DL5 I, II, III*; [*DL5 IV*: see Ahmad 1999]; *DL5*-B
DL6	*Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho rnam thar*
DL7	*sKal bzang rgya mtsho rnam thar*
DL8	*'Jam dpal rgya mtsho rnam thar*
DL9	*Lung rtogs rgya mtsho rnam thar*
DL10	*Tshul khrims rgya mtsho rnam thar*
DL11	*mKhas grub rgya mtsho rnam thar*
DL12	*'Phrin las rgya mtsho rnam thar*
DL13	*Thub bstan rgya mtsho rnam thar*
DTH	Bacot, J. *et al*. 1940
ESCA	*Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, see A. Barnard and J. Spencer (ed.)
Gengshen	*Gengshen waishi*. See H. Schulte-Uffelage 1963
GT	*Gung thang dkar chag* [translated in the present volume]
GY	*rGya bod yig tshang*
mGar rtse	Tshul-blo *et al., mGar rtse tsho bco brgyad kyi lo rgyus*
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
HSLG Vol. 1– 9:	*lHa sa'i lo rgyus* [*Grong khyer lHa sa'i lo rgyus rig gnas. A Collection of Reference Materials for the Political and Cultural History of lHa-sa City*]. Vol. 1: *sTag rtse rdzong.* Vol. 2: *dGa' ldan dgon pa dang Brag yer pa'i lo rgyus.* Vol. 3: *sTod lung bDe chen rdzong.* Vol. 4: *lHun rtse rdzong.* Vol. 5: *Mal gro gung dkar rdzong.* Vol. 6: *Khreng kon chus* [= lHa-sa City District]. Vol. 7: *'Dam gzhung rdzong.* Vol. 8: *Chu shur rdzong.* Vol. 9: *sNye mo rdzong.* Ed. by Grong-khyer lHa-sa srid-gros lo-rgyus rig-gnas dpyad-yig rgyu-cha rtsom-'bri u-yon lhan-khang, 1998–1999
JCh	See *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung II*

JIABS	*Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*
JNRC	*Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*
lHa sa dgon tho	bShes-gnyen Tshul-khrims, 2001
lHa sa gnas yig	Chos-'phel 2004c
bKa' brgyud chos mdzod	See *dPal 'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi chos mdzod che mo*
bKa' thor bu	*Zhang rin po che'i bka' thor bu*
bKa' 'bum I and *II*	See *Zhang bka' 'bum*
Lhasa Interview	See Tshe-ring rGyal-bo and Yar-lung Bu-chung 2004
Li and S. Coblin	Li Fang Kuei and South Coblin W. 1987
LIRI	Lumbini International Research Institute
LTWA	Library of Tibetan Works and Archives
Mi sna	Don-rdor *et al., Gangs ljongs lo rgyus thog gi grags can mi sna*
Ming mdzod	Ko-zhul Grags-pa 'byung-gnas *et al*. (eds.), *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*
MTP Uebach	Uebach, H. 1987
Mvy.	*Mahāvyutpatti*, see R. Sakaki
Myriad Worlds	Kontrul Lodrö Taye 1965
Nang rig	Phur-bu tshe-ring, 1994
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
ÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
RET	*Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*
Sa yom	Mig-dmar rgyal-mtshan (ed.), *Rang byung gnod 'tshe sa yom*
Sangs rgyas chos gzhung	Vang dByi-non, *Sangs rgyas chos gzhung gi tshig mdzod*
SCEAR	*Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*
bShad mdzod	Chandra, L. 1969
Shakabpa Guide	*lHa ldan Rva sa 'phrul snang gtsug lag khang gi dkar chag*
Shes rab grub ma	Contained in *bKa' 'thor bu* 8f.; *Zhang bka' 'bum II* KA 162f.
SKKB	*Sa skya bka' 'bum*. Toyo Bunko 1968
SOR	Serie Orientale Roma
Sources Aris	Aris, M. 1986
TBH Sørensen	Sørensen, Per K. 1994
TBRC	Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre – http://www.tbrc.org/
TDD	*Tibetan Documents from Dunhuang*, Y. Imaeada *et al*. 2007
TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005	Sørensen, Per K. and Hazod, G., *Thundering Falcon*. Wien
TH Martin	Martin, D. 1997
TJ	*The Tibet Journal*
TMM	*Dictionary of Tibetan Materia Medica*, compiled by Pasang Yontan Arya, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 1998
TPS Tucci	*Tibetan Painted Scroll*. Tucci, G. 1949
Tshal rnam	Kun-dga' rdo-rje, *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar*
Tshig mdzod	Krang dbyi-sun (= Chang Yi-sun); *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo,* Vol. 1–2. Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang 1993
TTPE	Tibetan Tripitaka Peking Ed. Kyoto 1961 – Online Search: web.otani ac. jp/cri/twrp/tibdate/Peking_online_search.html)
Vaiḍūrya ser po	See *Baiḍūrya ser po*
Verhufen Index Map	Verhufen, G. 1995 (Index)
VS	*Vaiḍūrya ser po*
WSTB	*Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*
Xizang Dimingzhi	*Xizang zizhiqu Dimingzhi bianji renyuan mingdan* or *The Toponymical Record of TAR*. 2 Vols. Beijing 1993
YS	*Yuanshi*. Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 1976
Zangzu dacidian	See Zhu Bian *et al*. 1998
ZhK I / II / III	See *Zhang bka' 'bum I*, *II* or *III*

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bKa' chems Ka khol ma. Lanzhou: Kan-su'u mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang 1989 [TH Martin no. 4].

Kam tshang brgyud pa

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rDzongs-pa Kun-dga' rnam-rgyal, *rJe btsun rDo rje gdan pa thams cad mkhyen pa Kun dga' rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i bzang po'i gsan yig*. 1–512. Kathmandu: rGyal-yongs sa-chen dpe-skrun-khang. 2005.

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Kun dga' dpal 'byor rnam thar II

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Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje (b. 1697), *Klu rgyal mal gro gzi can gyi mchod phrin rDo rje'i nyin byed*. 201–223. Vol ZA of his *gSung 'bum*.

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Mon-rtse-pa Kun-dga' dpal-ldan, *dKar brgyud gser 'phreng*. In: *A Golden Rosary of Lives of Eminent Gurus*. Leh: Smanrtsis Shesrig spendzod 1972.

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Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, *sKyid shod sde pa'i skor*. 1–63. Phuntsholing: KTM Press 2001.

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sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho, *rJe btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa Dad pa'i sgo 'byed.* 180–255. In: *The Collected Works of sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho*. Vol. Ka. Lanzhou: Kan-su'u mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang 1999.

sKyor lung chos 'byung

Hor-sprul Blo-bzang rab-brtan rgya-mtsho, *sKyor lung chos 'byung mkhan rabs rtogs brjod ngo mtshar nor 'phreng*. First Part: Handwritten copy 1–104 [based upon a Ms 1b1–51a]. lHa-sa. [Colophon is missing but it may be identical with the *sKyor lung chos 'byung* written by Hor *sprul sku* Rab-brtan rgya-mtsho (1697–1763) [= TH Martin no. 297; for an edition of the text, see Sørensen 2007b].

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Khams stod lo rgyus
lDan-ma 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Nang-chen mkhan-po rDo-rje (eds.), *Khams stod kyi lo rgyus thor bsdus su bkod pa Gangs phrug bsu ba'i shing rta.* 1–216. Kan-su'u mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang.

Khu dbon rnam thar
sPyan-snga Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, *Sangs rgyas rin chen sgang pa Khu dbon gyi rnam thar dad pa'i dad pa'i chu rgyun*. In: *The Collected Works* (*gSung 'bum*) *of sPyan-snga Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan*. Vol. II: 423–511. Delhi 1983.

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Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, *Nyang ston Khra tshang ba Blo grog [= gros] mchog gi rdo rje'i rtogs pa brjod pa Nyung ngu rnam gsal.* Xyl. 1b1–63a5. Vol. Ta of *The Collected Works of the Fifth Dalai Lama*. lHa-sa Print.

Khri byang rnam thar
Blo-bzang ye-shes bstan-'dzin rgya-mtsho (1901–1981), *dGa' ldan khri chen Byang chub chos 'phel kyi skye gral du rlom pa'i gyi na pa zhig gis rang gi ngang tshul ma bcos lhug par bkod pa 'khrul snang sgyu ma'i zlos gar*. 1b1–278a2 [= 1–557], Written 1978. Vol. 4 of *gSung-'bum*. Delhi 1978–85.

mKhar nag chos 'byung
mKhar-nag *lo tsā ba*, *mKhar nag chos 'byung*. Comprising excerpt on *Tshal skor* from *Zhang bka' 'bum II*: 592.3–594.2.

mKhas grub rgya mtsho rnam thar
Dar-han mkhan-sprul Blo-bzang 'phrin-las rnam-rgyal, *lHar bcas skye dgu'i gtsug nor 'phags chen phyag na padmo rje btsun Ngag dbang bskal bzang bstan pa'i sgron me mKhas grub rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa Ngo mtshar lha'i rol mo dbyangs can rgyud du snyan pa'i tambu ra*. In: *'Khrungs rabs deb ther nor bu'i phreng ba IV*: 295–469. [Abbrev. Biography. Ed. Dharamsala 1984].

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mKhas-pa lDe'u, *rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*. lHa-sa: Bod-ljongs mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang 1987 [TH Martin no. 54].

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Shes-rab rgya-mtsho (1396–1474), *'Khon gyi gdung rabs gsal byed rin po che'i phreng ba.* Ms 1b1–5b7, kept in The National Library of Bhutan.

'Khon gyi gdung rabs II
sTag-tshang *lo tsā ba* Shes-rab rin-chen, *dPal ldan Sa skya'i gdung rabs 'dod dgu'i rgya mtsho*. MS 1b1–33a5.

'Khor lo sdom pa chos 'byung
Rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags-pa, *rGyud kyi rgyal po'khor lo sdom pa'i chos kyi byung tshul rDo rje 'dzin pa'i dga' ston*. 1–90.3. In: *The Collected Works of Kun mkhyen Rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa.* Vol. 9. Dehra Dun 1999.

mKhyen brtse'i dbang po rnam thar

Karma bKra-shis chos-'phel, *rJe btsun bla ma thams cad mkhyen cing gzigs pa 'jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mdor bsdus Ngo mtshar u dūmba ra'i dga' tshal.* 1b1–218a4 [= 1–435]. N. pl. n.d.

mKhyen rab rnam thar

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'Khrungs rabs

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Ga zi gdung rabs

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Anon., *gNas mchog gang shar dag snang dgon gyi dkar chag*. Ms 1b1–11a. See Ye-shes shes-rab 1989 and Roesler and Roesler 2004.

Gu bkra chos 'byung

Gu-ru bKra-shis*, Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (*alias bsTan pa'i snying po gsang chen snga 'gyur nges don zab mo'i chos kyi 'byung ba gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed Ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho*). Beijing: Krung-go'i bod-kyi shes-rig dpe-skrun-khang 1990. [TH Martin no. 359].

Gu ru Chos dbang rnam thar

Gu-ru Chos kyi dbang-phyug*, Ghu ru Chos dbang gi[s] sku'i rnam thar*. 1–584. In: *Rin chen gter mdzod chen po'i rgyab chos*. Vol. 8. Paro 1979.

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Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin 'phrin-las rnam-rgyal, *Gung thang dpal gyi gtsug lag khang byung rabs dang bcas pa'i dkar chag 'Gro mgon zhal lung bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun*. Translated in the present work.

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Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698–1755), *Bod rje lha btsad po'i gdung rabs mnga' ris smad mang yul gung thang du ji ltar byung ba'i tshul Deb gter dvangs shel 'phrul gyi me long*. [A] In: *Ne'u gyi gtam me tog gi phreng ba*. Dharamsala 1985. 627–669. [B] In: *Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag snga.* Gangs can rig mdzod 9. lHa-sa: Bod-ljongs bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrung-khang. 1990. 89–148 [TH Martin no. 290; cf. Everding, K-H., *Das Königreich Mang-yul Gung-thang*. Bonn 2000].

Gung thang rnam thar

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Grags pa 'byung gnas don chen

Anom., *sPyan snga grags pa 'byung gnas kyi sku tshe'i ring byung ba'i don chen 'ga'i lo tshig.* Ms. Re-edited text in Appendix in *Rlangs* 445–450.

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OTDO: Old Tibetan Documents Online: http://www.aa.tufs.ac.jp/~hoshi/OTDO_web/
TTPE Online Search: *http://web.otani.ac.jp/cri/twrp/tibdate/Peking_online_search.html*

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